Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Thurs. 2-28-57 P. 4-A

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

'Heard Of Dearborn, Mich.?—See Here!'

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Your "cause" is becoming well known around these United States. The article published in the *U.S. News & World Report*, Aug. 3, 1956, should have claimed a lot of attention and I might add possibly a great deal of speculation of things to come in the South. It has become quite apparent that the people are not giving any ground in their fight to maintain segregation.

I was, however quite disturbed by one of your statements and would like at this time to clarify it for you. You stated: "For example, where did you ever hear of Dearbon, Mich., until a newspaper in Alabama stumbled on it?"

Henry Ford put Dearborn on the map so to speak when he built the Rouge plant, "the world's largest industrial city," covering 1,200 acres. Here cars and trucks such as the Ford, Mercury, Lincoln, Thunderbird and Continental are produced daily by 63,000 men and women. Within the Rouge are complete railroad and bus systems, and the world's largest production foundry. Not only is the Rouge plant located here, but also the Ford Rotunda which is the "showplace of the automobile industry:" famed Greenfield Village, part of which is the Edison Institute, named after Mr. Ford's close friend of bygone days, Thomas Alva Edison; and the Central Staff Building, completed in the summer of 1956, and which architecturally resembles the United Nations Building in New York. A few of the more outstanding features of this building are: 11 floors of offices, a penthouse a huge auditorium, cafeteria, coffee shop, barbershop, lounges and underground parking facilities.

I am certain there are thousands of people residing outside the state of Michigan who not only have heard of the Ford Motor Co., but also the city in which it is located—Dearborn!

MRS. RONALD L. SMITH.
Dearborn, Mich.

¶ *Indeed, everybody does know of Dearborn: What we meant was the country previously knew nothing of the total residential exclusion there. —Ed.*

◆

Georgia Politicians At Work

Editor, The Advertiser: Advertiser Thurs. 2-28 P. 4-A

Our sister state of Georgia reached its extremity in its latest advocacy of two resolutions on social legislation. Impeaching the members of the Supreme Court for their anti-segregation [rulings] and barring interracial sports in the state.

Montgomery, Ala.

I believe most people feel that these lawmakers are quite insincere and are bidding for votes and political popularity. They simply can't be sincere in the face of facts and public feeling

We remember how the governor was chagrined when he advocated calling off a football game with a Northern city whose team had a Negro on it, and the boys of the university rose up in protest and insisted on playing the game.

To censure the Supreme Court for its [ruling] in favor of interracial justice and good will is enough. To impeach them is absurd.

Interracial participation in the nationally favored baseball pastime is too old and popular for anyone to advocate its discontinuance. Several Negro players are now on the Sally League teams and the Southern Association. In the major leagues the practice is now nine years old, or since Jackie Robinson's entrance in 1947.

I recently talked with a senior student from Macon, Ga., who attends Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga. He was attending the basketball tournament and was a guest in my home. He said that he knew personally the three players on the Macon team. They are fine, upstanding fellows and are held in high esteem by both races. Both their conduct and baseball finesse bid for them a higher berth in top leagues.

Prejudice causes one to see what he pleases but not see what is plain. And few things are stronger than prejudice. A crazy sentimentalism like that of Peter the Hermit hurled half of Europe against Asia and changed the destinies of kingdoms. Votes and popularity are too costly when paid for at the price of unfairness and ill will and ignoring the favorable attitudes towards race adjustments.

CHARLES W. KELLY.
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Publish It Not In The Streets Of Askelon—XXXII.

advertiser Thurs. 2-27-57 Montgomery, Ala.

THE last Askelon excursion was in the July 29, 1956, edition of *The Montgomery Advertiser*. We had leads jotted down that could have carried it on for another 31 installments, but we felt we had made our point and stacked arms.

However, the other day there came a hankering, almost sentimental, to revisit some of the Askelon sites for a sampling of whether the Northern press was now printing or suppressing its own race strife news, or if it was being crowded out by Southern race strife news.

P. 4

The answer is, in the case of the three Detroit papers, that they are still shamelessly suppressing Detroit race strife news.

The Northern press roars and burps about the government's forbidding U.S. reporters to enter Red China, but the Detroit papers won't permit their own reporters to cover a mob action against a Negro within spitting distance of their presses.

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BUT before we cite the chapter and verse of the Detroit newspaper scandal, it may be well to anticipate the devious, muling & puling quibble that by putting the glare on Northern race strife, *The Advertiser* is only trying to change the subject from Southern race strife, or to excuse it by process of "you're another."

This sniveling is infantile. The world's press has reported the Montgomery story until it is utterly exhausted.

As for *The Advertiser*, it has received widespread recognition for the thoroughness of its local race strife coverage. *Advertiser* subscribers are not left in the dark about mob actions in Montgomery. When the bombs burst, we went so far as to issue an Extra at 5 o'clock in the morning. Our editorial position on violence is clear and repetitious.

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A THIRD of the American Negro is now in the North with thousands more on the way. If Negroes are having the misfortune to encounter resistance and violence in the Northern paradise, the phenomenon reveals a new aspect of the nature of the American race problem.

But if the Northern press is as derelict in printing race strife news, as contemptuous of the "People's Right To Know," as the Detroit papers, then America is left to believe that the trouble inheres exclusively in the Southern white devils and the national approach to the grievous race problem is ignorant and therefore dangerous.

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THE Northern press has much to answer for in not illuminating the true nature of the melancholy race problem by reporting white attitudes in the North, home to a third of U.S. colored citizens.

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NOW to a solid illustration with the Detroit press.

In the Feb. 13 edition of *The Advertiser* and other Southern papers, readers read an Associated Press story about a Detroit mob action:

DETROIT, Feb. 12 (AP) — Police maintained an around the clock guard today at the home of a Negro who

moved into an all-white northwest Detroit neighborhood Feb. 1. Posting of the guard followed the dispersing of a protesting crowd at the home last night . . . Police estimated 200 white persons gathered at the home last night, but said they dispersed quietly and without incident when ordered to do so . . . Mrs. Watkins [the Negro seamstress] called police when she found a crowd shouting insults when she got home last night. She said she was told to "enter at your own risk" . . . 25 policemen were dispatched.

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A COLUMN by column examination of the late editions of Detroit's three newspapers (one was 76 pages) *failed to show a single line about this mob action!*

Can you imagine what the Detroit papers would have done with a story that 200 white Montgomerians had moved on the home of a colored citizen?

The three Detroit papers kept that news from Detroit citizens. Thus Montgomerians, with *The Advertiser's* AP story before them, knew about a mob action in Detroit that Detroit citizens know nothing about.

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BUT the Feb. 13 editions of the Detroit papers abounded in news about race turmoil in faroff Montgomery under the magnolias.

For example, *The Detroit Times* had a two-column head over the 48th anniversary of the NAACP. The story quoted a white parson, the Rev. Glenn P. Smiley, who was identified as an integration battler on the Montgomery, Ala., front, as telling the Detroit crowd:

"The segregation matter is sitting on the conscience of the South while the whole world watches . . . They may burn their crosses but we will bear ours."

On the next page there was another two-column head over a story:

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Advertiser

To Old Grandma

Jan. 2-22-57

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The Negro's Leadership

Montgomery, Ala.

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — I am alarmed over the continued complaint that the present racial unrest is communist-inspired. From my point of view, the Negro in his efforts toward full democracy in America has turned to his ministers for guidance and direction.

P. 4

Suppose, instead, he had turned to communism or to some left-wing radical organization in our country.

The NAACP itself is standing altogether on the decision of law, and to my way of thinking, there is nothing radical, wrong, illegal, or un-American in that. If there is, I should like to be informed how it can be so considered.

The use of lawlessness and of violence against a legal position is not entitled to public sympathy and can not be defended in any way.

A. M. TOLLIVER.

Route 3, Montgomery.

Wrong Man

Editor, The Advertiser:

Where did W. W. Rogers [Confederate Inaugural, Feb. 18] get Alexander *M. Stevens* as vice president of the Confederacy? It is *Alexander Hamilton Stephens!* A. L. CULLENS.

Ozark, Ala.

Y Omission

Editor, The Advertiser:

In Madera Spencer's Feb. 13 column, "Woman's Way," she praised Bill Chandler and Chuck Ploegsma for their fine work at the YMCA with the youth of Montgomery.

We agree with her wholeheartedly in this aspect but we feel that she should have added that Bill and Chuck work mostly with the senior Hi-Y's and Tri-Hi-Y's of the city.

In view of that fact, it is our belief that Edgar Benoist's name should also have been mentioned for his wonderful work with the junior Hi-Y's and Tri-Hi-Y's.

As members of a ninth grade junior Tri-Hi-Y we feel truly grateful for all of the time and effort Ed has spent with us helping us to become better club members and better people.

For this reason we feel that it is only right for Ed to receive due recognition for his fine work.

KAPPA PHI TRI-HI-Y,
By ANNE BRANCH.

Montgomery.

AA Open Meeting

Editor, The Advertiser:

The Montgomery group of Alcoholics Anonymous will hold an open meeting at the Whitley Hotel at 8 o'clock Friday night, Feb. 22.

To create a better understanding of our purposes and activities and to tell you something about alcoholism we are extending an invitation to all civic leaders, law enforcement agencies, city, county and state officials, the clergy, medical and nursing societies, the Bar Association, all public health agencies, parent and teacher groups, industrial leaders, merchants and other interested persons to attend this meeting.

Our speaker on this occasion will be a well known Mississippi man who is qualified to speak on the subject. He is one of over 200,000 men and women in over 6,000 AA groups in the United States and 50 foreign countries who has found recovery through Alcoholics Anonymous.

You are also invited to attend a reception in our club room at 21 South Perry Street, following the meeting.

MONTGOMERY GROUP, ALCOHOLICS ANONYMOUS, Montgomery.

Washington Cowboys

The Cody, Wyoming, Enterprise

FARM JOURNAL points out a fact that is all too evident when the magazine observes that many rural people feel they have no choice but to get aboard the government gravy train.

Then the magazine strikes a brighter note, saying "There are exceptions though—important and powerful." It singles out the head of the American National Cattlemen's Association as one of these. He is the ranchman from the hard-hit drouth country—but even so, he has strongly criticized federal price supports and related schemes as "sorry examples of what happens when Washington cowboys rush in to 'help' the farmer." And, he also contends, that the "cow business is nearing a solid, prosperous era."

It is certainly to be hoped that this forecast proves accurate, and there are many signs of a factual nature that indicate it will be. However — entirely aside from what happens to meat and livestock prices and production in the future—it will be a sad day for the producers if they turn to government to solve their problems. So far, to their great credit, they have had the self-reliance and good judgment to avoid doing that. They have kept their independence, and accepted the lean as well as the fat. If government ever moves in with livestock price support or other major controls, that independence will be gone with the wind. It has always been true that the man who pays the piper calls the tune and it always will be so.

Our own Cattlemen's association of Park County has been keeping close watch. Its president, at a recent meeting, urged an enlarged membership.

He wanted that large membership for "lobbying purposes." But, not the way most organizations do. The cattlemen are forced, believe it or not, to go to Washington to lobby *against* price support legislation—not for it. An unusual situation in our day and age of "gimme this, gimme that."

★ Tell It ★

Advertiser

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Montgomery, Ala.

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All Men Are Brothers

Wed. 3-6-57

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Permit me to comment on Judge Jones column, "I Speak For The White Race," which appeared in Monday's paper.

I am sure that the Judge is a sincere person who speaks with justifiable pride on the achievements over thousands of years of our white peoples. The Negro can point with pride to many eminent Negroes; certainly we must agree that in less than 100 years out of slavery, the Negro in America has done remarkably well in site of severe handicaps.

P. 4-A

Such pride is natural but should not lead us to believe that one race is superior to another. Differences in the color of skin, hair, etc., are but accidental differences for we are all members of the same human race, created by the One God for whom there is neither white nor black, American nor German, Jew nor gentile, for we are all brothers in Jesus Christ.

In the two years I have lived in Montgomery I have enjoyed reading your fine paper, especially your excellent editorial page, although I don't always agree with your editorial opinion.

(MRS.) ELIZABETH WALSH.

Montgomery.

Must Reading

Editor, The Advertiser:

Every human being in these United States should read Judge Jones' article "Off The Bench" in Monday's *Advertiser*. I am sending a clipping to Sen. Humphrey. A. B. CHAMPION.

Montgomery.

31 1957

All's Well That Ends Well

In today's *Advertiser* we carry a quite agreeable conclusion to a travelogue item on the city of Minneapolis. Thanks to the enterprise of the *Minneapolis Star*, we are running a page picturing eight young Montgomery women snapped on the street and eight from Minneapolis. The *Star* is doing something similar.

Advertiser

This is the graceful and appropriate end to some variously hissing and sensible Montgomery - Minneapolis exchanges growing out of some travel notes written by this editor after a five-day sojourn in Minneapolis.

We forehandedly labeled our dispatch "obviously superficial" and allowed that we might be mistaken. It was not advertised as a Brookings institution survey. But a number of both Minnesotans and Montgomerians wrote us as if we had made a claim of a long and thorough study of the looks and dress of Minneapolitans.

Mon. 1-21-57

The most arresting thing was the sputtering contention that we "had no right" to criticize Minneapolis. This was particularly interesting when it came from Montgomerians, for no city in this country has been so criticized and lied about as Montgomery.

The criticism of any and all things, sacred or profane, is a foundation of our government and society. It is in Russia that criticism is stifled in science, art and government to the detriment of progress.

Montgomerians have no restraint about abuse of the U.S. Supreme Court, but many did not think we should question the appeal of the snoods of Minneapolis girls.

Montgomery, Ala.

Montgomerians are slanderous in their estimates of Senator Humphrey of Minnesota, but many didn't think the editor had a right to suggest that Minneapolitans appeared glum.

Last year *The Minneapolis Tribune* dispatched its famous Negro reporter, Carl Rowan, to the Montgomery flyway. What he wrote would outrage many Montgomerians. But his "right" to criticize Montgomery was never questioned.

P. 2

A great metropolis like Minneapolis is as fair game for criticism as an opera performance, a movie, a play, a book, a football team, a governor or Mamie's bangs. And lest it be thought that we reck not our own rede, we remark you that no week passes but what *The Advertiser* doesn't print letters denouncing the paper.

Criticism is the generator of awareness and progress. Minneapolis and Montgomery now know more about each other. Harmony is restored. If the editor was wrong about the dress of Minneapolis women, they will continue to dress as before. If the editor was not entirely mistaken, then Minneapolitans may take stock.

As for the editor, he has assuredly learned something in the process — it ain't so easy as you think to walk out on Dexter and in five minutes photograph eight Montgomery girls who are good looking from head to toe and at the same time dressed modishly. If you think otherwise, try it.

The eight Montgomerians presented, however, are a Montgomery triumph, but it took some—er—doing.

ADVERTISER (MONTGOMERY, ALA.)

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Wed. 2-13-57 P. 4

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Montgomery, Ala.

Grotesque And Irresponsible

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Your very thoughtful editorial Feb. 10 discussing the fact that a Methodist publication, *The Adult Student*, printed a recent article setting forth the incredible idea that the leader of the Montgomery bus boycott, the Rev. M. L. King, is an "exceptional saint," will provoke wide concern in Methodist circles.

The use of official literature to promote radical programs of racial integration has been a source of embarrassment not only to Methodists but to the members of other denominations. How long the rank and rile of church members will support church agencies and periodicals whose policies defy individual convictions, no one can say. We do know that there is a growing chorus of protest.

It is difficult to associate the grotesque and irresponsible statement by the author of *Adult Student* article, Dr. Claude Thompson, with the institution in which he holds a professorship. The Candler School of Theology of Emory University is one of the best training centers for young ministers in the Methodist Church. Its official head, Dr. William R. Cannon, is certainly one of the ablest and sanest leaders in the field of theological education.

However ill conceived, it would be kind to think that Dr. Thompson wrote without accurate knowledge of the facts of the Montgomery bus boycott, whose results in the loss of friendship and good will among the races have been tragic for all concerned. It began in violence when buses were fired upon and people were beaten or threatened to prevent riding on buses. In some of the churches where meetings were held there was an unertone of bitterness and even hatred.

Some solution must be found to counteract the work of agitators and professional propagandists who seek fame and fortune even though they destroy the spirit of understanding and mutual helpfulness so many years in the making.

Each race has its customs and its destiny. There are customs that will be maintained, not because they are old, but because they are sensible. They are deeply rooted in the experience of the past and in the convictions of the present.

It is nothing less than an abomination when men try to use the sacred institution of the church, and distort the teachings of Christ and the Apostles, to give pious reinforcement to schemes to achieve radical social changes.

For more than a century the Methodist Church in the South has carried on a strong and aggressive program of building schools and colleges for Negro youth. Some of our ablest leaders—Bishop William Capers, Bisho Atticus G. Haygood, Bishop Warren A. Candler—gave much of their time to this cause. But they dealt in facts, not fancies, and they avoided extremists.

Good people in all denominations have grown weary of seeing their church and its agencies used by propagandists to build sentiment for racial integration. What was born in the efforts of scheming politicians to control the Negro vote in key American cities, aided and abetted by profitable "betterment" organizations, does not call for a new system of political theology that damns everything and everybody as unchristian because they do not accept a false application of what the Bible teaches.

[THE REV.] G. STANLEY FRAZER.
St. James Methodist Church, Montgomery.

◆

Fred Gray's Patriotism

Editor, The Advertiser:

It is interesting to note that Gen. Lewis Hershey is now attempting to absolve himself of all connection with the Fred Gray draft-dodging affair. The same strategy is being followed by many J-Birds who would like to have a chance in any future elections.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that Hershey's office, if not Hershey himself, ordered the deferment on false grounds and stalled until Fred passed the age for induction.

We shall now see the irony of the situation which this has caused. Fred Gray, who by shirking from his military obligations has proved himself a third-class citizen, will be defending his clients as first-class citizens and invoking the latterday revelations of the Supreme Court to defend the rights guaranteed to his clients by a constitution which Fred Gray himself is either too cowardly or too mercenary to defend by military service. I include "mercenary" because I am certain the U.S. Army does not pay so well as does the NAACP.

And lest we forget, the sons of other American mothers, both white and colored, did not have the choice offered to them which the NAACP offered Gray.

WILLIAM A. DAVIS.
Montgomery.

◆

Wise Up

Editor, The Advertiser:

I have been wondering if all I have been reading in the papers about racial matters is true, if so I have a lot of whys I would like to find an answer to.

Why, if white people work together too. Mixing with white people will not pool money together and build together make them any color but black. White for a better future for our children, we will not rub off on any of them.

Why not take the money collected don't sit on our hands and demand what from the NAACP, build better housing someone else has. I am of the working projects for the colored, better their living conditions by teaching them better health and education, use the money class of white people, I am not rich nor poor, yet I would not dream of demanding the social set accept me on their

ice. King uses for airplane rides and lawup yer fees to build your own parks, theaite tre, churches—instead of wasting the ge money and depending on the white man not to give you these things. I say get yourselves a wise leader and lead your people to progress and better way of life. These things will do more good for your ng race than all the rubbing elbows with white people.

MRS. J. SMITH.
Montgomery.

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Advertiser Sun. 1-20-57

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Montgomery, Ala.

Wielding God's Sword

EDITOR THE ADVERTISER—Sir: Because of the recent "incidents" concerning segregation I wish to express in brief my feelings concerning this matter.

I cannot imagine what madness drove someone to do those terrible things: bombing, shooting, etc. I believe the communists are largely responsible for a great deal of the trouble and then, the *ignorant* white people.

As for myself, I feel sorry for the Negro and I think they are the most suppressed race in the world. Furthermore, I believe something should be done about it.

What is it that causes such hatred? Perhaps, it is because from our very beginning hate is shot into us like a vaccine Many hate the idealist who dreams of a better world, the wise man for his wisdom, and the colored man for his color. This crucifixion and terrorizing will strengthen no earthly good, prove nothing, teach nothing, begin or end nothing.

Many believe it will! I could do nothing to hurt any race or creed for my hand is not the hand to wield God's sword. Those looking for someone to carry their banner so they can hide until they wish to reach out and spread fear, those looking for a cause who cast their lot with those who spread terror, will find nothing, no one, nowhere, because suddenly they will reach and immense edge.

That is what happens to people who try to play God.

A great task lies before us. A task which needs help from God more than from man. I am 18 years old and am the daughter of the late Joe McCoy, capital news reporter for *The Advertiser*.

[MISS] AMANDA E. McCOY

Montgomery.

Rev. King And Christianity

Editor, The Advertiser.

In answer to Helen L. Golston's letter appearing in your paper of Feb. 8.

We doubt Martin Luther King Jr. having heard either the voice of God or the devil. He is too busy reaping rich rewards. Any student of the Bible is aware that he is not teaching or preaching the Christian religion. God is the ruler of this universe, and he teacher love, which embraces humilitay, long-suffering, kindness, peace, and all the qualities that go to uplift the human race. King teaches qualities such as hate, fear, greed, self-will, dissatisfaction, and all that goes to break down peace and harmony.

When the Negro can become proud of his race and not ashamed that he is black, then he will stand up for complete separation of races where the good qualities of his race can be counted.

Sun. 2-12-57

She said, "We work, pay all required taxes and just want to enjoy all of the benefits of these taxes." The white man pays 91% of the taxes, the Negro 9%. The Negro receives 86% of the welfare and the whites 14%. It seems the Negro race is getting more than its share. The Negro has forgotten to count his blessings.

MARTHA BLOCK.

Greenville. Ala.

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Advertiser

Integration Truce

p 4A

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Whereas the President of the U.S. has found it necessary to resort to drastic means to "uphold his vow to enforce the Constitution" (if carrying out the directive of the Supreme Court whose interpretation of the 14th Amendment—which was passed by the states under duress, is such) and whereas more harm has been done and far more trouble will be encountered under the present pursuit, I, therefore respectfully [propose] a movement which will in due course of events bring to the attention of the President of the need of a period of truce, during such truce all forms of integration will be put on a purely voluntary basis, *until the 14th Amendment has officially been accepted or rejected by the three-fourths majority of the states.*

Montgomery Ala

RALPH ROBERTS,
Ex-Member Republican State Executive Committee, *Resigned*, Eufaula, Ala.

Wed 10-2-57

Civil War Memories

Editor, The Advertiser:

The use of bayonets on citizens of Little Rock reminds me of an experience my mother had during the Civil War.

Early one morning, following a sharp skirmish between Federal and Confederate troops, Federal troops appeared at the home of my grandfather. Though an old man not able to bear arms, they took him prisoner and rounded up all the slaves, including the cook from the kitchen, loaded them in wagons and took them to the Federal camp 15 miles distant. One small girl hid behind my mother's hoop skirt, but a trooper found her. Caroline the cook said that she was her child, but that she had given her to Miss Katie. My mother, a defiant young rebel of 17, stood her ground and put her arms about her small maid. But the soldier prodded her with his bayonet until she had to relinquish the child. These Negroes were never seen again. It is thought that these friendly slaves would have returned if possible; but about that time a small pox epidemic swept through the Federal camps and it is thought the slaves may have died. My grandfather, an upright elderly old gentleman, was forced to walk the 15 miles to camp and kept for three days without food or water before being released.

To those of us who came along in the Reconstruction era, the words Federal and bayonets bring back thoughts of Gettysburg, Thad Stevens and carpetbaggers and all such unwelcome memories. History repeats itself in a President of today as did one of that long gone day, ignoring his promises with regard to Federal troops.

Orrville, Ala. MRS. L. S. MOSELEY.

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Strength In Unity

Editor, The Advertiser:

The Republican Party, the inner council of the Democratic National Committee, and the NAACP are fast moving in for the attempted political reconstruction of the South, and for the integration of the races through the medium of the public schools. This brings about direct threat against every Southern home.

Through organization the white men and women of the South stopped in its tracks the integration drive of 1954 and 1955.

Through organization, our senators and congressmen recently destroyed the integration paragraph of the civil rights bill.

The route of attack against us this time is through the courts. The humiliating defeat in Arkansas, where the governor's attorneys walked out of court without even offering their evidence, has only served to encourage those who would destroy the institutions of our fathers.

Only through an immediate, determined and closely-knit organization by the Southern governors and attorneys general can these impending southwide legal battles be effectively fought.

The hour is at hand when the top-flight political leaders of the South must choose whom they will serve. Will it be the gods of national political ambition as so chosen by Govs. Collins of Florida and McKeldin of Maryland? Or will it be the great body of the people of the South, who are so greatly concerned not only for their children, but for their children's children?

Only in unity is there real strength.

Lexington, Miss. EDWIN WHITE.

◆

Negro Boycott

Editor, The Advertiser:

If Mr. Eisenhower even wants to correct his awful mistake and wants to really stop integration in a hurry, let him induce the Southern white man to put on a 100% boycott against the Negroes. A. T. BEASLEY.

Ramer, Ala.

◆

The Ike Buttons Are Gone

Editor, The Advertiser:

Since reading your good editorial, letters to *Old Grandma* and what state and out-of-state papers are saying, I vision a severe storm of anti-Ike sentiment brewing.

The "I Like Ike" button seems to have been lost in the South.

Greenville, Ala. M. L. PIERCE.

Matter Of Fact

By Joseph And Stewart Alsop

LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

ONE native of this unhappy city used an odd phrase to describe the situation here. "It's kind of like you put a dragon in a wooden hog-box," he said. "That dragon is sure as hell gonna escape."

Advertiser

In the last few days here, the dragon has all too visibly escaped from the box. For what has happened here has revealed, with awful clarity, the bitter tensions that underly the placid surface of American life.

Little Rock: The Dragon In The Box

Little Rock is, after all, a rather typical American town—throughout the crisis, life has gone on here much as elsewhere, with fall bargain sales and bridge teas and meetings of the Optimists Club. Little Rock is not even a real Deep South town—the proportion of Negroes here is not much more than half that in Washington, D. C., and there is nothing here like the solid Negro city-within-the-city you find in Philadelphia or New York or Chicago.

p 4A

Little Rock's race relations have been uneventful in recent years, and the racial extremists have found no support in the press, which is not true in some other Southern towns. The Negroes vote here in important numbers, and the Little Rock integration plan is more symbolic than real.

For such reasons, knowledgeable people have advertised Little Rock's integration in advance as a model of what peaceful integration ought to be. Instead, the dragon of racial violence has escaped, leading to the greatest constitutional crisis since the Civil War. And the end, almost certainly, is not yet.

Montgomery

To be sure, Orval Faubus, Arkansas' devious and ambitious governor, let the dragon out of the box. The point not to overlook is that the dragon was there all the time, lurking beneath the calm exterior of this seemingly typical American city.

Sat 9-28-57

THE unreasoning fears and frustrations and ugly hates which surround the race issue—and not only in the South—have boiled horribly to the surface. You could read them on the contorted faces of the housewives screaming outside the high school on Monday morning, or in the sheepish-secret-sullen faces of the crowds retreating before federal bayonets on Wednesday.

The optimists believe that President Eisenhower's intervention has nailed the dragon in the box again. It will, in the words of one optimist, "restore the doctrine of inevitability." Even the most passionate extremists will recognize that some degree of integration is inevitable, and when the federal troops are withdrawn, local police will be able to protect the Negro children in the high school, and maintain order.

Others are not so sure. In the streets around the school house on Wednesday morning, you could hear muttered phrases in the sullen crowds: "They're gonna have to pull out those soldiers some time," or "If they want a fight, by God they'll get a fight."

Even the optimists admit that the ugliest sort of racial violence is still possible here, whether in the city itself beyond the reach of the troops at the school house, or at the school after the troops have been withdrawn. But even if the optimists are right, and the dragon is safely nailed in the hog-box here in Little Rock, what has started here is unlikely to end here.

For it is grimly significant that even his bitterest enemies agree that, as of today, Orval Faubus is a hero in Arkansas. If an election were held tomorrow, he would win hands down against all comers. The Faubus formula for political success might read as follows: Defy the federal government, and thus create a situation in which mob violence and federal intervention are inevitable, and bask thereafter in the warm glow of popular approval. The meaning of the Faubus formula is not lost, surely, on other politicians of the Faubus stripe.

ALREADY, moreover, the extremists have achieved a blackmail power in a good many parts of the South, so that it takes real courage to take a moderate stand in public. Interview a moderate on the integration issue in Little Rock today, and you are almost certain to hear the timid, meaningful phrase: "But don't quote me."

On the other side of the ledger are the good sense of the majority of Southerners, and the recognition by responsible Southern leaders that violence is a sharp-cutting, two-edged sword. But Little Rock makes one thing clear. If the dragon is not to escape from the hog-box again, and in an even more terrible way, President Eisenhower must achieve a near-miracle of national leadership, at once boldly firm and infinitely coutious For no one who has witnessed the ugly events in Little Rock in the last few days could doubt that there is in the racial issue the stuff to tear the country to pieces.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Mon. Ala.

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Tues. 10-8-57

The Race Issue And Vote Buying

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—It is the unquestionable duty of every citizen of the United States to abide by the Constitution. That includes the legislative, judicial, and executive bodies as well as other citizens. But when the legislative, the judicial and the executive, all fail to recognize and obey the Constitution how could the others be expected to do so?

All three branches named above are guilty of one if not all three of the following: Failure to abile by the Constitution, negligence, or just plain perfidy. To establish these accusations let's go first to the Supreme Court and work back to ourselves.

In 1954 when the Supreme Court ruled that it was unconstitutional to separate the schools (which we know was not true and the Supreme Court before them knew it was not true), that was as far as they had any constitutional power to go. The Constitution gives them that power. They also have the power to issue restraining orders But they do not have any constitutional power to make a law nor change any law that is in existence.

The legislative branch has been negligent in their duties by not demanding that the judiciary confine themselves to their own constitutional field and to stay out of the legislative, not only in the race issue, but many others.

When President Eisenhower took the oath of office, he swore, together with other things, that he woud abide by, uphold and protect the Constitution of the United States and that he would execute the laws of the same. When he allowed the Supreme Court to invade or take over the constitutional work of Congress, which work the Congress alone can do, he became a party to the most unconstitutional act I know anything about, and in [illegible]e broke his oath of office.

[illegible] being content with that he acknowledged that the prejudice decision of the Supreme Court was a law and proceeded to enforce it as such. When Eisenhower ordered the troops to Little Rock he did it in violation of the Constitution, which made it a criminal assault and invasion of the sovereign state of Arkansas. He should be impeached and prosecuted as other criminals for perjury and for criminal assault with mob-force on the state of Arkansas. I challenge Ike or anyone else to show that there is a law on the staute books of the country that demands that the white and Negro children be mixed or integrated in school rooms or any other place.

We all know that this disgraceful mess was not started because of good will or love for the Negro, but is only an exclusively competitive bidding by the Democratic and Republican parties for the Negro vote. Vote buying in any form is disgraceful, and destructive to our government, and is being carried on by crooks all over our country. but never in the history of the United States has any people sold their vote as high as the Negroes are selling theirs. They are selling to the highest bidders and the price being paid is our constitutional rights for states and the individual rights of the citizens. This includes our privilege to choose our associates and to choose whom our children shall mix with in our schools, places of entertainment, and recreation.

We of the Solid South have voted as a bloc with the Democratic Party so long that they, the leaders of the party, feel they could not possibly lose our vote, therefore, there is no necessity for them to consider our rights, necessities, wishes, or well-being. They consider that we are so stupid they could not drive us away. Their conclusion is that there is no use to "pet" a dog to keep him with you when you could not run him off if you tried. We have given them plenty of evidence to justify that conclusion.

G. F. GRANTHAM
Rt. 2, Red Level, Ala.

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Advice To Negroes

Editor, The Advertiser:

Now don't think I am trying to be smart, for I am not. I have tried to keep quiet, but I am forced to speak in behalf of God's people.

As a preacher of the word and with 70 years of experience and with the Holy Spirit guiding, I am writing these works of advice. The condition as I see it is the worst it has ever been.

To my colored friends: If I was a colored man and if one of my children wanted to go to a white school, I would take him behind the house and give him or her what Patty gave the drum. And if one of these agitators came to see me I would give him what David gave Gollath.

Colored people, forget the Supreme Court ruling and keep your way of life. And you will keep your good white friends. If you don't you are going to lose the goose that feathered your nest.

I am praying that you will see the light. REV. A. M. CARTER.
Troy, Ala.

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Pharmacy Week

Editor, The Advertiser:

Oct. 6-13 is National Pharmacy Week.

In the United States there are over 105,000 licensed pharmacists, each is not only a highly trained scientist, but also a trusted friend, ready to help us every day of the week, every week of the year.

Each is a graduate of a college of pharmacy. Each has served an internship under a registered pharmacist. Each has passed a rigid, written examination as proof of his proficiency.

Well we might pause and reflect this week—we're mighty fortunate to have such men in our community.

Montgomery. ED BLASTOW

Morale Of Southern White At Low Ebb, Declares Editor

Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala.
Tues. 11-19-57

ATLANTA, Nov. 18—Grover C. Hall, editor-in-chief of The Montgomery Advertiser, said in a lecture tonight at Emory University that "the morale of the Southern white man is poor today."

"Externally, three quarters of the nation are coming against the South's race pattern astride the federal government apparatus," Hall said. "Internally, the Negro, educated and made competent by the Southern white, is making it a two-front war for the South. The Southern white sees himself losing battle after battle, though he has not yet lost the war and probably will not. He feels abandoned, lonely and frustrated. His best brains are giving less and less leadership, leaving the resistance to pennyweight, blow-hard politicians who are captives of the population."

"The people who should be speaking out today are more and more silent," Hall observed. "Public passion has mounted to the point that the bigot is able to say, 'You are either with us or against us.' Thoughtful people have less stomach for defying what seems to be the ruling viewpoint. Thus the Negro may take credit for imposing an increasingly rigid conformity on white thought and discussion."

"One of the things that properly wounds the Southern whites in these days of the NAACP swagger stick," Hall thought, "is that he is given scant credit for what he has and is doing for the Negro. He never did as much as he should, but he doesn't even get credit anymore for his paternalism. The Southern white today is seeing that perverse, strange characteristic of human nature which allows a man to hate those who have helped him most."

A Slap At Editors

Advertiser

CHARLES CITY (IOWA) PRESS

Montgomery Ala.

NORTHERN editors have been taken to task by Grover C. Hall Jr., editor of *The Montgomery Advertiser*.

In the latest Mason-Dixon rhubarb growing out of the school integration crisis, he accuses them of taking a pious attitude toward law enforcement in this sphere but of being hypocritical in others.

Hall agrees that violence must be prevented but he attacks the contention that unless nine little colored children are kept in Little Rock's Central high school, "anarchy" will prevail, our "free institutions will perish" and we will be faced with "dissolution of the Union."

Then he takes editors to ask for violating Oklahoma's prohibition law in the presence of Vice President Nixon and Gov. Raymond Gary of Oklahoma. He described a reception held at the National Conference of Editorial Writers session in Oklahoma City at which Nixon and Gary were guests.

"There are 90 editors present and they represent leading newspapers in every section," Hall wrote. "Many of them have written law-of-the-land sermons and calls to arms, but there they are in defiance of the Oklahoma law of the land, holding highballs in one hand and shaking the hand of the vice president with the other."

NIXON sipped beer, which is legal in Oklahoma, and Gary, who is a teetotaler, abstained from drinking any beverage. Hall asks: "Why didn't Gary send for the police?" He also complains about northern editors' lack of "gnashing of teeth," cries of "anarchy" prevailing in Oklahoma, demands that the "law must be obeyed" lest the state government lose its authority and fall apart.

Let's concede in the general atmosphere of embarrassment that the Montgomery editor has a point. Americans have done more in their attitude and conduct surrounding the use of liquor to break down respect for law enforcement generally than in any other area. The problem is by no means confined to dry Oklahoma. A great many of our citizens living throughout the United States don't conscientiously bring their personal conduct into harmony with either the laws that govern our society or to the principles in which we believe and subscribe.

STILL two wrongs don't make a right and in this respect Editor Hall produced a comparative mouse. While we are sympathetic with the magnitude of the school integration problem in the South and urge patience and consideration, our federal Constitution cannot be ignored. Neither can a United States Supreme Court decision as long as this country gives the high court the authority to interpret our laws.

Getting down to the Little Rock situation, which is the inspiration for the Southern editor's tirade, President Eisenhower had no choice but to send in troops to enforce integration. A federal court order was being disobeyed and there was danger of more violence, possibly a lynching. If he hadn't acted there would have been a complete breakdown of the law in this area in all other Southern and border states. Indeed anarchy would have been encouraged and extremists would have taken over. He should not be condemned for taking his oath of office seriously, for recognizing his responsibility and for acting affirmatively on it.

-- THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

AND RIGHT IN OUR OWN BACK YARD

Race Trouble In Philadelphia

The Philadelphia Inquirer

PHILADELPHIA does not have to look to Little Rock, or even Levittown, to see interracial problems and tensions at work. There are plenty of them right here and it does no good — and may cause considerable harm — to act as though they did not exist.

For the last two weeks, for instance, this city has been swept by a wave of teenage riotings, gang fights and savage beatings.

Attempts to belittle these outbreaks as routine manifestations of juvenile delinquency, without racial overtones, evade the issue and run away from the facts. Most of the fights and the beatings have had Negroes and whites on opposite sides; in many cases there was evidence of deliberate plotting by one or both parties to "get" the other.

Immediate incitement for the acts of violence was provided by the events in Little Rock: Gov. Faubus' defiance of a federal court order calling for the admission of Negro children in a previously all-white school; his employment of armed force to exclude the children; and President Eisenhower's dramatic upholding of the law by the use of Army troops that assured safe passage of the Negro pupils and the repression of mob violence: these developments have had repercussions in some city neighborhoods and schools where inter-racial hostility has been a factor.

That only a very small proportion of Philadelphia's school-age children are affected by this problem does not lessen its importance.

RECENT days in Philadelphia have witnessed a savage gang attack on a white girl in a school yard at night; a vicious stabbing of a white boy, that severed part of his spinal cord and may bar him from walking again; the beating of a Negro boy by six whites; the clubbing of a white boy on the face with a milk bottle by a Negro gang; the injury of other boys, Negro and white, in a series of corner fights and gang sorties.

This is only a partial list, but it points up the senseless savagery that has marked the teenage fighting. It gives warning also of what might happen should the outbreaks in Philadelphia persist and take on aggravated and more dangerous form, with perhaps adult support and participation. Race conflict, once sparked, can have explosive consequences.

What should be done?

First of all, Philadelphia should recognize that inter-racial problems are not solved by pretending they are not there.

Secondly, the immediate issue of street-corner and back-alley gang violence should be met by forceful police action.

Finally, and most important, the city of Philadelphia should take over-all action to ease inter-racial tension; to get at the sources of teenage troublemaking in the schools and in certain sections of the city and to promote regard for the rights of all citizens, whatever their race, color or religion.

THE responsible authorities and agencies in Philadelphia, headed by the mayor, should make their leadership felt in this crisis. They should act before further, and possibly much more serious, trouble develops.

As a starter, Mayor Dilworth should set up a meeting, or series of meetings, with community leaders, Negro and white, who could help develop a practicable program. Our Negro citizens are as desirous as any one else to have law and order upheld, and violence and conflict averted. Their leaders in many fields, including law, politics and religion, could provide invaluable aid to the city administration in coping with the teenage outbreaks.

There are many others the mayor would doubtless consult: representatives of religious faiths, school officials and teachers, social workers, Community Chest representatives, officials of city and state welfare agencies, individuals connected with neighborhood and social clubs and, of course, the police.

The agitation of extremists has been at work, here as in other parts of the country, setting American against American, race against race. It is time for leadership, forthright and courageous, to act on behalf of all the people, before a dangerous situation gets out of hand.

Off The Bench

Advertiser

By Judge Walter B. Jones

Montgomery, Ala.

Mar 10, 1957

'Federal Invasion Of Arkansas In The Light Of The Constitution'

THOUGHTFUL people, who believe in the supremacy of the civil power over the military power and who revere the Constitution of the United States, were amazed and shocked a few weeks ago when President Eisenhower sent 2,000 armed federal troops into Little Rock and at the same time brought into the federal service nearly 9,000 Arkansas guardsmen.

JONES

Only those who have never learned the lessons of American history and who wish the Constitution to mean one thing today, another tomorrow, and to be changed and amended by the Supreme Court of the United States, and who are willing for it to be made the instrument of a political party, make any defense whatever of the President's action, this action judged by both the letter and the spirit of the Constiution is absolutely indefensible. The sad and regrettable thing is that President Eisenhower absolutely went back on his word. So, in the future, no one can put any great amount of trust in what the President has to say on the subject of federal troops. The marching of these troops into Little Rock, armed with bayonets as if going into battle against a foreign foe, is but the beginning of a Second Reconstruction of the South, and we people down South will be foolish to give it any other meaning.

R. Carter Pittman, a great American and a distinguished constitutional lawyer, living at Dalton, Ga., has made the finest statement I have ever yet seen, showing the absolute defiance of every provision of the federal Constitution by President Eisenhower.

I WISH SPACE here permitted me to copy the article in full, but from it, I do quote the following paragraphs relating to the federal invasion of Arkansas. There are two provisions of the Constitution bearing on the subject, says Mr. Pittman:

"One relating to the use of federalized state troops appears in Article I and the other relating to the use of federal troops appears in Article IV of the Constitution. The latter provides that the United States shall protect each state "against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

"Obviously, there has been no invasion or threatened invasion of Arkansas, hence the President had no authority to send federal troops into Arkansas, except upon the application of the Legislature of Arkansas for the purpose of putting down domestic violence. The Legislature of Arkansas did not ask for federal troops and since there is no reason why it could not be convened, the Governor of Arkansas has no authority to call on the resident to send federal troops. If the Governor of Arkansas had such authority he has not exercised it. Therefore, the President had no authority to send federal troops into Arkansas under any fair construction of Section 4 of Article IV or of any other provision of the Constitution.

"The other provision relating to the use of military force by the President, in Section 8 of Article I, empowers the Congress 'to provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection and repel invasion.'

"Obviously, there was no insurrection to be suppressed and no invasion to be repelled in Arkansas; therefore, the Congress had no power to authorize the President to call forth, or federalize the state troops or militia of Arkansas, unless it was 'to execute the laws of the Union'."

MR. PITTMAN makes it clear the President did not act to execute the laws of the Union, and then he asks this question:

"What are 'the Laws of the Union?' The phrase 'the Laws of the Union' has the identical meaning as the phrase 'the law of the land,' which is defined in Article VI as 'this Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof;' (and treaties). A decision of the Supreme Court of the United States or any other federal court is excluded by the definition itself. As a matter of fact, Article III of the Constitution provides that the judicial power of federal court may not extend to any case arising under federal 'law,' unless that law be 'this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority,' thus repeating the definition of 'the law of the land' so that forgetful judges might not forget.

"No federal or state court of record in America has ever held that a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States or that of any other federal court is 'the law of the land' or 'the law of the Union.' Such decision is never anything more than the law of the case actually decided by the court and binding only upon the parties to that case and no others. As was said by Charles Warren, in his *History Of The Supreme Court*, p. 748, Vol. 2:

" 'However the court may interpret the provisions of the Constitution, it is still the Constitution which is the law and not the decision of the court.'

"Federal courts must look to the Constitution for their powers and their jurisdiction the same as the President and the Congress. If jurisdiction is not conferred by the Constitution it cannot be conferred by the Supreme Court itself. Only the Congress may make a federal law under authority granted in the very first line of the Constitution, which vests the power to make law in the Congress. The First Amendment predicates our most precious freedoms on the proposition that only the Congress may make a federal law.". . . .

Answering the contention that the 14th Amendment is involved and constitutes a Law of the Union, authorizing the use of State troops by the President, Mr. Pittman notes that the 14th Amendment itself provides that 'only Congress has the power to enforce it' and he points out that Congress never in its history has passed any law relating to segregated schools.

"The Congress has passed no law since its adoption relating to segregated schools in Arkansas or in any other state, except to establish segregated schools in the District of Columbia and to sanction them in laws relating to the distribution of surplus commodities in the schools of the states."

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Lpora, 9-5-57

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

Whites Do Not Have Free Speech In Detroit

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—A recent letter of mine published in this column has been the cause of my receiving many inquiries from your readers in regard to the Negro problem in Detroit. As I cannot easily reply to all individually, I request respectfully that you publish this letter.

Detroit is a great industrial and business center. Within our city limits we have factories, warehouses, businesses, and offices of all kinds. We even have salt mines.

Within the framework of such a combination of business and industry, there exists a very powerful labor union known as the AFL-CIO. At one time there were two separate organizations, but now they are considered to be one group.

While the union has brought many benefits to labor, directly and indirectly, it has had some unsavory by-products which have resulted from the formulation and institution of certain policies and theories emanating from it.

When the union first made its appearance in the 30s and 40s, it began on a strictly integrated basis, insisting that a Jim Crow union would be victimized by unscrupulous employers. With the advent of World War II, the union continued its integration, extending then not only to meetings, but also to social affairs at which there was dancing and drinking among those attending, who were Negroes and whites and of both sexes. The excuse then was that everyone must join together for victory. When the war ended, the union's general contention was that all citizens must work on a solid (integrated) basis for prosperity.

During all these years, and up until recently, the thousands upon thousands of white employes who were members of the union were either ignorant of or apathetic to the true, long-range program which the union, now pressed by the NAACP, was preparing for them and the entire white community of Detroit. They saw Negroes only on the job and at union meetings. After working hours, they relaxed in their all-white neighborhoods with their families and white friends.

During the past few years, the situation has become so acute that the whites are beginning to grumble; nevertheless, their fear of troublesome consequences plus the wide apathy still existing on the part of their fellow white workers and other white people in the community, leaves them with little more than the occasion to content themselves with grumbling. Meanwhile, integration creeps nearer and nearer, and, it may be added, more and more vigorously.

At meeting after meeting and at convention after convention, sponsored by labor unions, resolutions are made and passed condemning racial prejudice, discrimination, and racial segregation. Many, many of the white members present do not have the same sentiments as those who originate the resolutions, but they close their eyes to the situation, obviously for fear of either reprisals or condemnation at large from the others, many of whom include Negroes.

Recently the NAACP held a national convention in Detroit. The affair was heralded by none other than Walter Reuther, a high official in the AFL-CIO. Among other things, Mr. Reuther ventured to predict that a Negro will be elected to the common council of the city of Detroit during the election this fall! Immediately, the local white pro-integration press blazoned forth with articles speculating as to which Negro would be considered the best candidate. At present, many Negroes have offered for the post. The union either already has or is about to endorse officially one of them.

Meanwhile, Negroes are continuing to pour into Detroit. Upon arrival, many, many of them promptly register for voting as soon as possible and enroll for welfare aid. The number of Negro families on the welfare rolls of Detroit is not known, but it would be an amazing figure. A conversation with any white social worker will inform one that instances wherein Negro women with one or more children and no husband apply for aid are too numerous to mention. Worse yet, families of this type continue to grow and remain in the same husbandless and fatherless status.

Detroit is a big city all right. It is a city of freedom, too. Yet, hardly anyone dares to criticize the union in any shape or form on the Negro question. Memories of union "goon squads" are still too fresh and piquant. No white person dares openly criticize the NAACP or the Urban League. His address and telephone number may be looked up by someone, and he is never sure as to how benevolent or malevolent his anonymous callers or visitors may be.

The pro-Negro white church groups have their white members against a wall. Depending upon denomination, they risk anything from excommunication to expulsion from their various churches, to say nothing of hypocritical public ridicule. It is best simply to drop out of a pro-Negro church than to utter one word against its pro-Negro policies.

The overall picture remains the same. I mean the Negro always advances toward his goal of complete, absolute integration. In public, as well as in private, individually, as well as collectively, he becomes increasingly uncompromising, threatening, demanding, and aggressive. He must laugh at whites and white "liberals" behind their backs. He has them hogtied everywhere. In the union, integration is a must against the possibility of "unscrupulous" employers. In the political field, it is a safeguard against "fascism." In church, it is a necessity for "true faith!" Meanwhile the namby-pamby white liberals steadily fumble and fall in his favor against their own white race.

D. LANE.

P.O. Box 4311, Detroit, Mich.

Shadow Of The Bayonet

Editor, The Advertiser:

I saw service with Gen. Douglas MacArthur in World War I. My only son served his country under Gen. Eisenhower during World War II. My father was one of the Confederate soldiers that escorted Jefferson Davis from the old Exchange Hotel when he took the oath of office in Montgomery.

I never expected to live long enough to see federal bayonets patroling the streets of one of our southern cities as we have it today in Little Rock. The Attorney General of the United States is the master mind behind the invasion of Arkansas. With the help of the NAACP and certain radicals he hopes to become our next President. He would sacrifice the good relations between the races in the South if it would give him the presidency.

While Ike plays golf, Brownell and Nixon tee off on the political golf course for high stakes. Brownell and Nixon are political twins, each trying to out do the other for Harlem votes. They rejoice to see soldiers with rifles and bayonets marching in Arkansas and forcing white parents to send their children to school with Negroes. But they send their own children to white schools.

Our own Gen. "Slick" Persons should have told Ike what would happen if there was forced integration in the South: 40,000,000 white people in the South will not change their way of life to suit Brownell, Nixon Warren, Hugo Black and his buddies on the Supreme Court.

I voted for Ike the first time he was a candidate. May God forgive me. I should have gone fishing. With Brownell and Nixon and the NAACP in charge, and Ike on the golf course, I fear we are witnessing the beginning of the second reconstruction period with all its horrors and possible blood shed. The shadow of the bayonet hangs over the South like a dark cloud. Maybe if the Southern states would abolish the public schools, let the radical politicians like Brownell and Nixon see for themselves that we will never integrate the races in spite of their bayonets and machine guns. The Negro agitators can then provide schools and pay their own teachers, the whites will do likewise.

Auburn Ala. EMMETT P. SMITH.

Off The Bench

By Judge Walter B. Jones

'Federal Invasion Of Arkansas In The Light Of The Constitution

THOUGHTFUL people, who believe in the supremacy of the civil power over the military power and who revere the Constitution of the United States, were amazed and shocked a few weeks ago when President Eisenhower sent 2,000 armed federal troops into Little Rock and at the same time brought into the federal service nearly 9,000 Arkansas guardsmen.

JONES

Only those who have never learned the lessons of American history and who wish the Constitution to mean one thing today, another tomorrow, and to be changed and amended by the Supreme Court of the United States, and who are willing for it to be made the instrument of a political party, make any defense whatever of the President's action, this action judged by both the letter and the spirit of the Constiution is absolutely indefensible. The sad and regrettable thing is that President Eisenhower absolutely went back on his word. So, in the future, no one can put any great amount of trust in what the President has to say on the subject of federal troops. The marching of these troops into Little Rock, armed with bayonets as if going into battle against a foreign foe, is but the beginning of a Second Reconstruction of the South, and we people down South will be foolish to give it any other meaning.

R. Carter Pittman, a great American and a distinguished constitutional lawyer, living at Dalton, Ga., has made the finest statement I have ever yet seen, showing the absolute defiance of every provision of the federal Constitution by President Eisenhower.

I WISH SPACE here permitted me to copy the article in full, but from it, I do quote the following paragraphs relating to the federal invasion of Arkansas. There are two provisions of the Constitution bearing on the subject, says Mr. Pittman:

"One relating to the use of federalized state troops appears in Article I and the other relating to the use of federal troops appears in Article IV of the Constitution. The latter provides that the United States shall protect each state "against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

"Obviously, there has been no invasion or threatened invasion of Arkansas, hence the President had no authority to send federal troops into Arkansas, except upon the application of the Legislature of Arkansas for the purpose of putting down domestic violence. The Legislature of Arkansas did not ask for federal troops and since there is no reason why it could not be convened, the Governor of Arkansas has no authority to call on the resident to send federal troops. If the Governor of Arkansas had such authority he has not exercised it. Therefore, the President had no authority to send federal troops into Arkansas under any fair construction of Section 4 of Article IV or of any other provision of the Constitution.

"The other provision relating to the use of military force by the President, in Section 8 of Article I, empowers the Congress 'to provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection and repel invasion.'

"Obviously, there was no insurrection to be suppressed and no invasion to be repelled in Arkansas; therefore, the Congress had no power to authorize the President to call forth, or federalize the state troops or militia of Arkansas, unless it was 'to execute the laws of the Union'."

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

MR. PITTMAN makes it clear the President did not act to execute the laws of the Union, and then he asks this question:

"What are 'the Laws of the Union?' The phrase 'the Laws of the Union' has the identical meaning as the phrase 'the law of the land,' which is defined in Article VI as 'this Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof;' (and treaties). A decision of the Supreme Court of the United States or any other federal court is excluded by the definition itself. As a matter of fact, Article III of the Constitution provides that the judicial power of federal court may not extend to any case arising under federal 'law,' unless that law be 'this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority,' thus repeating the definition of 'the law of the land' so that forgetful judges might not forget.

"No federal or state court of record in America has ever held that a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States or that of any other federal court is 'the law of the land' or 'the law of the Union.' Such decision is never anything more than the law of the case actually decided by the court and binding only upon the parties to that case and no others. As was said by Charles Warren, in his *History Of The Supreme Court*, p. 748, Vol. 2:

"'However the court may interpret the provisions of the Constitution, it is still the Constitution which is the law and not the decision of the court.'

"Federal courts must look to the Constitution for their powers and their jurisdiction the same as the President and the Congress. If jurisdiction is not conferred by the Constitution it cannot be conferred by the Supreme Court itself. Only the Congress may make a federal law under authority granted in the very first line of the Constitution, which vests the power to make law in the Congress. The First Amendment predicates our most precious freedoms on the proposition that only the Congress may make a federal law.". . . .

Answering the contention that the 14th Amendment is involved and constitutes a Law of the Union, authorizing the use of State troops by the President, Mr. Pittman notes that the 14th Amendment itself provides that 'only Congress has the power to enforce it' and he points out that Congress never in its history has passed any law relating to segregated schools. Mon. 10-21-57

"The Congress has passed no law since its adoption relating to segregated schools in Arkansas or in any other state, except to establish segregated schools in the District of Columbia and to sanction them in laws relating to the distribution of surplus commodities in the schools of the states."

Alabama Editors Are Saying

Brownell Jettisoned

The Mobile Register

HERBERT BROWNELL became a liability which the Eisenhower administration decided it no longer could afford to endure.

It has therefore jettisoned him. For the record, Mr. Brownell has resigned as the Eisenhower attorney general and Mr. Eisenhower has accepted the resignation with "very deep regret." That explanation is, however, strictly for the birds. Mr. Brownell is getting out because the Eisenhower administration felt it had to get rid of him.

He is the man to whom Earl Warren is assumed to largely owe his presence in the chief justiceship of the U.S. Supreme Court.

He is the man who acted for the administration in its demand for a school integration decision from the Supreme Court after Warren's appointment.

He is the man generally looked upon as the moving spirit behind the Eisenhower order for troops to go to Little Rock to integrate a school at bayonet's point.

He is the man who had come to stand out as the worst adviser among a "palace guard" famous for giving Mr. Eisenhower the wrong kind of advice.

No Tears

The Dothan Eagle

THE departure of Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. from his position of authority and influence in President Eisenhower's cabinet will not prompt the circulation of petitions in the South urging him to reconsider and stay on. Today's South regards him somewhat as the South of the Reconstruction regarded Thaddeus Stevens, the architect of a shameful chapter in American history.

However, the departure of Brownell from the official scene in Washington isn't going to lessen the heat any. He'll still occupy the role of adviser to the White House and to the Republican Party and since civil rights has become such a political football both parties will continue to kick it for all it is worth to them at the ballot box.

Still, Brownell has been a symbol and the removal of that symbol will be refreshing to the South, which hasn't had much refreshing news in a long time.

Obnoxious Creature

The Talladega Daily Home

BROWNELL has quit his cabinet post with the Eisenhower administration and says he will retire to private life.

For the good of the country, this newspaper devoutly hopes that he is telling the truth. No depth of privacy to which he could withdraw could be too deep to suit us.

But we rather doubt that he will withdraw from politics. Once a petty tyrant gets a taste of authority, his nature is to cry for more and more. And too tragically often he gets it.

Brownell is the author of the civil rights legislation which went onto the books an object surrender by all Southern senators except Strom Thurmond. He is the daddy of the decision to send troops into Little Rock.

He has cluttered up that region with FBI agents, thus demonstrating his will to create a federal gestapo.

From the Southern viewpoint he undoubtedly has been the most obnoxious creature to clutter up the national seene since Harry Truman.

So, we're glad he has gone. We're told that his first assistant will be his successor and that he share's Brownell's racial views. But, as Scarlet O'Hara said, we'll worry about that tomorrow.

Monkey On His Back

The Tallassee Tribune

GROVER HALL put the monkey on Vice President Nixon's back last week when he editorialized from Oklahoma that the hero of the great unwashed multitudes was enjoying a cocktail party in the state where prohibition is "the law of the land."

Mr. Nixon was said to be drinking beer rather than red eye because beer is "legal" in Oklahoma while the hard stuff is not.

Even though the "law of the land" of Oklahoma was being violated in his presence, the second in command did not wire "The Chief" to send troops to enforce obedience.

You would have to get up early in the morning to be as slick as Mr. Nixon, but we would like to point out that to condone law-breaking is frowned upon in most circles as much as breaking the law itself.

Wallace Is Impressive

The Evergreen Courant

YOUTHFUL Judge George Wallace of Clayton spoke to the Evergreen Rotary Club, non-politically, of course. Then the judge made the rounds of our fair city for some handshaking and spadework, politically. From what we can gather, he made a very good impression here. Enough so that there are many here who now count him as a power to be reckoned with in the forthcoming gubernatorial campaign.

George Wallace has broken with Folsom and apparently tried to wash himself clean of the Folsom sigma. He enjoys a reputation for keen, clear thinking and is well-versed in political lore. He was among the first of the state's politicos to speak loud and clear for segregation. His performance on the platform committee at the National Democratic Convention did him no harm. He was a shrewd and effective spokesman for the South. He has shown a willingness to take on the federal government, be it FBI, district judge or the President.

Yes, George Wallace must be ranked a contender of some strength.

$3,750,000 For Nine Negroes

The Opp News

THE tax bill as of today to keep nine Negro students in the Littile Rock school is $3,750,000. That is enough money to build each of the Negroes a school building with marble floors, but it makes President Eisenhower and his South-hating Attorney General Herbert Brownell very happy. The Supreme Court judges are happy too, they also get paid out of the tax till.

Of Lee, Grant And The Long Wait

By J. Fred Thornton
Associate Editor, The Advertiser

ROBERT E. LEE was a great general, but he made one big mistake, not on the field of battle but after the war was over. He thought that the Yankees would let up on us, that "reason and good feeling" would return. Today, with the Yankees still playing God to the South, we know to our cost how wrong he was. The error of the great Confederate leader was a natural one; members of the present generation have made the same mistake.

THORNTON

I was recently looking over a copy of "Recollections and Letters of General Robert E. Lee," published by his son, Capt. Robert E. Lee. Lee's letters show that he took defeat like a man, not embittered by it, shunning controversy, a man of good will, hoping for the best even in the dark days after the war.

Among the letters was one written just a few days more than a year after Lee surrendered at Appomattox. It was addressed to a gentleman at Baltimore, advising him with reference to certain Northern charges, the exact nature of which was not set forth. This is not necessary to the point I want to bring out, which was Lee's idea of the attitude the South should take toward Yankee carping and criticism.

Lee wrote, in a letter dated April 13, 1866:

> *The same statement has been published at the North for several years. The statement is not true; but I have not thought proper to publish a contradiction, being unwilling to be drawn into a newspaper discussion, believing that those who know me would not credit it and those who do not would care nothing about it. I cannot now depart from the rule I have followed. It is so easy to make accusations against the people at the South upon similar testimony, that those so disposed, should one be refuted, will immediately create another; and thus you would be led into endless controversy. I think it better to leave their correction to the return of reason and good feeling.*

Today, 91 years after those manly lines were penned, we are still waiting for reason and good feeling to assert themselves up North. The Children of Israel wandered in the wilderness 40 years; the Babylonian Captivity lasted 70 years; surely the South is not being too impatient if it asks, How long O Lord, how long?

Tribute From The Other Side

I RECENTLY CAME across, in another book, a great compliment to Robert E. Lee, although in a backhanded fashion. The book is "Grant and His Campaigns" by Henry Coppee, published in 1866. when memories of the great war were still fresh. Coppee gives Grant a great boost, labeling him "the first soldier of the age," a claim which no one would seriously advance today. A more interesting point is the explanation of why it took Grant so long to whip Lee. When Grant moved against Lee with vastly superior forces he sent the famous telegram, "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." It took all summer, all fall and winter, and into the next spring, before Lee's tattered and hungry remnant finally yielded. Coppee explains that Grant's slow progress was due to a reason I have never heard of before: "We wuz betrayed," Coppee wrote.

He (Lee) had also other means of gaining information. Spies and traitors were all around our headquarters. Our signals were discovered and repeated; and, with a rapidity that savored of magic and diabolic arts, no sooner had an order been issued by Grant, than it was known at Lee's headquarters. On the other hand, we had no such information. There were not in the rebel ranks, wicked as they were, men as vile as Northern traitors, who while wearing the uniform of the Republic, living on its bounty and sworn to protect its glorious banner, were in secret league with the enemy, and doing more to defeat Grant's plans than did the men who were arrayed in battle against him.

The above indicates to me, not only that Lee had a fine scouting and intelligence service, but that he must have been reading Grant's mind, something that great generals have done over the centuries. I surmise that the "magic and diabolic arts" of which Grant's admirer complained derived more from Lee's genius than from the Northern traitors he blames.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Wed. 4-10-57 P. 4-A

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

A Service To Subscribers

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—The reprinting of rof. Iredell Jenkins' *Yale Review* article was a distinct service to your subscribers and should result in the submission of pro and con views by other native Southerners on this important subject of segregation.

Your handling of this delicate question is on the whole well balanced and your reactions to criticism by non-Southerners is only natural.

ARLITZ N. HEIMER.
["Transplanted Damyankee."]
Forest Park, Opp. Ala.

★ ★

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

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Weak Stand

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — As a Southern Presbyterian I am embarrassed because of the weak, anemic statement of the recent Birmingham Assembly on the race issue. P. 4-A

We are all against violence and know that this is not the approach to any problem, but we laymen have a right to look to our leaders for a clearcut statement. After all we are the "Southern" wing of Presbyterianism, and we have a fine inheritance.

Where are our leaders? Are a few ministers doing the talking for Presbyterians generally? I'm glad that a layman—John Durr—made it plain that we laymen do not want race mixing. I don't know what Dr. Patterson of the First Church in Montgomery meant about this being a "moot" question. Does he mean that the issue does not even exist—that it is imaginary?

If this Birmingham statement is the kind of thing we can expect from our ministers, I believe that it is time we are hearing more from our lay people. In some of the other Protestant churches strong leaders are speaking out against making the churches allies of the NAACP. More power to them. They come nearer voicing the sentiment of the big majority of our Presbyterian membership than some of our own leaders.

We know that Presbyterian churches in the South have no intention of inviting Negroes into our services. The assembly talks one way but when the test comes the verdict will be the other way. Some of us are tired of this double-talk. Let our presbyteries, our sessions, our deacons, our ministers, and our lay men and lay women speak out and let the world know how we really feel.

DOUGLAS COWART.
Montgomery.

The Pulitzer Prizes

Advertiser P. 4-A

IN THE 40 years of the Pulitzer Prizes only one Alabamian had won one until now. The second Alabamian to win the highest award in American journalism is Buford Boone, publisher of *The Tuscaloosa News*. To him goes the prize for his editorials in which he kicked the teeth of the Autherine Lucy mob. All honor to Boone for his dauntlessness.

Wed 5-8-57

Montgomery, Ala.

The Pulitzer judges singled out a Feb. 7, 1956, editorial written by Boone and entitled "What A Price For Peace." The editorial, appearing on Pg. 1, said in part:

"If they could have gotten their hands on her, they would have killed her."

That was the considered judgment, often expressed, of the many who watched the action without participating in it.

The target was Autherine Lucy. Her "crimes"? She was born black, and she was moving against Southern custom and tradition—but with the law, right on up to the United States Supreme Court, on her side.

What does it mean today at the University of Alabama and here in Tuscaloosa, to have the law on your side?

The answer has to be: Nothing—that is, if the mob disagrees with you and the courts.

As matters now stand, the University administration and trustees have knuckled under to the pressures and desires of a mob . . . We have a breakdown of law and order, an abject surrender to what is expedient rather than a courageous stand for what is right. Yes, there's peace on the University campus this morning. But what a price has been paid for it!

★

IN OTHER editorials, Boone argued that since Autherine had won her right to enter the University she should renounce that right in the interest of peace; that general race mixing in the common schools was impossible at this time, but that the court's school decision was right in all ways and would eventually prevail.

Little of this did readers of *The Tuscaloosa News* wish to be told. Stout newspapers do not tell their readers what they want to hear, but what the paper believes to be the truth. This Boone did, and the laurel is his.

★

OF THE other Pulitzer awards, the one to Playwright Eugene O'Neill is remarkable. There is a certain Pulitzer monotone here, for this was O'Neill's fourth award—three alive and one dead—you might say the Pulitzer Prize hounded him unto the other side of the grave.

It was inevitable that James R. Reston, Washington bureau chief for *The New York Times*, should pick up a Pulitzer. It wouldn't make much difference which year the judges decided it was appropriate to fork an award over to Reston since his reporting is distinguished from day to day and year to year. He is a superb reporter and a cunning stylist.

The *Chicago Daily News'* award for "meritorious public service" in uncorking the Hodge looting in Illinois was deserved. The *News* is one of the six or seven finest papers in the U.S. It has developed a formula of terse, sometimes jazzy writing and airy typography that we expect more and more newspapers are coming to in the new circumstance created by TV.

★

OUT in Oregon we have an old and classic example of what happens when one newspaper is uncowed by powerful interests and one is cowed. One Oregon paper walked around the Dave Beck scandal, lost its footing and couldn't recover, nor will it recover for years. The other, the famous old *Portland Oregonian*, took the gamble on advertising and circulation and laid it on Beck ferociously. *The Oregonian* will be sustained by its decisiveness and courage for years to come.

Brave and righteous newspapers and newspapermen do not always, alas, survive their attacks on powerful interests and defiance of popular will. If so, that would make it routine. Some are crippled and destroyed. But all those named above came through unscathed and it is good to see. Subtract such newspaper forces from U.S. democracy and it would gasp for life.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Tues. 5-21-57 P.4-A

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery Ala.

'How To Buy Stocks'

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I don't know when I've felt so flattered as I was by the editorial which appeared there on my book [How To Buy Stocks].

You seem to understand better than anyone else the real reason why I wrote it. I believe with you that if more people understand how our business system works, they will want to participate directly in its operation as stockholders. This is a philosophy which we have long held here at Merrill Lynch, and the book was an attempt on my part to tell that story in still another form.

Naturally I am pleased with the extensive distribution it has had, but lest you think that I am making a considerable personal profit out of something I believe is socially and economically good, let me explain that about 35% of all copies sold have been in the Bantam Book edition, and on all such sales the author collects the magnificent royalty of $700 per 100,000 copies. And I didn't even take this royalty on those copies that were distributed by Merrill Lynch.

70 Pine St., New York 5, N.Y.

LOUIS ENGEL.

◆

Assent To What

Editor, The Advertiser:

I have been following with interest the letters of protest from church laymen indicating the increasingly vocal opposition of church members to the so-called stand the Protestant denominations are taking in the integration issue.

Presbyterians have always been proud of their representative form of church government with its system of gradated governing bodies or courts, the Presbytery, the Synod, and the General Assembly. They believe that convincing historical evidence proves the unmistakable influence of the Presbyterian system on our founding fathers in the making of our constitution and the government derived therefrom.

It would seem now, however, that the order of influence has been reversed. The highest court of the Southern Presbyterian Church, the General Assembly, meeting recently in Birmingham, demonstrated how completely it has allowed itself to become indoctrinated by the Supreme Court of the United States. In approving a resolution condemning segregation *in all phases of life*, it purported to speak for the Southern Presbyterian Church as a whole, yet it is my belief that this resolutiton no more represents the honest and earnest convictions of most church members than the Supreme Court's school decree represents the will of a majority of the Southern people.

A similar situation existed in Nashville recently when 4,500 Southern ministers were invited to attend a conference on Christian Faith and Human relations and a mere 300 attended. These 300 proclaimed authoritatively both directly and by inference that people who advocate segregation are not Christian. Thus this conference debased and denied its own label and purpose by abrogating the cardinal Christian and democratic principle of individual liberty of conscience and by assuming unto itself the imperious right of condemnation and judgment.

It would seem that the time for letters of protest has ended and the time for action has long since arrived. Members of the Southern Presbyterian Church, or any other denomination, cannot hope to have their true stand recorded merely by sporadic verbal protest. The churches must take courses of collective action within their ranks to prevent the further desecration of their organizations as propaganda agencies in controversial civil or secular causes. Southern Presbyterians might make good beginnings by excluding from their church budget any allocation of funds that might be used to advance such causes and by changing the committee method of appointing commissioners to the General Assembly.

Most of the letters of protest that I have read have emphasized the reticence and inactivity of church laymen in this matter. That is true. But what of the ministers? What of the 4,200 ministers who did not attend the conference in Nashville? Why are they silent? Do they accept the modern fallacy that the church's mission is to foster the social theories of man-made institutions in an attempt to attain a physical and temporal one-ness? Or do they accept the age-old truth that the church's mission is to propagate the good news of Jesus Christ, for man's personal salvation and his resultant incorporation into the spiritual brotherhood of believers?

I have heard somewhere that "silence gives assent." In this present issue—for both laity and clergy — assent to what?

MRS. S. M.

P.O. Box 55, Lowndesboro, Ala.

◆

Death Is No Excuse

Editor, The Advertiser:

I saw in the paper where one of our representatives up at the Capitol was going to introduce a bill to tax people 3% who are unfortunate enough to have to use caskets. It is linked up with the schools some way.

Well why not. The old saying goes that one cannot get away from death and taxes. We know that the children would be glad to work on Saturdays, and perhaps after school to help pay the tax on their old man's casket. Maybe even play hookey a day now and then.

Why shouldn't the representative go one step further. He should have in his bill an annual tax on the hole the casket is "resting" in.

The man should pay "casket tax" the same as he would pay the tax on his chicken house lumber. Pine boards are the same everywhere. Why humiliate the deceased by having his hen house tax paid and his own casket not tax paid.

Show 'em, Mr. Representative! Show them that they can't beat it by dying!

Montgomery. CLIFF PEEK.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Wed. 6-5-57 P.4-A

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

Freedom To Brainwash

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Your recent editorial on academic freedom was a puzzle to many of your readers. The editorial policy which you have invariably followed may lead to the goal of Northern patronage, but at the same time you may warrant the contempt of thousands of readers of your great paper, by designating those who differ with you as zealots, blockheads, jugheads, idiots, boobs, and opportunists.

The cause of the Auburn professor to whose defense you came is a lost one in the South. Just as the labor bigwigs in mishandling the trust funds in their charge, try to hide behind the Fifth Amendment, just so are scores of college and university teachers trying to hide behind that misnomer, academic freedom, not only in their "brain-washing" zeal in connection with integration, but in many other realms of life detrimental to our youth.

Every man's freedom ends where his neighbor's liberty begins. Truly there is no academic freedom in Russia, but there you will find "brain-washing" tactics developed to the nth degree.

Surely you are correct when you say that this professor's misfortune will mean for him advancement. Who knows but what there was "method in his madness," the expectation of a better and bigger job. We are aware of the fact that there are open arms awaiting all who defy the cherished traditions of our beloved southland, for example the Rev. M. L. King. The time is fast running out for all those, whether in the realm of political parties, professorial chairs, public press, or pulpit preachments, to be dispatched "nawth", together with the Rev. King and all other disturbers of his ilk.

This one last comment please: If the pure democracy handed down by Washington and Jefferson, and the undiluted Christianity by Jesus and His apostles, are salvaged, it will be at the hands of true, blueblooded, Anglo Saxon Southerners, living in what is usually designated in derision, the Bible Belt.

GEORGE W. CHEEK SR.

Selma, Ala.

'White Majority Has Asserted Itself'

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

The *New York Post*, which has the distinction of being edited by James A. Wechsler, is the paper that fearfully sent its Negro reporter, Ted Poston, to Montgomery last year with orders that he should phone New York every day to assure colleagues that he had not suffered bodily harm. As a matter of fact, Poston was assigned a typewriter and desk in *The Advertiser's* news room and had such a swell time in Montgomery that he commenced to speak of Montgomery as "my adopted town" as Roosevelt once spoke of Georgia as "my adopted state".

Adv. 6-27-57

However, we trust that the *Post* is better informed on New York race mixing problems. We have previously quoted the *Post's* attack on *The New York Times* for disapproving the city ordinance forbidding discrimination in private housing. The *Post* went so far as to endeavor to smear *The Times* by showing it had taken the same position as *The Advertiser*.

P. 4 A

The *Post* has now commenced an angry buzz about the head of the *New York Daily News:*

> The way the *Daily News* puts it, the course of the argument over the bill to outlaw discrimination in private housing in Our Town is simple. There are a lot of Negro votes backing the bill. but the white majority has asserted itself, scaring politicians . . . Some 3,000 letters inspired by the real estate lobby created a panic at City Hall . . .
>
> All hands, including the *Post*, concede that property values would suffer if landlords were prevented from discriminating against Negro tenants. This is because of what obviously is widespread prejudice among New Yorkers, not all of which can be blamed on the presence of transplanted Southerners. New Yorkers are also in a stew about integrating their schools.

The only solution *The Advertiser* can offer is for Dr. King to prevail on Vice President Nixon to go East and lecture the wayward citizens of New York.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Sun. 7-28-57 p.2-p

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

Some Whites Are 'Second-Class Citizens'

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — I was brought up among the colored people because my father employed many in connection with his farming operations, and later in connection with sawmilling.

The colored people have made great progress in the time I have known them a period of some 60 years. I feel a high degree of affection and respect for the right sort of colored people, and so do all right thinking white people here in the South. We dislike to see anything come up to bring on friction and discord between our races.

The colored people are getting exceptionally fine educational facilities, far better than I had as a child and far better than most white people in the South had.

The colored people are taking advantage of these opportunities and as they become better qualified as citizens they will earn voting privileges which are to some extent denied due to lack of educational qualifications.

At one time, colored people were herded together by certain white people and voted in a block as suited them. To get away from this sort of thing the white Democratic primary was established. The United States Supreme Court deemed it wise to eliminate our "white Democratic primary." Whether or not this was wise, I shall not say.

There is a vast difference between the cultures of the colored people and the white people of the South. "First-class citizens" will not be made by any edict of the United States Supreme Court and this applies both to white and colored. There are plenty of white people whom I would not class as "first-class citizens" even though they have voting privileges.

I know many colored people who have high moral standards, and are a credit to their race, to Georgia, the South and to this nation.

It is a mistake for either the Democratic Party or the Republican Party in their anxiety to win the colored vote to force upon the South integration. Our races have gotten along very harmoniously until the NAACP along with "preacher-politicians" and other misguided individuals have been giving false leadership. If I am wrong, I hope that God will enlighten me.

B. W. MIDDLEBROOK,
Manager, Dixie Paper Shell Pecan Exchange Barnesville, Ga.

Bayonets Didn't Work In '65

Editor, The Advertiser

In seeking to force passage of the civil rights bill the senators and representatives of the North are trying to do to the South exactly what Soviet Russia is trying to do to the United States, that is, they are trying to force upon us an ideology which we will not tolerate. It is not a question of Rephblicans against Democrats, according to the true American principle (of which you so proudly boast), but goes back to the old battle line of North against South, "yankee" against "rebel," as the vote in Congress will show. The shooting war ended in 1865, but the cold war is still going on.

The North always had the advantage in numbers on the battlefield as well as votes in Congress, however, until this force bill was introduced we had begun to hope that men of the North had graduated from their uncouth way. However, it seems that this is not so. They are forcing a battle on people whose mettle they should know. That is, their grandfathers did. Did we submit with their bayonets in our backs in 1865? The pages of history say *No*, and future generations will read the same verdict in their history books on the results of this battle also.

In the 92 years since the Civil War, we had begun to look upon Northerners as friends, but what kind of friends do they show themselves to be?

D. C. McLENNAN.
Montgomery.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Sun 8-4-57

A Reply From Harvard Yard

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I'm sure that Montgomery is somewhat tired of playing host to the vast number of outsiders who must have come through the city in the past year and a half to see at first hand your problems of racial harmony. This visitor from Harvard Yard, however, has found among many of your civic leaders — especially your clergymen—a willingness to discuss the situation frankly and quietly. It was therefore something of a surprise when I read your editorial Sunday suggesting that Chicago might be a more profitable place for me to spend my time. In the same issue there was an article which I thought contained far wiser advice: "How About Spending That Vacation Here?"

I would not bother to answer your editorial had it not contained several erroneous statements which I prefer not to leave uncorrected. First, you state that I considered Montgomery the "war zone of race strife," and that presumably I was not satisfied until hearing of the arrest at Oak Park. This is untrue—and the notion that Montgomery is a strife-torn war zone must be your own, for frankly the idea never occurred to me before reading it in your column.

Quite the contrary, in fact. I am interested in Montgomery largely because of the virtual absence of the very violence which broke out in Chicago. Several ministers here in town have told me that the absence of widespread violence here was due to the good sense and decency of the white community, and to the dignified leadership of Martin Luther King and others in the Negro community. Had King had his parish in Chicago, perhaps there would have been no violence there. But he is here, and it seems to me that you should be grateful. Montgomery is a sign of great hope, and it was this hope which drew me to your city.

There is one further point in your editorial which concerns me as a visitor. That is the apparent suggestion that because Chicago has had race relations, Montgomery's are necessarily not worthy of improvement or discussion. Certainly no responsible Northerner would deny that New York and Chicago have their own deep problems of prejudice, and that the way to achieve real racial harmony has yet to be found in almost the entire nation. But I think it would be dangerous for the South if a sort of "You Too-ism" toward the North became an apology for inactin here.

Montgomery has a chance to avoid Chicago's mistakes. But for you to work out a new and constructive solution to problems of racial prejudice and violence, it seems to me that the leaders of your white and Negro communities should be sitting down together and talking about the future. Many people here have told me of their deep concern over a widening gap between the races. Most lines of communication have been cut, they tell me. And as yet you quote *The Birmingham News* as saying: "Now uneasiness is everywhere—and a sense of tragedy and frustration is widespread among both white and colored people."

I should think that instead of devoting your editorial space to criticizing a visitor from Harvard Yard who is interested in the after-effects of a dignified boycott, you would turn your energies to the task of fostering cooperation and discussion between the races. This could become a prelude to creating a community in which each individual is accepted on his own merits as a unique human personality. In that way, you could make a great contribution—both to your own city and to the nation.

JOHN G. WOFFORD,
President, *Harvard Crimson*, '56-57.
Montgomery.
(Home: 90 Morningside Drive, New York 27, N.Y.)

The Boycotted

Advertiser p.4-a Mon. 1-28-57 Montgomery Ala.

How Some City Bus Drivers, Furloughed By Boycott Survived Last Year

By Ed Swietnicki

Of The Advertiser Staff

EX-BUS DRIVER George Henderson was all smiles as he began the nightly chore of closing his filling station one day last week.

Exactly one year ago the future didn't look too bright for the husky bespectackled driver. Nor did it for 45 other drivers and mechanics of the City Transportation Lines. Henderson, you see, had been wheeling a city bus through Montgomery streets for the past 13 years. When you're middleaged and have been a bus driver that long, well. . . .

But on Dec. 5, 1955 the boycott began. When the men were paid a salary up until Dec. 24 everyone sensed something was wrong. In January everyone was asked to take his two weeks vacation on the theory that everything soon would be back to normal.

Then most of the buses stopped rolling and 45 employes were put on "a temporary furlough." Henderson's 13 years didn't match up against those who had been drivers for over 20 years, or, in the case of the record holder, over 30 years.

With family savings Henderson bought a franchise on a bright new service station. Soon business began booming for the garage novice in his new work.

Underground

HIS HAPPY SMILE disappears when asked to talk about bus driving days. "I don't want to talk about it. I deal with all kinds of people here. Some know I used to be a driver. Most don't."

For some reason he feels that people blame the bus drivers for all the publicity about the boycott. He doesn't mind the fact that he was shot at once in 1955, at the beginning of the boycott. His wife, however, who was waiting for him that evening, readily points out that the bullet came only inches from the top of his head.

Then there were crank telephone calls. Some told him to stop driving. Others told him to continue. Others hurled unintelligible obscenities.

What happened to other bus drivers like himself in 1956? From his corner vantage point Henderson pointed to a man driving an old furniture truck.

"There's one. Some work on garbage trucks. Some drive cabs. I even have a few working part time for me."

"Please don't mention where my service station is," he added. "We have a good business here and my bus driving days are over."

Another driver—one of the furloughed drivers who returned to duty when the back-to-work summons came last month, also has given bus drivers a helping hand.

H. L. Canterbury, who says, "I'm a young 48" had been driving for 16 years when he was furloughed. He is back on his Day Street route today.

"Mr. Bagley [Bus Superintendent J. H. Bagley] was like a father to us. He even got some of us jobs to help us. We had to go. There was just no work for us. We knew we had to leave the buses."

Back To School

CANTERBURY, when he saw the handwriting on the wall, began taking Auburn correspondence courses in the exterminating business. "When you're my age and you go back to school that's something," he proudly tells his 15-year and 9-year-old daughters. His wife was given credit too for helping out during 1956: "She's a regular cotton picker of a saver," he explains colorfully.

After five months of self-taught study, Canterbury began work in his own exterminating business. This helped family finances a bit. Mrs. Canterbury began working too. But after a week, Canterbury asked her to quit. "That'll be the day when my wife will have to work," he explained.

Rough, But They Made It

THE FAMILY survived 1956. It was rough for them, they explain, but "we don't drink, smoke, or spend lavishly."

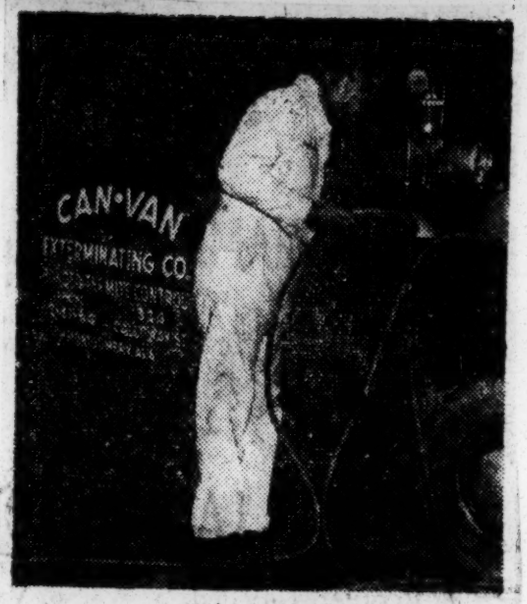
He, too, rattled off the names of a few who did not return to work for the bus company—"Let's see there's Henderson, there's Barker, he operates a filling station, Johnson's on Fairview Avenue in a garage."

Some 10 to 15 of the furloughed 45 did not return to work as bus drivers when the boycott ended last December. "They'll return though as soon as they can," Superintendent Bagley explained, optimistically.

Canterbury employs two or three bus drivers in his exterminating business. He works at that about 20 hours a week, in addition to a full week as a driver. As soon as he receives his pension he's going to open his exterminating business on a full-time basis.

"And it's a real interesting and complicated business with a lot to be learned," he says.

Other drivers don't mind his enthusiasm for he can always supply part time work, if needed.



EXTERMINATOR-BUS DRIVER CANTERBURY

Inconsistent Clergy

Editor, The Advertiser:

The clergy who support integration between white and colored people have their wires crossed regarding this matter. Fri. 6-2-57

The late Sen. Robert A. Taft, the greatest authority on American government, said "White and colored people should iron out their own differences only on a local or state level basis." This is the only way differences between them can be settled, and it should be pointed out that this problem must be considered in the light of divine segregation and not human integration.

The time has come for church laymen who believe in segregation to vigorously oppose the clergy, when they are told that they are not Christians unless they uphold integration. Today the church has segregated itself in more than 200 different denominational Christian churches, yet the clergy advocates integration—very inconsistent.

ALEX P. SULLIVAN.

Savannah, Ga.

★ Tell It ★ To Old Grandma

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Separate, But Why Unequal?

Editor, The Advertiser:

In all the letters which have been written about segregation and integration since May, 1954, the question of the ability to teach or lack of it in Negro teachers has not been discussed.

It is my understanding that Negro teachers are paid on the identical scale that white teachers are paid. Certainly, here in Montgomery the Negro children have better facilities than most of the white children in the way of modern buildings and equipment.

Now, the NAACP says "separate and equal" always results in inequality for the Negroes. Negro parents are obviously greatly dissatisfied with the Negro schools. Why? Advertiser

The answer must be that the NAACP and the parents are dissatisfied with the facilities in the Negro schools! Something is surely wrong which causes Negro parents, doubtlessly influenced by the NAACP, to feel that Negro teachers are so vastly inferior to white teachers that they will go to any extreme to try to get the little Negroes into white schools. I say this disaffection must be with the faculties for as pointed out above there is nothing wrong with the facilities.

Therefore, is it not the duty of the legislature to investigate the faculties of the Negro schools as to ability, educational requirements and general qualifications? Is it not the legislature's duty to bring pressure to bear on the several school boards to replace all Negro teachers not of the highest qualifications and abilities now employed and replace them with better educated and more qualified Negroes? We are paying heavy sums for education and with the present salary scales the very best Negro teachers should be available.

Then with more efficient faculties the NAACP and the Negro parents should be happier and contented to let their children go to schools where there is a truly congenial atmosphere. Anyone that can make two plus two equal four knows that an integrated school can never have a congenial atmosphere.

Montgomery. BEN S. GAY.

The Damage Done At Little Rock

The Omaha (Neb.) World-Herald

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER says . . . it's up to him, as Chief Executive, to enforce "the law of the land." He says that if the usual police authorities are not able to bring about compliance with the courts' requirements, then he, the President, must use whatever force is necessary. Advertiser p4A

We are not here concerned with the President's interpretation of the law and the Constitution. Clearly he is acting on the advice of his attorney general and other learned counsel, and thinks he is right. Montgomery, Ala.

But the basic issue is not legalistic nor yet is it military. It is a matter of human relations. The goal should be—and among thinking people it is—to diminish racial prejudice and hate, to encourage people of all races to adopt a kindlier and more humane attitude toward each other.

Can such a change of mind be brought about by a decision of the Supreme Court? Thurs. 10-17-57

Can decency and fair play be forced into the human heart at the point of a bayonet?

We doubt it. We have the impression that the use of federal force and discipline thus far has all but wiped out the progress that had been made toward racial tolerance in the nearly 100 years since the Civil War.

The greatest sorrow of all in this growing tragedy is that the minds of hosts of young Americans are being wounded and scarred.

Not just those in Little Rock, or the South. Not the children of any one race. Throughout America increasing numbers of young people seem preoccupied with thoughts of hate and violent revenge. Those who have read of recent incidents in Omaha know that this city has not escaped contamination.

The longer the paratroopers remain in Little Rock, the more vigorously they try to enforce the opinion of the Supreme Court justices, the greater will grow the resentment and bitterness in the hearts of thousands and millions of people. And the greater also will be the opportunity given to such rabble-rousers as the unspeakable Kasper to work their mischief.

What is the government's objective in this military operation?

As a skilled field commander, President Eisenhower should ask himself that question. Unquestionably, by one means or another, he can win the battle of Little Rock. But after that, does he propose to put a soldier beside every desk in every school below Mason-Dixon? Does he intend to drive ahead to Unconditional Surrender? If not, how does he propose to pacify the hosts of citizens who obviously were not ready for integration?

Grave questions, those, for the Commander-in-Chief not only, but for every thoughtful American who hopes to bring about an era of greater tranquility in racial problems.

Little Rock Exploited

The Decaturt Daily

THE United States is not the only place in the world in which Little Rock has been given top billing. The name has gone around the world as indicative of race intolerance in this country. Advertiser p2B

What more proof do we need that such things are exploitations of the communists, one more phase of the cold war which Russia has been winning ever since the close of the second World War. Montgomery, Ala.

Actually Americans are pretty well divided on the point of proving tolerance for the sake of courting good will around the globe. Mon. 11-3-57

We have had entirely too many illustrations that our seeking after good will is based on how much money we spend in foreign countries, rather than upon the point of integrating children in schools of this country.

Little Rock has been seized upon by the communists around the earth and as soon as that subject has been worn out then another will be substituted and you may be sure we will furnish the ammunition.

Bayonet Brownell

Advertiser

HERBERT BROWNELL, the attorney general of the United States, has gone back to New York to his law practice. But he did not take with him future woes of the Little Rock kind. Montgomery, Ala. Fri. 10-25-57

Brownell was without question the central figure in the conferences which led Eisenhower to order the troop drop. But he is not the cause of the action. p4A

The cannon had been loaded by historical processes and it simply fell to Brownell to pull the lanyard. The South's back is still to the wall, a bayonet in its navel.

★

TO THE South's mind Brownell is the embodiment of the sinister forces that seek to saber a quarter of the nation into doing what it cannot bear to do. The South is preoccupied with that phase of Brownell's activity as attorney general, but his role as one of the most powerful men in the Republic encompassed much more than his military command in Little Rock. For example, probably no other man did as much to put Eisenhower in the White House as Brownell; he had much to do with the selection of Earl Warren for Chief Justice of the United States.

★

BROWNELL is a 150-pound man who came from Lincoln, Nebr., one of the large brood of a college professor. The adult Brownell was to be seen in the boy. He was an honor student who loved politics and was always the backroom organizer and schemer.

He removed to New York after law at Yale, had the help of Thomas Dewey in getting elected to the legislature, and later managed Dewey's campaign for governor.

In the conventions of 1944 and '48 as Dewey's manager, Brownell mastered the technique of gaining nominations in a way rarely surpassed. His direction of the nomination struggle between Eisenhower and Taft from a hotel room was wizardry itself. In fact, without the direction of Brownell, Eisenhower might have failed to overcome Taft.

★

IN THE Eisenhower Administration Brownell played a foremost role, being at once attorney general and the political brain of the Republican Party.

The department was left in a disorderly state by two eminent Democratic predecessors, Tom Clark and J. Howard McGrath. Brownell is credited with an effective reorganization.

The Democrats assail the GOP as the party of big business, but the record shows that Brownell undertook a remarkable number of anti-trust suits against corporations, including General Motors. It was almost as if he had chosen those to be prosecuted from a list of Eisenhower campaign contributors.

★

AS AN icy Nebraskan whose business was winning national elections, Brownell never failed to see the profits to be realized by sabering the South as a means of honeybunching the Negro minority blocs of the North. He decided that if necessary, the GOP would write off the South to swing the big ones (a decision the National Democratic Party has likewise taken).

Brownell apparently suffered nothing other than a sense of well-being when being devious. While testifying before a Senate committee on the civil rights bill, Brownell threatened to leave the room if there were further suggestions that troops would be dispatched to the South. It was, he said, the farthest thing from his mind.

Brownell (as we remarked July 25) was less obedient to the "law of the land" in his own case than he asked the South to be. When in a Kentucky case the judge demanded from an FBI agent a confidential file in harmony with a ruling of the Supreme Court, Brownell ordered the agent to Faubus the court. The agent was fined $1,000.

Brownell is gone. His successor will be no different, assuming that he has the same ability.

As for Brownell, he is young and of uncommon ability. He probably will continue to play large roles in U.S. politics.

The Concrete Hardens

Advertiser

THE concrete of the Little Rock situation is hardening to the point where one wonders what kind of blast it will require to crack it.

Montgomery, Ala.

Evidently Eisenhower and Faubus have decided to out-stare each other.

If Faubus had more sense and self-discipline, he would be in a position to lead Eisenhower a dog's life. Eisenhower has no excuse to send more soldiers or attempt further compulsion of Faubus. And he is too wrathful or too ill-advised to withdraw the bayonet and leave it to Faubus to keep the restored peace.

From all accounts, Faubus is now sitting back confidently awaiting reelection to another term. That is Eisenhower's contribution to the level of government in Arkansas.

P-A

But above all, Eisenhower's rash haste to play Abe Lincoln and "preserve the Union"—which was not in the remotest danger—has hardened attitudes in this country that will be sometime in softening.

They have hardened on the Little Rock precedent of using federal troops to menace citizens. Eisenhower will have a hard time getting away from that precedent.

Eisenhower Quibbles

Advertiser

HAVING rashly painted himself into a corner with his hasty troop drop on Little Rock, it appears that President Eisenhower has not yet regained his composure.

Montgomery, Ala.

Eisenhower seems to have gone from rashness to foot-stamping peevishness.

The mediation of his impasse with Faubus was stalled yesterday when Eisenhower bridled on the use of two little words in Faubus' statement — "by me." Faubus added a "by me" to the statement that the federal will would not be obstructed.

Journal 10-3-57

The Advertiser is certainly not in possession of a brief for Faubus, whom we account a galoot whose erratic tumble-bugging is against the South's interests. But the "by me" rejection of Eisenhower seems a quibble even if Faubus was frivoling.

Eisenhower might well have taken the statement at face value and had Faubus not adhered, that would have been time enough for counter action. Instead, he seeks to dictate Faubus' statement.

Eisenhower evidently is in a tantrum about Little Rock, indulging himself in a combativeness more like that of Truman than himself.

Eisenhower's urgent business should be to withdraw those pentomic bull boys from the midst of the citizens of Little Rock and leave the matter to run its course in federal appeals court, which it has not yet done. The harder he strikes this nail, the deeper he drives it.

Eisenhower's actions are the leading internal enemy of this country.

He is deputizing and equipping extremists of both sides.

Captive Fan

A member of our small, ultra-exclusive Association For The Suppression of the National Pastime, reports the following encounter yesterday, the opening day of the World Series.

At the door of the First National Bank, shortly after noon, he was met by one of those smiling, affable guards who are a credit to the place—normally. The guard held in his hand a small transister radio, no bigger than his palm, from which was pouring all kinds of excited talk. It was obviously "The Series" and our confidential agent quickened his pace, knowing nothing and caring less about the game.

His evasion was clever, but not clever enough for the guard. He was on our man in a split second, radio blaring, with the excited information that "blurbblurb just hit one."

The informant, whose baseballphobia is further advanced than ours, thought of the bayonets in Little Rock and felt his civil liberties were being restricted. He thought of sticking his finger in the guard's ribs and saying, "Okay, buddy, baseball, smaseball—this is a stickup."

Discretion quickly downed the impulse, however, and he meekly submitted to the stream of information, comprehending not a word.

Right End, Wrong Means

The Indianapolis Star

WE CAN fully understand—though we do not share—the general approval, n the North, of President Eisenhower's sudden use of troops in Little Rock. Peace has been enforced, violence has been curbed. The motives of the President were, no doubt, good in acting as he did.

Advertiser

But we believe the President was wrong. By sending federal troops into Arkansas he has, in fact, invaded the state. He has created a precedent for arbitrary federal interference in state and local affairs that weakens greatly the sovereignty of the states. Thereby he has reduced the checks and balances of our republican form of government and reduced the liberty and the self-government not only of the people of Arkansas but of every other state.

Journal 10-3-57

Under Article D, Section 4, of the Constitution, it says, "The United States shall guaranty to every state in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and *on application of the legislature, or of the executive . . . against domestic violence.*" Neither Gov. Faubus nor the Arkansas legislature asked the President to protect Arkansas against domestic violence.

In *South Carolina vs. the United States* the Supreme Court ruled "This clause (Art. 4, Sec 4) expresses the full limit of national control over the internal affairs of a state."

In *Pacific States Tel. & Tel. vs. Oregon* the Supreme Court ruled, "The provision of the Constitution that every state shall have a republican form of government is of a political character committed exclusively to Congress, and is beyond the jurisdiction of the courts."

CONGRESS has written no law respecting the conduct of public education in the states. The Supreme Court, overturning all past decisions on this question, ruled on evidence introduced by itself and not by either side in the case, that separate schools are not, because they are separate, equal. But even if the Supreme Court decision is accepted as "the supreme law of the land," still that decision called for "deliberate speed" in implimenting it and laid upon the states the responsibility for enacting laws and procedures for bringing about integration. That is the way our republican system is supposed to work.

It was the sole duty of the governor and legislature of Arkansas to decide upon the speed and character of Arkansas integration. It was the sole responsibility of the governor, under the Constitution of both his state and the federal government, to prevent or suppress violence if it resulted. Regardless of the correctness of Gov. Faubus' estimate of the possibility of violence, under a government of laws the responsibility was his, and his alone.

When Gov. Craig sent the National Guard to New Castle, Ind., to quell violence in the Perfect Circle strike, he was faced with a far more dangerous and violent situation than occurred in Little Rock. The constitutional rights of those assaulted in New Castle to "life and liberty" were being violated. But it never occurred to the President to send in federal troops and federalize the National Guard to immobilize it in that case.

The President says one of the reasons for his action was "the harm that is being done to the prestige and influence, and indeed the safety, of our nation in the world." This is a dangerous statement. For what does it mean? It means the President believes that whenever he decides that a local or state action endangers "the prestige, influence or safety" of the nation he can send in federal troops and stop it! That is straight one-man dictatorship and nothing else! The power to do this is nowhere granted to the President by Constitution or statute.

How the President conducts foreign affairs has no relationship to how the states and the people conduct their own affairs. Must Americans make and enforce their laws and conduct their lives to please Frenchmen or Arabs or Russians or Indonesians? This is a startling concept of self-government. Do we have to violate the spirit and letter of our Constitution and change our federal-state relationships just to please the opinion of foreigners? No! We do not! And we should not.

THE end which the President seeks in Little Rock, peaceful integration in the schools, is a good end. The means by which he seeks to do it is an evil means. And the end never justifies the means in a government of laws.

We do not believe the cause of integration in the public schools has been advanced by the President's forceful act. Rather we believe greater resistance to improved racial relations in the South will result. For force always begets resistance.

Nine Negro children will, by force, be seated in Little Rock classrooms. But thousands more in the South will suffer because of the way this has been achieved. Hatred, bigotry, prejudice will be stimulated, not quelled by the President's decision to use the mailed fist instead of the Constitution in Arkansas.

Dearborn, A Visit To An All-White City

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
P. 3-B

By BOB INGRAM

(Editor's note: Ingram has just returned from a week in Detroit where among other things he took a close look at the racial problems which beset that city. No such inquiry would have been complete without a visit with Mayor Orville E. Hubbard of the all-white city of Dearborn, a report of which is submitted here. Other reports on Detroit will follow.)

Sun. 10-20-57

DEARBORN, MICHIGAN

A CONFEDERATE spy behind enemy lines in the Yankeeland of Wayne County, Mich., if ever in need of aid or encouragement, need do no more than catch the first suburban bus for Dearborn. It's an 8-mile, 30-minute bus ride with a roundtrip fare of 50 cents.

INGRAM

Here the Rebel will find himself among friends and sympathizers, not the least of them being Orville E. Hubbard, mayor of Dearborn.

Dearborn is probably best known in that it is here where the descendants of Henry Ford turn out automobiles by the thousands. But Dearborn has another distinction, a particularly comforting one to the outnumbered forces who espouse the cause of the South—this city of 130,000 inhabitants is all-white.

The man responsible for this, if it can be narrowed to one man, is Mayor Hubbard. It was he who once told The Advertiser in an interview that he was for segregation "1,000,000 per cent." He's not saying that for publication any more. Not that he's changed, he's just playing politics.

"I'm laying low right now, I'm not going to say anything about segregation," Hubbard explained. "Now if you will come back up here in three or four weeks then I'll talk to you."

Hubbard apparently was forced into this unusual position of reluctance to talk by his opponent in the red hot race for mayor which is now in progress. Hubbard is seeking an unprecedented 9th consecutive term as mayor and at this writing there's not much doubt that he will be reelected. Nevertheless, he's playing it cagey.

Two Segregationists

IRONICALLY for a metropolitan city in the far north both candidates are for segregation.

William L. Mills, business manager for a local weekly newspaper, challenged Hubbard in print last week to answer one question:

"What will you do, as mayor, to keep Dearborn white?"

Mills reserved a position on page one of the paper for Hubbard's reply, but the mayor made no such response. Instead there was merely a large vacant spot on the page where Hubbard's reply would have been.

Mills did reply to his own question.

"I would stop the challenging that threatens to make Dearborn anything but white," Mills declared. Mills' pitch is that Hubbard has done no more than wave a red flag in the bull's face as far as segregation is concerned.

But the strange situation is that regardless of who is elected, Dearborn will have a mayor who is pledged to do more than preserve segregation—he will be pledged to prevent Negroes from moving into the city.

Actually Hubbard and Mills have already locked horns in one election, with Hubbard an easy winner. They hold what is called a nonpartisan primary in Dearborn at which time every man who aspires for the office in question enters the race. Then the top two candidates meet in the finals.

Republican Hubbard polled 14,100 votes in the prelims, Democrat Mills was a distant runner-up with 7,200 votes. There's not much chance that Mills can close this gap, but Hubbard is not taking any chances.

How Total Exclusion Works

TURNING FROM the election to the city itself, the question was asked but never answered in full as to how Negroes have been blocked from moving into Dearborn. Some 15,000 Negroes work in the Ford plants and affiliated industries here, but when their work is ended they leave.

City officials declined to say how it was done, but from other quarters came the explanation.

"If a Negro moved into a house here in Dearborn he would soon find what he was up against," an outsider explained. "It's doubtful that his garbage would ever be collected, his city water might be turned off accidentally, and if his house were to catch fire it's a good bet all the fire trucks would be somewhere else. It wouldn't take long for the Negro to realize he would be better off somewhere other than Dearborn."

There is absolutely no confirmation that such tactics have ever been employed, but the fact remains that no Negroes live here.

Certainly some credit (or blame) for this must go to the tightly knitted homeowners protective associations which flourish here as well as throughout Detroit. Through such associations the homeowners are able to screen out all "undesirables."

When city officials were asked specifically if they would resort to such tactics as stopping garbage collection, cutting off water and the like, the reply was brief and to the point:

"We'll cross that bridge when we get to it. We haven't had to go that far yet."

But the implication was clear enough that if necessary such action would be taken. Dearborn is white, and as long as Hubbard has anything to do with it the city will remain white.

Giant Of A Man

HUBBARD would be a story himself without his unorthodox-for-a-yankee views on segregation. Hubbard is a 54-year-old man of massive proportions. He's 5-10, weighs somewhere in the neighborhood of 260 pounds. Despite his tremendous size, Hubbard moves about gracefully and with surprising ease. One has to hustle to keep up with him.

Hubbard has been described by his critics—of which he has many in the Detroit area—as a demagogue, clown and publicity hound. There is some justification for these latter two charges. Yet the people love him for it. In fact, this entire city is known for its free-for-all political brawls.

An example of the extremes they will go to for a political laugh occurred last month after the nonpartisan mayor's primary.

Presumably as a gag, a call was made to a local funeral parlor to send an ambulance to pick up the body of one Frank Domanski, a candidate who had finished well down the list in the mayor's race.

Domanski was in good health, in fact he was at work when the ambulance arrived. But Mrs. Domanski didn't know all of this. When the solemn-faced attendants arrived she became so hysterical a physician had to be called. This is what they call a joke in Dearborn.

Mayor Hubbard had nothing to do with this macabre gag, but he's done plenty of clowning in his own day. Once when he was sued for libel and found guilty, it became necessary that he shell out a $7,500 judgment or leave the state.

Exiled to Canada

HUBBARD promptly drove across the Detroit river into Windsor, Canada, rented a room in the Prince Edward Hotel and even had letterhead stationery printed "Canadian Headquarters, Dearborn mayor-in-exile."

More recently Hubbard received national publicity when he announced his intentions of setting up a Marriage Bureau. This city agency would assist in introducing eligible men and women to each other. Any person interested was required to fill in a "pedigree blank" which contained information such as the applicants hobbies, education and religious background, debts, health and a photograph.

To date the bureau has not been established, but Hubbard hasn't given up hope. And besides, it's the sort of thing which can't help but get him a little more publicity.

A one-time reporter for the Wall Street Journal, Mayor Hubbard is particularly proud of the fact that he is an ex-Marine and that three of his sons have also served in the Corps. He still wears a lapel button identifying himself as a Marine veteran.

"I've been wearing it for 25 years, in fact every morning when I get up I polish it real good," Hubbard said. And when told that this reporter also was an ex-Marine he appeared a bit perturbed that he too didn't wear the same lapel button.

Courageous Denunciation

HUBBARD still expresses amazement at the storm created by his interview with The Advertiser 18 months ago.

"Man, I had no idea what a hornet's nest I was stirring up," he exclaimed. "I didn't think anybody up here would even see it, but the next thing I knew the entire interview was reprinted in the Detroit Negro paper. That thing got back up here in less than a week."

"Now don't get me wrong. I'm not backing water on anything that was printed. And I haven't changed my mind," he added. "But

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

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Thurs. 10-24-57

'Finest Editorial I've Read In 30 Years'

P. 4-A

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Your editorial "Law Of The Land" was the finest that I have read in 30 years. You really poured on the coal.

I am a traveling man and after reading Northern press articles for several weeks your editorial really hit the spot.

My adopted home is Florida. However, I was trained in Georgia while I was in high school and college, history was my favorite subject and according to various books that I have read the Southern states did not ratify the 14th Amend-

ment, as an example, Georgia. In 1868 Gen. Meade was military dictator of Georgia. Thousands of Negroes were herded from South Carolina and voted in Georgia. There were 29 Negro representatives and two Negro senators in the Georgia legislature. Most of the Negroes were illiterate and some were criminals.

Georgia did not ratify the 14th Amendment in 1868. Meade's bayonets handled the job.

The vast majority of the people do not know that outrages of this category ever occurred in the South.

How about an editorial informing the people about these major outrages.

R. L. YARBROUGH.

P.O. Box 5331, Orlando, Fla.

◆

Segregated Indians

The Advertiser:

Re your editorial "Law of the Land in Oklahoma" in the day's *Tulsa Tribune:*

The Gary-Nixon cocktail festival you describe indicated violation of both the U.S. Constitution and the state law. See Section 2 of the 21st Amendment.

You observe that Nixon is concerned about the law of the land in Arkansas but not about the law of the land in Oklahoma, but declare that Nixon kept to beer. It's assumed the reference is to non-intoxicating 3.2 beer, which is legal in Oklahoma, but who knows for sure?

If so, please explain his apparent incapacity to discover that racial discriminations justifying the war in Arkansas were being practiced also in Oklahoma. The vast majority of Negroes and whites are attending segregated schools. The hotels and dining rooms, including the one where the cocktail festival was in progress, practice racial discriminations.

If Mr. Nixon attended a public rest room in the state, he found evidence that racial discriminations, right or wrong, were the rule in Oklahoma rather than the exception.

More amazing still is the circumstance that the vice president appears oblivious to the fact that the United States government itself practices segregation in the schools maintained under its own supervision in Oklahoma. In not less than 11 schools, seminaries and colleges operated and controlled by the U.S. government, eligibility for enrollment depends strictly upon racial origin. Of course there is this distinction: To be eligible for enrollment in such schools the applicant must show that he belongs to the Red, rather than either the black or white races.

Both blacks and whites are discriminated against except there is a federal statute making whites (not blacks) eligible under certain conditions to attend "Indian day schools," which prompts the question: If racial discrimination conformable to the laws of Arkansas violate the law of the land, why are racial discriminations conformable to both the laws of Oklahoma and of the United States sanctioned on our side of the state border?

The 14th Amendment, upon which agitators and radicals place such great emphasis, also contains provisos for equal protection and uniform enforcement of the laws.

GLENN O. YOUNG.

722 West Cleveland, Sapulpa, Okla.

◆

Misquoted

Editor, The Advertiser:

I was misquoted in *The Advertiser* Sunday, Oct. 20.

The statement in *The Advertiser* quoted me as saying the Montgomery County Citizens' Council was not in favor of an economic boycott against Negroes generally. I did not make that statement. I said: "We are not now engaged in an economic boycott against Negroes."

The statement must be corrected because it is not true and had I made such a statement it would have been a lie. In the first place I have not the authority to issue such a statement without the approval of the board of directors. I can just imagine how they would take a statement like that.

Those colored leaders that I met with were the leaders of the colored race who realize the position the Negro agitators have gotten their people into and they are trying to get the relations back to normal. They do not go along with the NAACP and other organizations like it.

I have worked too hard and too long to make such a statement as was in the paper for I am not sure of what it will take to win our battle, but whatever it does take, I will be for it 100%

W. B. WYATT.

Chairman Board of Directors, Montgomery County Citizens Council.

Montgomery.

Tell It To Old Grandma

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Laws Must Have Public Support

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — The northern press viciously attacks the South, blaming all race troubles there on imagined lawlessness of southern people. Similar troubles are conveniently overlooked or hushed up when they arise in the North. The beam in their own eyes is totally overlooked in their anxiety to advertise the mote in the eyes of their southern neighbors. They do not hesitate to blame all race troubles on the white people; that is, the majority instead of the minority which is responsible for 75% of the crimes committed in the South.

The North again has decided to rule the South and humiliate the majority of its people for political purposes, seeking votes for its political parties. This has been done by "packing" the Supreme Court which has obligingly made a new law prejudicial to the South without the constitutionally-required act of Congress.

There are intelligent, legally-minded men in the South who cannot condone such high-handed methods but accept it as the law of the land. They forget that a law cannot be made to stick if it is against the will of the majority. They should ask for a delay in its enforcement until the will of the people becomes plainly evident.

This new "law" has been accepted blindly in the South and is to be forced down the throat of the southern people under the name of fairness to the minority. It is being done hypocritically and brutally, even at the point of the bayonet, without any consideration for the feelings of and culture of the people of the South in a mad political race for votes. The cry of sanctity of the courts is raised and steps are taken calculated to prohibit any movement to acquaint the people of the United States with the unfairness of the law to the South and, as will eventually be found, to many other sections of the country as well.

We have an illuminating example of how an unworkable law can be changed in the prohibition act and the brazen breaking of that law by the majority of the people—high, low, judges, justices, politicians and lawmakers. The will of the people came to the fore because the law could not be enforced. The large force of police and revenue officers could not cope with the lawbreakers. True, those officers did not have the bayonets of the U.S. Army, supported by its many and terrible weapons, to back them up. Such a thing was unthinkable then, no matter how brazenly a Congress-passed law was broken.

Given time and chance to accept or reject integration, the people of the South would have decided the question without the discord and mutual hate now being generated. If common sense and forbearance had been exercised by the Department of Justice, there would have been no Little Rock episode. Opportunities for education and attainment of racial culture were being brought about in the South more harmoniously without the outside interference now being exerted.

DOUGLAS B. STERRETT.

Charlottesville, Va.

Filth And The First Amendment

Advertiser P. 4-A

Generally overlooked in the avalanche of controversial Supreme Court rulings was the one holding that obscenity was not protected by the constitutional guarantees of freedom speech and the press.

Mon. 7-1-57

At first blush the ruling may seem to open the way to plain and fancy censorship. But the court tried to make it clear that its definition of obscenity was a narrow one: "sex and obscenity are not synonymous," the court said.

Montgomery, Ala.

To be obscene, material dealing with sex must appeal only to "prurient interest." However, just what constitutes "prurient interest" may be the subject for future litigation and argument. The court continued:

Sex, a great and mysterious force in human life, has indisputably been a subject of absorbing interest to mankind through the ages; it is one of the vital problems of human interest and public concern.

But literature that simply incites "impure sexual thoughts" or "overt anti-social conduct" cannot claim protection of the First Amendment. The majority opinion in one of the obscenity cases, written by Justice Brennan, brought a dissenting view from Justice Warren that "it savors too much of book burning."

Justice Black, in his dissent, said there is no reliable information on the effect of obscenity on society and that in the absence of this the court should be wary:

It should put us on the side of protecting society's interest in literature, except and unless it can be said that the particular publication has an impact on action that the government can control.

Justice Harlan, dissenting in one of the two obscenity cases, said such statements as the following by Justice Brennan were "disarming generalizations" that left him with "serious misgivings as to the future effect" of the rulings:

The protection given speech and press was fashioned to assure unfettered interchange of ideas for the bringing about of political and social changes desired by the people. But implicit in the history of the First Amendment is the rejection of obscenity as utterly wthout social importance.

Justice Brennan's opinion decided two cases: it upheld the federal obscenity stature that prohibits mailing of indecent literature, and sustained a California law against keeping or advertising obscene and indecent books. Chief Justice Warren concurred in the result, but said Justice Brennan's opinion was so broad it "may eventually be applied to the arts and sciences and freedom of communication generally." Justice Harlan concurred in one case, dissented in the other. Justices Black and Douglas dissented in both.

While it appears the majority opinion attempted to confine obscenity prosecution to genuine filth, there is still no neat definition of what this is.

It's the ancient conundrum: everybody is against sin but there is little if any agreement as to what sin is. The court said obscenity could not enjoy the protection of the Constitution. This makes good sense. But what is obscenity?

In broad principle the decision seems sound; in actual practice difficult to apply. We seem to be right where we started in a debate which goes back many years.

When Martyrs Meet—II.

Advertiser P. 4-A

A further vision of Governor Faulkner and Doctor King going to jail about segregation:

Tue. 7-5-57

Doctor King would find himself patronizing a segregated jail.

But he would take jail segregation to court and the court would rule against it, 9 to 0.

Montgomery, Ala.

That would leave Governor Faulkner in jail, chided by those inside for tearing the barriers down and chided by those outside for presenting a personal example of race mixing contrary to "our Southern way of life."

If not kangaroo courted inside, he might be impeached on the outside. Certainly the lieutenant governor would not be in a hurry to go bail for him.

Nor could Doctor King be assured that his lieutenant governor, the Rev. Abernathy, and certain other of his colleagues would be in any greater hurry to go bail for him.

This dungeon business is a deep 'un.

Making Bond To Go To Jail —Or When Martyrs Meet

Advertiser P. 4-A

Wed. 7-3-57

Beau Tie Faulkner, prominent candidate for governor, has said that if elected, he would "go to jail" if necessary to preserve segregation.

Montgomery, Ala.

Doctor King, who has been active in his passive resistance by employing a squad of NAACP lawyers to keep him out of jail, now says it may be necessary for some of his group to "go to jail" to destroy segregation.

Never since Gandhi has jail been so popular. The attitude towards jail is getting to be one of Pike's-Peak-Or-Bust.

The imagination cannot elude the vision of a Governor Faulkner and a Doctor King in jail at the same time—indeed, in the same hoosegow.

Tell It To Old Grandma

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Some Whites Are 'Second-Class Citizens'

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — I was brought up among the colored people because my father employed many in connection with his farming operations, and later in connection with sawmilling.

The colored people have made great progress in the time I have known them, a period of some 60 years. I feel a high degree of affection and respect for the right sort of colored people, and so do all right thinking white people here in the South. We dislike to see anything come up to bring on friction and discord between our races.

The colored people are getting exceptionally fine educational facilities, far better than I had as a child and far better than most white people in the South had.

The colored people are taking advantage of these opportunities and as they become better qualified as citizens they will earn voting privileges which are to some extent denied due to lack of educational qualifications.

At one time, colored people were herded together by certain white people and voted in a block as suited them. To get away from this sort of thing, the white Democratic primary was established. The United States Supreme Court deemed it wise to eliminate our "white Democratic primary." Whether or not this was wise, I shall not say.

There is a vast difference between the cultures of the colored people and the white people of the South. "First-class citizens" will not be made by any edict of the United States Supreme Court and this applies both to white and colored. There are plenty of white people whom I would not class as "first-class citizens" even though they have voting privileges.

I know many colored people who have high moral standards, and are a credit to their race, to Georgia, the South and to this nation.

It is a mistake for either the Democratic Party or the Republican Party in their anxiety to win the colored vote to force upon the South integration. Our races have gotten along very harmoniously until the NAACP along with "preacher-politicians" and other misguided individuals have been giving false leadership. If I am wrong, I hope that God will enlighten me.

B. W. MIDDLEBROOK,
Manager, Dixie Paper Shell Pecan Exchange Barnesville, Ga.

Bayonets Didn't Work In '65

Editor, The Advertiser

In seeking to force passage of the civil rights bill the senators and representatives of the North are trying to do to the South exactly what Soviet Russia is trying to do to the United States, that is, they are trying to force upon us an ideology which we will not tolerate. It is not a question of Rephblicans against Democrats, according to the true

American principle (of which you so proudly boast), but goes back to the old battle line of North against South, "yankee" against "rebel," as the vote in Congress will show. The shooting war ended in 1865, but the cold war is still going on.

The North always had the advantage in numbers on the battlefield as well as votes in Congress, however, until this force bill was introduced we had begun to hope that men of the North had graduated from their uncouth way. However, it seems that this is not so. They are forcing a battle on people whose mettle they should know. That is, their grandfathers did. Did we submit with their bayonets in our backs in 1865? The pages of history say *No*, and future generations will read the same verdict in their history books on the results of this battle also.

In the 92 years since the Civil War, we had begun to look upon Northerners as friends, but what kind of friends do they show themselves to be?

D. C. McLENNAN.

Montgomery.

I have lived in the North and in the South. I have lived where racial problems are few, and where they are many. I have lived in peace until the present upheaval by a minority, for a minority.

Senators, Statesmen, the future of the United States depends upon you. Do not lead us into a dictatorship.

Our chief domestic problem is inflation, not civil rights. Defeat this bill and control inflation.

Montgomery. M. D.

¶ *The doctor's name is withheld because of his Civil Service Status.—Ed.*

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser P. 2-6 Sun. 7-21-57

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

Minority Rule Leads To Tyranny

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — In behalf of the civil rights of the citizens of the United States, and in your behalf —in behalf of their children and yours, and of generations to come, rather than in behalf of those minstrels who would be President by a minority vote, I beg of the Senate not to pass any legislation which would vest greater power in the executive and judicial branches of the deferal government.

Look to the future. The ultimate end of such legislation would be rule by a minority, a dictatorship, and a police state. Our educational, political, economic, and social status would fall to a low level. Nothing would comfort our enemies and aid them more.

Civil rights are states' rights. Each state has different problems. There is no country-wide, blanket solution. Integfation should be evolutionary and voluntary—not revolutionary and forced.

Senators, you are statesmen. This bill is proposed by minstrels who have Presidential ambitions. No race will be deceived by them. They seek only personal and temporary gain. They do not look to the future of their children or their country.

It is stated that a national ballot by those most concerned is not indicated. I believe that any legislation which transfers states' rights to the federal government should require a national ballot.

It is my opinion that the bill should not merely be modified. It should be rejected.

Assent To What

Advertiser P. 1-2

Sun. 5-27-57

Montgomery, Ala.

Editor, The Advertiser:

I have been following with interest the letters of protest from church laymen indicating the increasingly vocal opposition of church members to the so-called stand the Protestant denominations are taking in the integration issue.

Presbyterians have always been proud of their representative form of church government with its system of gradated governing bodies or courts, the Presbytery, the Synod, and the General Assembly. They believe that convincing historical evidence proves the unmistakable influence of the Presbyterian system on our founding fathers in the making of our constitution and the government derived therefrom.

It would seem now, however, that the order of influence has been reversed. The highest court of the Southern Presbyterian Church, the General Assembly, meeting recently in Birmingham, demonstrated how completely it has allowed itself to become indoctrinated by the Supreme Court of the United States. In approving a resolution condemning segregation *in all phases of life*, it purported to speak for the Southern Presbyterian Church as a whole, yet it is my belief that this resolutiton no more represents the honest and earnest convictions of most church members than the Supreme Court's school decree represents the will of a majority of the Southern people.

A similar situation existed in Nashville recently when 4,500 Southern ministers were invited to attend a conference on Christian Faith and Human relations and a mere 300 attended. These 300 proclaimed authoritatively both directly and by inference that people who advocate segregation are not Christian. Thus this conference debased and denied its own label and purpose by abrogating the cardinal Christian and democratic principle of individual liberty of conscience and by assuming unto itself the imperious right of condemnation and judgment.

It would seem that the time for letters of protest has ended and the time for action has long since arrived. Members of the Southern Presbyterian Church, or any other denomination, cannot hope to have their true stand recorded merely by sporadic verbal protest. The churches must take courses of collective action within their ranks to prevent the further desecration of their organizations as propaganda agencies in controversial civil or secular causes. Southern Presbyterians might make good beginnings by excluding from their church budget any allocation of funds that might be used to advance such causes and by changing the committee method of appointing commissioners to the General Assembly.

Most of the letters of protest that I have read have emphasized the reticence and inactivity of church laymen in this matter. That is true. But what of the ministers? What of the 4,200 ministers who did not attend the conference in Nashville? Why are they silent? Do they accept the modern fallacy that the church's mission is to foster the social theories of man-made institutions in an attempt to attain a physical and temporal one-ness? Or do they accept the age-old truth that the church's mission is to propagate the good news of Jesus Christ, for man's personal salvation and his resultant incorporation into the spiritual brotherhood of believers?

I have heard somewhere that "silence gives assent." In this present issue—for both laity and clergy — assent to what?

MRS. S. M.

P.O. Box 55, Lowndesboro, Ala.

Nixon In Dixie

Advertiser

Rumors That Vice President Plans To Come South Just Rumors Now

Montgomery, Ala.

Mon. 8-12-57

By Nelson Cole

Of The Advertiser Staff

VICE PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON will not visit the South—in particular, Alabama—this year.

That's what a spokesman of Nixon's office indicated over the weekend—and it apparently slammed the door to hopes of Negro leaders that some high-ranking Republican would descend to lecture the white South.

COLE

Charles McWhorter, administrative assistant to Nixon, told *The Advertiser* in a telephone interview.

"We don't know anything here (about rumors that Nixon would speak in Montgomery). We have no plans during this calendar year to visit the South. Our plans after that time have not, as yet, been made.

"It is not a fact he plans to visit Alabama any time this year."

SECOND CHOICE

NEGRO efforts to secure some administration figure—preferably President Eisenhower—to speak in Alabama began shortly after the bombing incidents here.

After it became obvious that Eisenhower would not, or could not, come South, these leaders turned to Nixon.

According to the national columnist, Doris Fleeson, in a June 20 Washington dispatch:

"The Vice President promised the Rev. Martin Luther King . . . to visit the South soon to look into fair employment practices."

King reportedly secured the promise when the two met March 5 at the independence ceremonies at Ghana. Nixon did not comment on the invitation.

King later had a June 13 conference with Nixon in Washington which King said was "an outgrowth of the earlier invitation to the Vice President to visit the South."

ATLANTA—MAYBE, SOMETIME

After the conference, King said Nixon had agreed to try to arrange a meeting of the President's Government Contracts Committee in the South in the near future and attend it personally.

Again, Nixon did not comment.

Of this particular meeting, McWhorter said Friday that "at one time there was talk about meeting in Atlanta, but there's nothing definite on that."

What brought the invitation issue back to life recently, however, was Murray Kempton's article in the *New York Post* stating that the Vice President has a commitment to visit the South, and to make a speech in a Negro church this autumn.

'CHURCH SPEAKING RUMOR'

The Advertiser duly commented on the dispatch and McWhorter said it had been read by Nixon.

"We don't know anything about that church speaking rumor."

Thus, apparently, ends a flock of rumors—abetted by the vice president's own actions, encouraged by Negro leaders and reported by national writers.

Staff Photo by Joe Holloway

ADVERTISER PHOTO NAMED BEST NEWS SHOT OF THE YEAR

Parading Klansmen Viewed By Negro Woman At Post-Thanksgiving Rally

SWEEPSTAKES HONOR

Advertiser P. 1

Advertiser Wins Four AP Awards

Mon. 4-29-57 Montgomery Ala.

GADSDEN, Ala., April 28—The Montgomery Advertiser captured four awards here today in the Alabama Associated Press newswriting and photograph contests for 1956.

Awards were presented 15 newsmen and five photographers at the AP's spring meeting here.

Advertiser chief photographer Joe Holloway Jr. took sweepstakes honors in the photo contest with his picture of Klansmen and spectators on a Montgomery street. Holloway was winner in the Class AA division and received a total of $75.

Sweepstakes winners in the newswriting contests were: first, Art Capell of Selma Times-Journal for his interview with the parents of Autherine Lucy; second, the Birmingham News staff, tornado coverage, and third, Sid Thomas, Birmingham News writer, for his story on Skid Row.

The only newspaper in the state to win more awards than The Advertiser was the Birmingham News which carried off six awards.

In spot news. The Advertiser staff won third place, receiving honorable mention for its coverage of the capitol bus boycott.

HOLLOWAY

Russ Holman, Advertiser sports writer took third place for honorable mention in the sports division with a story on golfer Dick Metz.

Steve Lesher, a former Advertiser staff writer, won third place in the features division for his full-page story on conditions at the Bryce Hospital. He received a honorable mention award.

The Birmingham News won first place in spot news with its coverage of the spring tornado in north Alabama.

At today's meeting, a resolution was approved congratulating Grover C. Hall Jr., editor-in-chief of The Advertiser, on his winning the Headliner Award for the best editorial page direction in the nation with his "Askelon" series. The editorial series pointed up racial discrimination in Northern cities.

HOLMAN LESHER

Advertiser P. 2

Other award - winners on the News staff: Sid Thomas, first place in features for story on Skid Row; Benny Marshall, first place in sports for story on Alabama-Kentucky football game, and photographer Ernest Hardin for picture of storm dead, second place in photo competition.

Two other winners in the Class AA division were Herb Dunn of the Alabama Journal, second place in sports writing, for a story on deer restocking program, and Jim Strickland, Birmingham Post-Herald, second place in features for story on mental illness.

The Mobile Press took honorable mention for a picture of a child at a license bureau in the Class AA photo contest.

In the Class A (less than 100,000 circulation) the winners are:

Spot News—First place, Bill Gibb, Tuscaloosa News, Autherine Lucy coverage; second, Alex Thomas and Will Mickle of Huntsville Times story on divorce mill, and third, Louis Eckl, Florence Times, for story on industrial expansion.

Features—First place, Art Capell of Selma Times-Journal, interview with Autherine Lucy's parents; second, Ben Knight, Tri-Cities Daily, story on farmers' plight, and third, Bob Kyle, Tuscaloosa News, "I've Lost Control"

Sports—First place, Paul Cox, Anniston Star, Sal Maglie story; second, Hap Halbrooks, Florence Times, Olympics story, and Ben Knight, Tri-Cities Daily, football preview

In the Class A photo division, Ivan Swift of the Anniston Star won first place with his picture of a crying mother holding her child He also won honorable mention in the sweepstakes

Second place winner in this division was Sam Edwards, Tri-Cities Daily, for photo of storm with a lightning flash, and honorable mention went to Calvin Hannah, Tuscaloosa News, for a football picture

Jim Strickland Named To Post Of City Editor

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Sat. 8-10-57

Appointment of James H. Strickland, a member of the staff of the Birmingham Post - Herald, as city editor of The Montgomery Advertiser was announced last night by Editor-in-Chief Grover C. Hall Jr.

Strickland will assume his duties Aug. 26, replacing Tom Sellers who is resigning to enter another line of work. Sellers has been city editor of The Advertiser for approximately one year.

A native of Fairfield, Ala., Strickland received his education in the schools of that city and was graduated in 1953 from the University of Alabama with a degree in journalism.

He was employed by The Advertiser shortly after graduation as a copy reader and state news editor. Called to active duty with the Air Force, he served as communications officer in the Pacific theater.

Strickland joined the Post-Herald staff as general assignments reporter upon returning to civilian life. He is married to the former Miss Julia B. Arbuthnot, daughter of the late Asst. Atty. Gen. J. W. Arbuthnot, whose widow resides in Montgomery.

All Quiet In Montgomery

Advertiser Wed. 4-17-57

Minneapolis Editor Finds The Cradle Of Confederacy Quiet And Pleasant, Alert To Modern Trends, But Says Change Is Inevitable

Montgomery, Ala. P.4-a

31 Advertisers

ASSOCIATE EDITOR GEORGE L. PETERSON IN THE MINNEAPOLIS STAR-TRIBUNE

MONTGOMERY, ALA.

MONTGOMERY, which recently experienced a long bus boycott by Negro protesters against segregation and then a series of bombings, doesn't look like a beleaguered city.

It's a pleasant place in late spring—late for Alabama, that is. The azaleas and fruit trees are through blooming, crops are in on nearby farms. The state Capitol, which also served as first capitol of the Confederacy, looks benignly down on the center of town. The comfortable "White House" of Jefferson Davis stands nearby.

Like most communities of the Deep South, Montgomery clings—sometimes proudly, sometimes grimly—to its traditions. Yet it is alert to all the modern trends in business and likes the rapid population growth it is undergoing.

Montgomery is quiet now. The buses are running on schedule and the patronage seems largely Negro. In conformity with court rulings, segregation of riders no longer is enforced. But the Negroes still tend to seat themselves from the back, white patrons from the front.

Things never were so bad as outsiders seemed to infer, insist most of the Montgomery people with whom I have talked. Grover C. Hall Jr., talented and affable editor of *The Montgomery Advertiser*, says that individual friendliness between Negro and white citizens has been unaffected in the main by racial events. He admits there is considerable group hostility, though he doesn't thing the feeling could be called hatred.

"We had more violence in a telephone strike two years ago than we saw in the whole bus fiasco," Hall emphasizes. To him the boycott was a "fiasco" because it brought no real change in conditions.

CONVICTIONS UNLIKELY

HE AND others pointed to the prompt arrest of a dozen persons in the bombings of Negro churches and homes as evidence that Montgomery is determined to settle things peacefully and lawfully. But some of the obviously guilty have gone free, only four were indicted, and I'd guess that their convictions are unlikely.

Montgomery people are hurt that their city should have received so much publicity on the race question. "In race relations Montgomery is the most liberal town in Alabama," the white citizens assure you in all sincerity.

They tell you that the bus boycott was something like a strike—many Negroes were intimidated into shunning the buses. They would have you believe that the majority of Montgomery Negroes are satisfied with the old lines of demarcation.

Montgomery, like the other states of the old Confederacy, still is segregated in schools, churches, theaters, etc. There seems no immediate chance of a change, despite Supreme Court decisions. Yet everybody seems to recognize that change is inevitable.

Hall, who visited Minneapolis last November and found the city depressing, sums up the attitude of the gradualist about integrated schools when he asks, "Why should this present generation have to carry the full brunt of bringing the Negroes up to par educationally?"

NEGRO GRADUALISTS

FROM the few short conversations I have had with Negroes here I vould judge that many of them are gradualists, too. In actual practice in the Deep South they might be the laggards in integration. Still, they all know there's a new day coming and some are quite impatient for it.

An anomaly here is Gov. Big Jim Folsom, who has most of the attributes of a demagogue but who never has baited the Negro. As a result he has the solid Negro vote, which, however, isn't very big—probably 50,000 votes out of half a million. Negroes constitute about 40% of the population of Montgomery, a slightly smaller percentage of Alabama's population. The Negro vote is cut down by a literacy provision and a dollar and a half poll tax.

FOLSOM AND POWELL

BIG JIM is serving his second four-year term as governor. Under the state constitution he can't serve continuous terms. He hopes to come back to Montgomery from his insurance business in northern Alabama for a third term after another four years out of office.

He's considered a buffoon and has won office via the votes of rural Alabamians. But many of them think Congressman Clayton Powell may have given Folsom the kiss of death when the New York Negro casually remarked at a Montgomery meeting that he had stopped by at the executive mansion, at the governor's invitation, for a chat and a scotch and soda.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Wed. 5-1-57 P.4

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

An Answer To The Professor's Dilemma

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Your readers read with interest *The Yale Review* article by a professor of philosophy of the University of Alabama, recently published by you.

The professor presents the "dilemma" of one who finds himself unsympathetic with the views of an overwhelming majority of his fellow Alabamians. Some among these, he generously concedes, sincerely think that "segregation is for the real best interests of all concerned."

The dilemma: what is to be the course of him and the "substantial body of the academic profession who place freedom almost first among the virtues and reject the policy of enforced segregation?"

One would think that his question is answered in the second sentence of his article where he speaks of the "moral and political dilemma of professors who experience a conflict between their personal principles and the purposes of the universities and communities of which they are members."

What if he were affiliated with a church a fundamental doctrine of which he secretly repudiated; or a member of a political party with the basic principles of which he utterly disagreed; or an adherent of an ideology which a majority of his fellows, as honest as he, branded as subversive and dangerous? What course would he pursue?

He is concerned with respect for "the law of the land," apparently oblivious of the cold fact that the integration decision of the Supreme Court calmly overturned what had been the undisputed "law of the land" for a half century; a law of the land, the "separate but equal" edict in conformity with which millions upon millions were expended in building equal schools for Negroes.

Let's see if we can assist him in arriving at a practical solution of his problem.

Let him about-face in his views, affiliate with the Yale faculty, and proceed loudly to proclaim the following doctrines: that thousands of years ago the white Aryan tribes descended upon India, conquered the dark-skinned natives and, with a view of preventing intermixing of the diverse bloods, set up a caste system as strong as steel; or, that the intermixing of bloods contaminated the proud Spanish and Portuguese stock in their new-world experiments; or, that the pride of the white race, exemplified in its determination to keep the blood-strain white and so to perpetuate the qualities which have ennobled the world of literature, art, architecture, science, yes and philosophy, is something to be commended and supported, even by the "substantial body of the academic profession;" or, that the civilization, so laboriously builded through the centuries by the white race, should not be jeopardized by the iridescent dreams of a Gunnar Mydal and his aggregation of myopic enthusiasts; or, that congressional investigation has disclosed the communistic affiliation of many of the leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; or, that the Negro teaching profession of the South should be sacrificed in the interest of Negro "freedom."

The opinion is ventured that the Yale answer to his dilemma would be speedily forthcoming.

Montgomery. CITIZEN.

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8-23-57

The Oak Park Courts

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — My commendations to you on your splendid editorial on the Oak Park tennis courts.

May I add that in addition to the courts' requiring resurfacing, they also need new nets to replace the ones with gaping holes in them, and the steel nets which cannot be adjusted to proper height and which sag badly. P.4

A final suggestion—that the park department go back to its previous policy of many years standing of having all six courts available instead of three at a time. This is particularly important at this time in view of the great increase in the popularity of tennis among the young citizens of Montgomery.

Montgomery. LOUIS SOLOVAY.

Direct Hit

Editor, The Advertiser: Advertiser

You deserve a healthy pat on the back for your splendid rebuttal and analysis of Thomas D. Stokes' editorial on "Southern Sham." It is still more encouraging to note that here of late you have been separating the men from the boys on this segregation issue. Times, 8-15-57

Considerable indifference on the part of the average citizen is one good reason why the NAACP has been thumping the tub as long and as loud as it has since May 17, 1954. Montgomery Ala.

On this issue there can be no half-way stand. You are either for segregation or you are not. You can't be for segregation in the school system and for integration on the buses, playgrounds, hotels and places of amusement. P.4-a

As that distinguished Georgian, Sen. Russell, has repeatedly stated, the Negro in the South has progressed more in the past 50 years than any race in the same period of history. If left alone by yankee "do-gooders" and agitators, we and they will both ride on the tide of progress and live in peace.

We are glad to see you limber up the heavy artillery. For the good of your own people just keep shelling the woods with your accurate statements on this issue.

CARL GRIFFIN.

Montgomery.

Editors On Oklahoma Hooch

Advertiser P. 4-A

Prohibition Unlike Desegregation

Sat. 10-26-57 THE ST. PETERSBURG TIMES

OKLAHOMA is a "dry" state—just as dry as such states usually are.

That is, Oklahomans don't drink much more than people do in states where liquor is legal, although it is easier, if more expensive, to buy than in "wet" states which have sensible regulatory laws.

Grover C. Hall Jr., the trenchant and witty editor of *The Montgomery Advertiser,* used Oklahoma's prohibition law to jibe at "the solemn ass Northern press" for insisting that desegregation is the "law of the land."

Prohibition is the "law of the land" in Oklahoma, Mr. Hall wrote in an editorial upon returning from the National Conference of Editorial Writers in Oklahoma City, yet look at how it is ignored.

Montgomery, Ala.

He twitted Gov. Raymond Gary for being present at a cocktail reception for Vice President Nixon, pointing out that the governor is a personal and political dry, and demanded, "Why didn't he send for the police?"

Then Mr. Hall went on to make his point that just because the law wasn't being enforced, neither "anarchy" nor the "dissolution of the State of Oklahoma" was either alleged or threatened.

WHEN Gov. Gary was shown a copy of the editorial, he waspishly commented that he had been embarrassed "and thought Vice President Nixon was, too" and that he thought the sponsors of the NCEW party "were stooping pretty low" when they served highballs.

This only shows Gov. Gary to be a poor sport in addition to being a hypocrite. There is no pretense of enforcing prohibition in Oklahoma and the *Tulsa Tribune* recently commented:

"The official liquor party is standard procedure. And getting to the bar is a matter of shoving aside sheriffs, mayors, councilmen, judges, Supreme Court justices, state senators, representatives, congressmen—yea, and members of the governor's official party."

Mr. Gary would have done well to laugh off Mr. Hall's comments.

AS FOR the analogy which Editor Hall draws between ignoring dry laws and non-enforcement of the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling, clever as it is, it won't stand close examination.

Liquor selling in Oklahoma and other dry areas is merely what the law calls *malum prohibitum.*

Segregation falls into the class of *malum in se.*

In other words, liquor dealing in Oklahoma is wrong only because it is prohibited.

Segregation, however, is wrong in itself, inherently and essentially evil because it is undemocratic and un-American.

There's a big difference between ignoring a law which attempts to make citizens' private social habits and behavior wrong and one which is designed to guarantee the constitutional right of full, first-class citizenship to all persons alike.

ADVERTISER

Off The Bench

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

By Walter Jones

The Right To Choose Your Own Associates

Mon. 10-14-57

THE United States District Court, sitting at Washington, recently rendered a decision sound in law and full of common-sense. This decision upholds and vindicates the right of people to choose their own associates and to mingle socially and professionally with the people of their own choice. The Bar Association of the District of Columbia, which is an organization composed of lawyers, who are entitled to practice in the District Court of the United States, has a by-law which provides that only white persons who are members in good standing, in active practice in the District of Columbia, are eligible to membership in the association, and to be admitted as members. This has been a part of the Bar Association's by-laws for many, many years. Recently, an effort was made to eliminate the word "white" from the by-laws fiixng the qualifications for membership in the association. The court held they had a right to say only "white" lawyers could join the association. District Judge Wilkin wrote an able opinion.

JONES

The judge held that persons who were members of the association acquired, by joining and paying dues to the association, an interest in the association and its property and privileges which entitled them to assert that the membership could not be changed except in accordance with their by-laws.

P. 4-A

THE court said it could not find that these members who insisted on the word "white" remaining in the by-laws did anything to violate rights protected by the federal Constitution or the public policy of the United States. The court in its opinion said, among other things:

"The legal register for the District of Columbia lists a number of bar associations besides the defendant, which have limited or restricted membership. In addition to the defendant Bar Association, there is the Washington Bar Association, the Women's Bar Association, the Federal Bar Association. There is also a Patent Bar Association and a Barristers Club or association. The legality and propriety of such associations have not been questioned, and members who have joined such associations have a right to insist that they continue to represent the special interests for which they were organized until their purpose and objective are changed in accordance with the basic law of the organization

"The defendant association, for a long time, has restricted its membership, and some of its members emphasize that object and purpose of the association which is 'to increase the mutual improvement and social intercourse of its members.' If they feel that the social purposes of a limited membership are of more importance than being the agency of the entire bar of the District, their wishes and desires should not be overriden or denied except by action of the association taken in accordance with the by-laws."

It is good to know that there is at least one federal court in the United States which understands that men and women in America have the right to associate with whom they please, and that they do not have to throw open their doors to all people.

A year or two ago the official magazine of Theta Chi carried an article by its president insisting on the right to prescribe the fraternity's own qualifications for membership.

In this article the Theta Chi president stated:

"Colored men have the right to limit their fraternities to members of their own race. We believe they are happier when they do so. The same right belongs to white men, and to all other races. People, whether black or white, yellow or brown, whether Christian or Jew, Protestant or Catholic, whether athiest or agnostic, Methodist or Presbyterian, will live together in greater peace, harmony, and understanding when guaranteed freedom to choose their own companions than when lashed by any form of dictated, forced, and arbitrary association."

PRESIDENT SHERWOOD BLUE of the fraternity denied that the organization, in limiting its membership to members of the white race, did anything wrong. He stated he said that his fraternity, a secret college fraternity, could not find any justification or authority for people who were not members of the fraternity to tell "those of us who are members of this fraternity who shall be members or what our membership qualifications shall or shall not be."

He noted that you could not temporize with people who attempt to destroy your group organizations and your race. He said:

"We must insist upon our right to choose those with whom we will live and associate."

Mr. Blue protested against those who would destroy the right of free assembly in the United States. He said it was a fundamental American right to select and choose your own associates. We must never deny to the individual the right to freely choose his associates. He and his organizations have a definite right to choose by their own standards, who shall be members of their family. Gradually, the individual rights of the American people are being whittled away, and among the rights the communists and pressure groups are trying to destroy now is the right of people to freely assemble and to choose their own associates. We must fight for this right to the last ditch.

is very simple and easily understood. The Eisenhower Administration, and those pseudo-Democrats who supported it, wanted to make it easy to convict people charged in the federal courts with a violation of the segregation rules made recently by the United States Supreme Court. There is no federal law on the subject. Those who slipped this change in the law did not wish to strengthen the federal jury system, they did not wish to get a higher type of citizens in the federal jury boxes, they did not wish to limit jury duty to the better class of our people, they simply wanted a law which would make it easier to get federal jurors who would convict citizens of the states for violation of the Supreme Court orders with reference to segregation. This change in the federal jury law violates all the principles and ideals of those who founded our government. When the Federal Constitution was formed, it was established with the idea of protecting the rights of the states and not with the idea of taking away their inherent rights. As you read *The Federalist*, you sense the fear expressed by the Founding Fathers of this country that the courts of the United States would soon take over the country. The new federal jury law is a shameful and disgraceful thing, because it leaves out the provision which had stood in the old law for so many long years that a juror in the federal courts had to be generally reputed to be honest and intelligent and to be esteemed in his community for his integrity, good character and sound judgment. These essential and wholesome qualifications no longer appear in the law. And, today, generally, any citizen over the age of 21, except a convict, except a person unable to read and write and except a mental or physical weakling, can serve on the federal juries.

THE REASON for this change will become apparent in the early future when segregation cases come before the federal courts. Our local federal officials, district judges, and district attorneys will be superseded by people sent out from Washington, people who have never lived in the state, people who know nothing of the customs and traditions of the state, and these officers from out of state will prosecute all segregation cases and take over the duties of the local officials. The local district attorney, who is familiar with the common law of a state, and who worked up the case and knows all about it, will have nothing to do with the trial—the prosecutors sent in from Washington won't even let them sit at the counsel table, and whenever there is a jury case involving segregation, you can look out for special assistant attorneys general sent out from Washington to take over.

The right of trial by jury which members of Congress were fighting for, was not the right of trial by juries with the qualifications now found in the Civil Rights Act.

We know this change in the federal jury law is made for the express purpose of beating the people of the South to their knees in all matters involving the separation of the races. We know that it possesses tremendous significance. But we will not know its real significance until the federal courts begin taking over the public school system in the South. When Congress meets in January, the first thing it should do is to restore the old law relating to the qualifications of federal jurors and restoring that character and generally reputed to be honest, intelligent and of good integrity, good judgment.

A Slap At Editors

Advertiser

CHARLES CITY (IOWA) PRESS

NORTHERN editors have been taken to task by Grover C. Hall Jr., editor of *The Montgomery Advertiser*. 11-4-57

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STILL two wrongs don't make a right and in this respect Editor Hall produced a comparative mouse. While we are sympathetic with the magnitude of the school integration problem in the South and urge patience and consideration, our federal Constitution cannot be ignored. Neither can a United States Supreme Court decision as long as this country gives the high court the authority to interpret our laws.

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Off The Bench

Advertiser

By Walter B. Jones

Montgomery, Ala.

The Worst Blow Ever Struck At The South

Mar 11-4-57

A FEW evenings ago, I had the pleasure of visiting my good friend, the Honorable Francis X. Busch, the distinguished American trial lawyer and an outstanding writer on legal topics, at his hospitable home, Rosebusch Hill, in Elmore County, about 12 miles from Montgomery. 11-4-57

JONES

It is mighty hard, when two lawyers get together, to keep them from "talking shop." So Mr Busch and I began to discuss the outrageous Civil Rights Act of 1957 passed by Congress and approved Sept. 9 1957, by President Eisenhower.

I was familiar with most of this iniquitous federal law but Mr. Busch called my attention to one of the law's most wicked features—that feature of the law which contains the worst blow Congress ever struck at the South, and Congress has always been striking blows at the South. The blow I refer to is the blow contained in the Civil Rights Act against the right of trial by jury. Unless you study this matter carefully, you can hardly appreciate the tremendous significance of what the Civil Rights Act has done to the right of trial by jury. It has practically emasculated the jury law.

You ask, how did Congress practically nullify the right of trial by jury? Congress did it in this way:

It repealed that part of the old federal jury law which said a man could not serve as a juror in the federal courts if he were "incompetent to serve as a grand or petit juror by the law of the state in which the district court is held."

The omission of this requirement of the old federal law from the new law weakens, if not destroys, the right of trial by jury in the South.

AS THE RULE now is, relating to the qualifications of jurors in the federal courts, any citizen of the United States, if he is over the age of 21 years, if he has resided in his federal judicial district for a period of one year, and if he has not been convicted of crime and if he can read, speak and understand the English language, and if he is not physically or mentally handicapped, he can serve as a juror in the federal courts. This federal law knocks out all state laws which say that only citizens of their county "who are generally reputed to be honest and intelligent men and are esteemed in the community for their integrity, good character, and sound judgment," can serve on a state jury. Prior to the Civil Rights Act of 1957, the federal courts followed this requirement. And nearly every state in the Union has carefully thought out and established laws for getting good citizens in the jury box. The new federal law as to the qualifications of jurors is not a good thing for the federal courts, and it is a blow aimed at the rights of the states. We must always remember that jurors at the common law, and in the history of all the states, were supposed to be men of good standing and repute in their communities. Jurors are really judges, judges with a most important function, to judge and determine the true facts in a case.

What was the reason the Eisenhower Administration and Mr. Brownell wanted to make this change? The reason

"We must insist upon our right to choose those with whom we will live and associate."

Mr. Blue protested against those who would destroy the right of free assembly in the United States. He said it was a fundamental American right to select and choose your own associates. We must never deny to the individual the right to freely choose his associates. He and his organizations have a definite right to choose by their own standards, who shall be members of their family. Gradually, the individual rights of the American people are being whittled away, and among the rights the communists and pressure groups are trying to destroy now is the right of people to freely assemble and to choose their own associates. We must fight for this right to the last ditch.

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OUT THE WAY—I.

Advertiser
Montgomery Ala
Tues. 10-15-57
P. 4-A

'The Law Of The Land'

OKLAHOMA CITY, Okla., Oct. 12.

"THE law of the land."

The solemn ass Northern press, varicose with its piety and sparkling with the spittle of its self-righteousness, maintains the barking chorus that "the law of the land" must be maintained in such situations as Little Rock. If the Army cannot maintain the law, then it must be reinforced by the Navy and Air Force.

The contention is that unless nine little colored children are kept in Central High School, "anarchy" will prevail, our "free institutions will perish" and we will be faced with "dissolution of the Union."

GOV. GARY

The Advertiser, of course, agrees entirely that violence must be prevented. But what grotesque exaggeration it is to talk about "anarchy" and "dissolution of the Union" if a law of the land is not given instantaneous obedience.

The prohibition law in Oklahoma illuminates this foolishness with a brilliant light.

The law of the land in Oklahoma is that whisky will not be sold. The fact is that whisky is sold more freely in Oklahoma than in New York City.

In New York you can't buy a drink until 11 a.m. (or is it noon?) on Sunday. But in Oklahoma City you can buy all the liquor you can tote in a hotel lobby at any time of the day or night.

The law of the land in Oklahoma is prohibition, but of a Saturday night in the luxurious reception room of the Skirvin Hotel you can see the Vice President of the United States and the Governor of Oklahoma amid many gallons of liquor.

★

VICE PRESIDENT NIXON and Gov. Raymond Gary are guests of the National Conference of Editorial Writers. There are 90 editors present and they represent leading newspapers in every section. Many of them have written law-of-the-land sermons and calls to arms, but there they are in defiance of the Oklahoma law of the land, holding highballs in one hand and shaking the hand of the vice president with the other.

But is anybody gnashing his teeth and crying that "anarchy" prevails in Oklahoma, that the "law must be obeyed" lest the state government lose its authority and fall apart?

The fact is that about half of Oklahoma does not believe in prohibition, so as happened with national prohibition, the law can't be enforced.

★

GOV. GARY is the chief magistrate of Oklahoma, a personal and political dry. But there he was and there was the liquor. Why didn't he send for the police?

Nixon kept to beer, which is legal in Oklahoma. But he stood between the tables heavy with their grog. He was in the bar room before his banquet appearance and he there returned after his appearance.

★

NIXON wouldn't address a segregated assemblage, but he is unconcerned over lending himself to the free and unlimited consumption of illicit liquor. Nixon is concerned about the law of the land in Arkansas, but not about the law of the land in Oklahoma.

Such violation of the law is unwholesome. The law should, of course, be enforced or repealed. *But "anarchy" and "dissolution" of the State of Oklahoma are neither alleged nor threatening. And neither was the Union imperiled by events in Little Rock.*

★

APART from that point, the editor deposes that only in the dry state of Mississippi can one see more illegal liquor. At Biloxi on our last visit the brass rail extended from the Buena Vista to the Edgewater, and for all we know, to Pass Christian. These bars were permanent installations, the same as the pinball machines.

This you do not see in Oklahoma City. Newcomers are advised that the better places would prefer that you keep your liquor under the table. This, however, is not what one sees. But there are no bars, except at private clubs such as the Petroleum Club.

A man checks in at a hotel and asks the bell boy about liquor. He expects to have to disarm the bell boy of suspicion that he is a dick, but not so. The man simply asks what kind and how much. In five minutes he returns with a pint of scotch for $6. In legal Alabama a fifth of the same brand costs a few cents more.

At Glen's Hik'ry House, a topflight steak house, a table of editors asks the the waitress about liquor. She produces the ice and soda—and the manager, who phones the bootlegger as one phones for a cab.

In the lobby of the Skirven Hotel, a group wants to go dancing at the Black Hotel. A Tennessee editor signals a bell boy, asks how long it would take to get a pint. He says, "Two minutes"; and is as good, maybe better, than his word.

At the Black Hotel the lounge is animated with the dancing of well-dressed, gay but orderly football fans. Every table has one or more bottles on it. The corkage charge for three people is $6.50. So for three people to have a little music and a couple of drinks the total is $12.50, before the tip.

From the traffic Oklahoma gets nothing, for the liquor was run in from Texas and Texas collected the tax.

However, Oklahomans wryly put it this way: "Everybody is happy. The drys have their law, the people have all the liquor they want, and the bootleggers are prosperous."

★

THE liquor traffic, however, does know some restraint. An official of the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce, highball in hand, explained it thus to us: "There is no effort here nor in Tulsa to enforce the prohibition law. But the bootleggers are watched. As long as they're making, say, about $1,000 a month, okay. But if somebody is trying to make $2,000, they nail him for vagrancy. The idea is to stifle any kind of imported gangsterism."

The last time there was a repeal referendum (1949), the drys won, 323,270 to 267,870. On Dec. 3, there is to be a referendum on a proposal to substitute county option beer in place of statewide legal beer.

The even division between Oklahomans dry and wet is distorted in the legislature for the usual reason of failure to reapportion. The rural reaches have a legislative strength based on population figures long since nullified by the growth of the cities.

Thus we find in *The Tulsa Tribune*, edited by last year's president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, that a group of bulbous-nosed bigots, commissioned by the dry governor and legislature, are teaching in the schools that parents who allow liquor to be served are "sinful and immoral".

The 7-year-old son of an Episcopalian rector received such an indoctrination in classroom. It is statewide. Whereupon, the minister preached a sermon saying:

"If any individual or group feels it should abstain, I admire them for it. But I have no use for those who say one thing and do another. I wouldn't cover

up the bar when the governor appeared, then open it again the moment he left the gathering—which is typical of Oklahoma's approach to liquor."

★

WHEREUPON *The Tulsa Tribune* commented:

. . . The official cocktail party is standard procedure. And getting to the bar is a matter of shoving aside sheriffs, mayors, councilmen, judges, Supreme Court justices, state senators, representatives, congressmen — yea, and members of the governor's official party.

Yet under the prodding of the United Drys and under pressure from our prohibitionist governor the legislature has meekly appropriated state money to send a passel of fanatics around to our schools to call down the fires of hell on parents who dare to have a drink.

The United Drys and the legislature really see eye-to-eye on only one point —the merit of water. But half the legislature likes it with branch water and the other half prefers it with soda water.

Instead of hiring brimstoners to teach school children what their parents do not believe, why doesn't Gov. Gary hire agents to confiscate the liquor under his nose at receptions for the Vice President of the United States? Law of the land, etc.

Shadow Of The Bayonet

Editor, The Advertiser:

I saw service with Gen. Douglas MacArthur in World War I. My only son served his country under Gen. Eisenhower during World War II. My father was one of the Confederate soldiers that escorted Jefferson Davis from the old Exchange Hotel when he took the oath of office in Montgomery.

I never expected to live long enough to see federal bayonets patroling the streets of one of our southern cities as we have it today in Little Rock. The Attorney General of the United States is the master mind behind the invasion of Arkansas. With the help of the NAACP and certain radicals he hopes to become our next President. He would sacrifice the good relations between the races in the South if it would give him the presidency.

While Ike plays golf, Brownell and Nixon tee off on the political golf course for high stakes. Brownell and Nixon are political twins, each trying to out do the other for Harlem votes. They rejoice to see soldiers with rifles and bayonets marching in Arkansas and forcing white parents to send their children to school with Negroes. But they send their own children to white schools.

Our own Gen. "Slick" Persons should have told Ike what would happen if there was forced integration in the South: 40,000,000 white people in the South will not change their way of life to suit Brownell, Nixon Warren, Hugo Black and his buddies on the Supreme Court.

I voted for Ike the first time he was a candidate. May God forgive me. I should have gone fishing. With Brownell and Nixon and the NAACP in charge, and Ike on the golf course, I fear we are witnessing the beginning of the second reconstruction period with all its horrors and possible blood shed. The shadow of the bayonet hangs over the South like a dark cloud. Maybe if the Southern states would abolish the public schools, let the radical politicians like Brownell and Nixon see for themselves that we will never integrate the races in spite of their bayonets and machine guns. The Negro agitators can then provide schools and pay their own teachers, the whites will do likewise.

Auburn, Ala. EMMETT P. SMITH.

National Whirligig

By Ray Tucker

[Every Saturday Ray Tucker answers readers' questions of general interest on national and international policies and personalities. Questions may be sent to him at 7008 Hilcrest Place, Chevy Chase, Md.]

WASHINGTON.

NUMEROUS readers have asked the following question in various forms, and I have selected one from G. B. of White Plains, N.Y., for a discussion of the problem.

"With respect to the actions of Gov. Faubus and the resulting federal military intervention," he writes, "is there any vital difference in his contempt for law and the lack of action by the governor of Michigan during the sit-down strikes 20 years ago? People and property were damaged. Should not the governor have been sponsored by the President instead of being rewarded with an appointment as attorney general, and later to the Supreme Court?"

FDR Didn't Call Out Troops 20 Years Ago

ANSWER: There is a vital difference, in my opinion. The governor of Michigan, the late Frank Murphy, permitted automobile workers to invade and occupy the plants in brazen violation of the Constitution and laws enacted thereunder. He permitted the strikers to invade, confiscate and damage private property. If ever there was actual and legal juristification for federal action, it was then.

But FDR did not want to antagonize the labor vote, and did nothing. In justice, he may have felt that federal intervention in those troubled times would have caused even greater disorder. His only comment, and he was referring to the corporations as well as the unions, was "A plague on both your houses!"

★ ★ ★

ARKANSAS GOVERNOR'S BLUNDER —Gov. Faubus, according to his contention, was not opposing the enforcement of any law. He was objecting to a Supreme Court decision which, in his and many others' opinion, violates the Constitution. His blunder was in not employing the National Guard to help Negro pupils to enter the school, and then prevent subsequent rioting.

Faubus does not realize that this grave problem cannot—should not—be solved on this kind of a battlefield. Both he and Murphy were wrong.

★ ★ ★

SOCIAL SECURITY AND EARNINGS —Another popular irritating question concerns the legal limitation on the earnings of Social Security beneficiaries, which now amounts to a total of $1,200 a year G. C., whose address is too obscured on his letter to note here, asks the reason for fixing this maximum.

ANSWER: The Social Security Act, with the $1,200 limitation, was passed in 1935, when there was still considerable unemployment. It was designed to induce working people of 65 and over to quit their jobs, thereby making way for unemployed and younger people. Foolishly, in my opinion, the framers of the law seemed to think that a man, or even a couple, could live on $1,200 a year in that era of depression prices.

There are pending before Congress many bills to raise or eliminate the $1,200 maimum altogether. Some increase it to $1,500, to $2,000 and to $2,500, while others remove it entirely. With almost full employment, and today's high cost of living, they contend that this small and arbitrary figure is unfair and unrealistic. In my opinion, it will be raised to at least $2,000 in next year's reelection session, as it should be.

Ironically, there is no limitation on the amount a person may receive on unearned income — investments for instance—without forfeiting his or her Social Security benefits.

★ ★ ★

BASIS FOR AN ASSERTION BY FAUBUS—"Do you think there is any basis for Gov. Faubus' emphasis on the fact that the federal judge handling the Little Rock case was 'imported' from North Dakota?" asks another reader.

ANSWER: I do. Without questioning Judge Davies' fairness or integrity, I think that a jurist with both an understanding of and experience with the South's ancient, racial problem should have been assigned to such important litigation.

One must live with this difficult situation to understand it, and Judge Davies does not qualify in that respect, for there are only a few scattered Negroes in North Dakota. Whoever sent him to Little Rock—Chief Justice Earl Warren or an assignment-making colleague—made a mistake of the worst order. My own attitude on this question, for instance, has changed since I moved from New York City to Washington 30 years ago.

(Released by McClure Newspaper Syndicate)

Might Will Prevail

Editor, The Advertiser:

Arkansas today is engaged in a fight with our military government to see whether the provisions and guarantees written into our federal Constitution are laws or words subject to the interpretation and revisions of whatever central government holds sway at the moment.

This is not Arkansas' fight. This is a battle between the forces of a militaristic, all-powerful central oligarchy and all of America's freedom-loving peoples. The test is not one of integration or segregation. This issue was merely the fuse which has ignited a far more important conflagration which threatens to replace our republican form of government with a military dictatorship. We have seen the same situation develop many times in the Latin-American countries when force was necessary to suppress the expressed wishes of a vocal majority in the insidious interest of a well-armed minority. We saw it happen in the Confederacy's ill-starred battle for freedom against an oppressive central oligarchy.

The pitiful part of the whole mess is that Arkansas, and the whole of America's civilian population, will lose. No state, no matter whether right or wrong, can successfully defy the armed might of the federal government. Under the present military dictatorship people of Little Rock have no alternative but to obey whatever "laws" or rules their military occupation forces may decree. I dare say there are precious few Patrick Henrys in this country today, who would prefer being spitted like a pig to living under the oppressive and domineering boots of the invaders.

To quote from Arkansas' estimable Gov. Orval Faubus: "It is quiet in Little Rock tonight . . . It is quiet in Budapest tonight!"

KELLETT A. GOODWIN.

Auburn, Ala.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Tues. 6-4-57 P.4-A

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

What The Methodist Vote Means

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — There has been a great deal of misunderstanding regarding the action of the recent session of the Alabama-West Florida Methodist Conference in its vote on a constitutional amendment involving the transfer of Negro Methodist churches into all-white conferences and the transfer of Negro conferences into white jurisdictions.

The amendment was submitted by the General Conference. It has been approved in a number of annual conferences but it was defeated in the Alabama-West Florida Conference by a vote of 262 to 178. The vote cannot be considered on strictly conservative and liberal lines. Some conservatives voted for the amendment and some liberals voted against it. It became a matter of the interpretation of the individual as to how this action might affect other proposals still to be decided.

The organization of the Methodist Church is a complicated one. When the Northern and Southern Methodist bodies united with the Methodist Protestant church in 1939, this union was consummated by the acceptance of what was then considered a firm agreement placing the more than 300,000 Negro Methodists in the Northern church in a separate all-Negro jurisdiction with its own conferences and bishops. They are a part of the general organization—a small minority in a vast body numbering nearly 10,000,000 members.

This Negro membership has not grown for a number of years. Each year the total church membership and number of ordained ministers decrease. It is not a self supporting jurisdiction. It came into being immediately after the Civil War and as a result of the labors of Methodists from the North. Despite large financial support from white Methodists, many of these congregations are closing their doors. Very naturally, Negro Methodists, preferring their own racial groups, are casting their lot with one of the major Negro organizations—the AME, the AME Zion, and the CME Church. They have had fine leadership and they are at home in the churches of their own people and have never evidenced the slightest desire to seek union with any Methodist church with a predominantly white membership.

The amendment now before the annual conferences of the Methodist Church simply proposes a way by which transfers can be made into other groups. The procedure is difficult, requiring a two-thirds vote of a quarterly conference of a local church; the church conference of the local church; and the two conferences involved—one from which the local church would transfer and the one into which it seeks to be received. The same two-thirds will apply to conferences seeking to merge or to become a member of another jurisdiction in which many conferences hold membership.

Admittedly the proposal contains the provision of local autonomy and "freedom of choice." It can be argued with some reason that no Southern conference or jurisdiction would ever give the necessary two-thirds vote of approval, but there are many, both among the supporters and opponents of the amendment, who claim that it is the first step toward the final elimination and absorption of the all-Negro central jurisdictions and the final merger of the Negro conferences into the white conferences. Indeed this is the position taken by the most ardent integrationists in the Northern conferences and it is the sentiment frequently expressed in Methodist publications representing Northern and Eastern conferences.

While the vote of Alabama and West Florida Methodist (262 against and 178 for) may seem somewhat confusing, there is no doubt among Methodists in our area concerning the sentiment toward the preservation of the present jurisdictional structure and the continuance of the all-Negro central jurisdiction as a unit separate from the other. Immediately following the vote on the amendment, I presented a resolution to the conference asking for the appointment of a special commission to go before a general "commission for study and action of the jurisdictional system" appointed by the General Conference of the Methodist Church.

This resolution passed without a dissenting vote and those appointed will appear before this general commission and ask that no further changes be made in our Methodist jurisdictional structure.

Whatever the vote on the present amendment in any of the conferences may be, the white conferences of the South do not want proposed transfers or mergers. We are in a minority—both in the General Conference and in the total votes in our annual conferences. The pressure is on and it will continue—aided and abetted by those propaganda organizations who are using all the churches to force us into an impossible situation.

The demand does not come from the rank and file of the Negro or white members in local churches. It is a part of a vast propaganda movement carried on by agitators who distort the teachings of our Christian faith to gain ends profitable to themselves but tragic in their consequences to the people of both races.

The hope for preserving mutual good will and understanding among the people of both races rests with the sensible good people who compose the body of the membership of the Christian churches throughout the South.

[THE REV.] G. STANLEY FRAZER.
Montgomery.

◆

Commendable

Editor, The Advertiser:

Having just read your editorial, "Montgomery Justice" in today's paper I do want to commend you for it. Your editorial concerning the poll tax reversion bill in yesterday's paper is a most timely interpretation.

For some years I have followed your writings and have always found them most thought-provoking. While I have not always agreed with your thinking, you have done a wonderful job in trying to keep our city and state above the sordid happenings of these days.

Thank you for your fine help in this critical time.

MRS. J. FLETCHER McLEOD.
Montgomery.

Shameful Editorial

Advertiser P.4-A

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — I have read some good and some bad *Advertiser* editorials on segregation, but the editorial in Friday's paper about Billy Graham should make you hang your head in shame. Anyone who has ever heard or even read about Billy Graham knows that he is one of the greatest Christian preachers of our time, and is trying with all his mind, soul and body, with the help of God, to bring people back to God.

This is his sole purpose in life, and if I were you as editor of a big paper, I would leave God and Billy Graham out of my editorials.

MRS. L. R. ABERNATHY.
Montgomery.

★ Tell It To Old Grandma ★

The Advertiser Wed. 1-23-57

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

False And Wishful

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Some few days ago I noticed in *The Advertiser* a statement made by the Rev. Martin Luther King who said (in effect) that it was worth dying for to get to sit by white people, and for the children of his race to mingle and mix with white children in school.

That is some price to pay, yet not the full price. How about the price the white race and ultimately the nation would pay for such perverse social contact if this scheme should succeed?

In looking back through the history of his race and noting that it is the only race in the world that has no written language, that his race alone has never contributed to any civilization, I presume he thinks that rubbing elbows with the white man will improve the brain power of his race.

What false and wishful thinking by the Reverend.

Box 133, F. LAMAR HAYES.
Georgiana, Ala.

◆

Integration In Germany

Editor, The Advertiser:

I would like for some Southern people, who are in doubt as to what integration really is, to read this letter. I have been in a strictly and a highly forced intergrated society for the last two years, in the army. While up north and overseas in Germany I saw integration for what it really is.

Advertiser

It is debasing, unbelievably atrocious, and beyond the comprehension of most good Southerners. I have seen race riots overseas among our servicemen the likes of which would turn one's stomach. When I left they kept a riot squad on 24-hour alert.

Wed. 1-23-57

We as whites owe it to our forefathers, and to the generations yet to come to protect and preserve our race. Think what Montgomery would be like in 25 years if we intergrated like the federal government would have us do. Don't kid yourself, and don't let anyone else do it. Take the advice of one who has seen. We don't want it.

Montgomery, Ala. P.4

Montgomery. DAVID C. FOX JR.

Alabama Editors Are Saying

Advertiser Sun. 6-18-57

Tell It To Old Grandma

Montgomery, Ala. P. 4-A

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Wayward Youth

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—It certainly was a shock when I heard on the news broadcast that the Methodist College students from nine Southeastern States in camp at Lake Junaluska, N.C., had voted 1,700 to 35 to abolish the Central Jurisdiction in the Methodist Church, further stating that "segregation of the races is un-Christian."

At the recent Alabama-North Florida Conference of Methodists held at Huntingdon College the vote to maintain the Central Jurisdiction was two to one, which means that the adults who are paying the bills intend to maintain the segregation of the races in the Methodist Church.

Do the youth, who passed such a resolution at Lake Junaluska think for one minute that their mothers and fathers will go along with their ideas? It seems to me that they would do well to consider first just who is paying for their college education, instead of trying to set an example for their elders to follow. It seems also that the time is past due for Mom and Dad to tell son and daughter just who is "boss" and just who has the best idea about present-day situations—the person who has been around for a long time and makes the money and pays the bills or the young squirt who thinks he knows it all.

Just who is boss today—the brainwashed youth, who is still not dry behind the ears, or the parent who is paying the bills? MRS. HAL LAMAR.

Hope Hull, Ala.

man bits of writing I've come across in a long time.

Why don't you stop fooling around and write a full length novel? I'll buy a copy sight unseen. ARLITZ N. HEIMER.

Forest Park, Opp. Ala.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Tue. 6-7-57

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Montgomery, Ala.

The Issue Was Violence, Not Segregation

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Thanks for your praiseworthy editorial "Montgomery Justice" on the bombing trial.

P. 4-A

The farcical verdict of "not guilty," in spite of signed confessions of guilt (which the defense was never able to prove had been secured by any but fair, just means), and the practical admission by the defense attorneys (in his statement to the press the next day) that the jury was already prejudiced, are enough to make any lover of justice shocked and ashamed.

The question was not the jury's view on integration, but only whether or not those men threw those bombs—an outrageous act no matter how motivated. But the jury evidently became so muddled over the black and white issue that the only thinking they could do was gray. And now the mayor, adding insult to injury as far as all citizens who stand for law and order and justice are concerned, dares to commend such a jury.

In the face of such a situation I do not think it hard to explain the "meek silence of our leading people, and their willingness to leave the field to our boobs and opportunists" which your last paragraph referred to.

We simply haven't got what it takes to risk having the next bomb thrown in the door of our own church or even on our own doorstep. Oh, to be a modern Voltaire! A. M. V.

Montgomery.

It is supervised. 2. Only two cars are on the strip at any one time, and both are going in the same direction (no oncoming traffic, or cars coming in from a side road). 3. The fellows have a quarter of a mile to get their top speed, then are flagged to cut the speed, and they then have a quarter of a mile to come to a stop. A person who has the urge to speed should do so on this safe drag strip—get it out of his system—then drive safely on the streets and highways.

As for jalopy racing by teenagers at the Montgomery Motor Speedway, this is not so. All drivers are 21 years old or older. This I know, as I am in the pit area at every race.

J. P. CUNNINGHAM.

Montgomery.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Sun. 6-16-57 P. 2-B

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Montgomery, Ala.

In Error

Editor The Advertiser

There appeared in your Sunday paper, June 9, on your editorial page under the caption, "Tell it to Old Grandma," a letter from M. W. Patterson of Tallassee, entitled, "The Negro's Friend." In Mr. Patterson's letter he stated, "One of their own race, the president of Miles College of Birmingham, said in a speech to Negroes in Macon County: 'Stand by the white man of the South for he is your friend, they may call you mister up North, but they don't feed you when you are hungry or clothe you when you are cold."

Mr. Patterson further stated, "Our Methodist Conference in Alabama gave this university, on Race Relations day last year $259,000." Mr. Patterson was in error. I have not made a speech in Macon County and I have made no such statement as attributed to me, nor have I made such statement at any time.

Now as to this college's receiving $259,000 last year on Race Relations Day, this was also in error. This college received no such contribution from the Methodist Conference in Alabama last year on Race Relations Day.

Birmingham, Ala. W. A. Bell,
[President, Miles College].

Filibusters In Alabama And Washington

Advertiser P. 4-A
Thurs. 7-11-57

Montgomery, Ala.

SOUTHERN Senators are eloquent in their anguish at the thought of being denied the right of filibuster. But, strangely, they could be denied that same right in their home legislatures.

Congressional Quarterly has just completed a survey of legislative rules in the 48 states and with but few exceptions the rules are so drawn as to prevent filibuster by a minority bloc.

The issue is again being discussed in the face of a threatened filibuster in the Senate over the pending civil rights bill. Outnumbered senators from the South are determined to talk the bill to death while the opposition has indicated it will invoke the cloture rule if necessary to cut off debate. The rule of cloture, adopted in 1949 but never applied successfully, permits the closing of debate on a particular issue upon the approval of 64 senators.

Advertiser

CQ went to the rule books of the various Legislatures to see how many of the filibustering Senators—if any—could get away with similar tactics in their own state senates. Ironically, of the 11 Deep South states, 10 have rules which block prolonged filibustering by a minority.

In eight of the Southern states—Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia — a motion for the previous question is authorized. In layman's language, this strategy works in this manner: A member moves for the previous question and that motion is put to an immediate vote. If the motion carries the body then proceeds to vote immediately on the bill under debate. For what its worth, this motion is used in the British House of Commons where it is appropriately titled the "guillotine."

Alabama, South Carolina and Florida are the only Southern states where the previous question is not written into senate rules. However state senators in all three are limited in the length and number of speeches they may make in a day, and both Alabama and South Caroline have some form of cloture rule.

The Alabama rule specifies that the Senate Rules Committee can at any time report out a special rule specifying that debate on a particular question must end at a certain hour. After no more than 30 minutes debate on this special rule a vote must be taken and if approved by two-thirds of the elected members (24) then the rule of cloture is invoked and a vote on the filibuster-provoking question must be taken.

Alabama's senators are also limited in the length and number of speeches. Rule 37 specifies that no member shall speak more than twice on any question and no more than one hour at each time. Thus the maximum amount of time one member can consume on a question is two hours. However there is no limit to the number of questions or amendments that can be raised.

Florida is the only Southern state in which neither the rule of cloture nor the previous question can be invoked. Florida senators are limited to two addresses of no more than 30 minutes each on each question, but here too, there is no limit on the number of questions which can be raised.

Many arguments can be made for unlimited debate in the U. S. Senate which would not hold water in the case of a state legislature. Even so, it is an amusingly anomalous situation that right of unlimited debate, held sacred by Southerners, is abridged at home.

State legislatures and Congress are different, of course. Congress is the forum for widely separated sections of a great nation, with all the conflicting interests and customs implicit in so diversified a country.

31 1957

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser p. 4-A

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Montgomery, Ala.

Justice Black And Black Monday

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Although it shouldn't be any surprise to anyone that London's communist *Daily Worker* praised U.S. Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black in a recent edition, you are to be commended for featuring this story on your front page June 23, as reported by the Associated Press from London. Adv. 6-24-57

The *Daily Worker* would not long remain the official publication of the communist conspiracy if it didn't publish a certain amount of praise for their proven friends. Few will fail to recognize their justification for this article.

The pattern establishing his ability as a questionable politician was recorded in the mid-20s when he turned his back on the old Ku Klux Klan which is credited with making him a police judge in Birmingham. In more recent years this pattern has been closely adhered to in many of his actions which were in direct conflict with the thinking of those who elected him to the U.S. Senate. Still when he turned his back so completely on his native South with his part in the Black Monday ruling those who call themselves "liberals" continued to praise him.

More recent actions of our pseudo hero, whom Alabama voters so carelessly elected to the Senate in 1925, reveal a long record of his favoritism to practically every subversive movement, including his desire and effort to acquit 14 proven communists convicted of conspiring to overthrow our government. This seems to place our Alabama boy completely "over the fence" and happily in bed with his "liberal" supporters who are pledged to destroy our country. After all, there is such a thing as honor and duty which even the communists respect as signified by their published praise.

Presently, rumors have it that Congress is considering measures to curb the abuses forced on us by a brainwashed Supreme Court. It is our patriotic duty to correct our 1925 mistake by bombarding our congressmen with letters, postcards, telegrams and calls urging their immediate efforts in clipping the wings of those who are destroying us from the bench, which by now can claim the respect of none of us. House Office Building and Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C., are their addresses. ARCHIE PELLE.
1125 Water Ave., Selma, Ala.

◆

What's The Beef?

Editor, The Advertiser :

What's all the commotion about?

To hear the howl you'd think that the federal and state income tax had been doubled! What does the city sales tax of 1% mean, in cost, to Mr. and Mrs. John Q. Montgomery?

Suppose we analyze a bit. John works about 40 hours per week and his gross monthly income is approximately $500. After deducts for federal and state income tax, social security tax, union dues, life insurance, hospital insurance and the United Appeal the boss hands him a check for $400. Please note that the city has not been taken care of yet.

The $400 he spends somewhat like this for exempt items:

House rent or mortgage payments, water, gas, electricity, garbage bills, telephone bills, etc.	$120.00
Automobile payments, automobile insurance, gasoline, oil and service	100.00
Laundry and cleaning	12.50
Burial insurance	4.50
Doctor and dentist bills	15.00
Purchases at the Curb Market	20.00
School lunches	12.00
Lawn and flower yard	9.00
Newspaper	1.75
Bank loan	20.00
Loan shark	8.50
Cigarets	9.50
Coffee and cokes	5.00
Total	$337.75

No 1% city sales tax on the above!

This leaves John Q. $62.25 to spend as he sees fit and let's assume that he spends it all for taxable merchandise. This would require the payment of the handsome sum of 62 1-4¢ in city sales tax. Split this sum four ways to determine the weekly tax and it appears that John Q. is nearly bankrupt because of the tax because he must pay 16¢ per week to the city for all of the police and fire protection and other essential services that he gets.

Why man, that figure of 16¢ represents one-half of the cost of a pack of filter-tip king-size cigarets!

Now this ain't the worst of it either because this awful expense of 16¢ per week goes on all year, at least for 50 weeks (John is so mad he is going to Florida for a two-week vacation to avoid the tax) and 50 weeks means $8.12 and that represents two-fifths of "you know what!"

He is also going to make a special trip to Birmingham, Columbus, Atlanta or Mobile to buy that suit of clothes for $75 that he has been needing so badly. Just think of it. He will spend $15 or more in gasoline, oil and wear and tear on his automobile, hotel bill and meals, and ride on the safest (?) highways in the nation to save 75¢ city sales tax and the opportunity to ride on the streets of the safest and finest city in the nation, Montgomery.

I really don't see how John Q. will ever be able to buy that second room air conditioner he needs so badly to get Sarah Q. to quit complaining about how hot this beastly house is! There is one consolation though. He can explain to Sarah Q. that he just can't afford it now because of the exorbitant city sales tax.

Again I ask, what's all the commotion about? J. D. A.
Montgomery.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Thurs. 6-27-57

Good Education Coverage

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—It has been a pleasure to cooperate with *The Advertiser* and *Journal* reporters and photographers in school news coverage during the 1956-57 school year. The staffs of both papers have, in my estimation, done outstanding work in interpreting education in the Montgomery public schools. p. 4-A

This letter would be too long if I were to mention the many splendid articles, editorials, and different fields of reporting which we have heard praised. Since "Teen Topics" and Katherine Tyson's "Family Pages" were new, I felt that the favorable reaction would be interesting to you.

During the last days of school I talked with some of the principals in regard to "Teen Topics." The following are quotations:

Ralph Watts, principal of Baldwin Junior High School: "The project served as a stimulus to others. It helped to develop interest in student body activities which paid off in a better school spirit."

W. J. Slay, principal of Cloverdale Junior High School: "Teen Topics has been of interest to pupils and parents in the Cloverdale area. I have heard many favorable comments, and a large number of people have expressed appreciation for the service which *The Advertiser-Journal* has provided."

T. A. Kirby, principal of Capitol Heights Junior High School: "I believe that the students have shown more interest in 'Teen Topics' than any other source of publicity. Many of my parents have commented favorably."

Mrs. Dorothy King Baggett, principal of Bellingrath Junior High School: "'Teen Topics' has been a wonderful project. The student body has really looked forward to it each month."

John C. Robertson, principal of Pike Road School: "Teen-agers have loved it. They have been interested in styles, fads in music, the social side as well as the news about other schools."

Lee R. Scarborough, principal of Pintlala School: "'Teen Topics' has been a big boost to our community. Miss Mildred Smith has always been a great friend to our rural schools, and with the added medium, 'Teen Topics' and 'Miss Judy,' we feel that we have had excellent coverage."

Meade Guy, principal of Pine Level School: "'Teen Topics' was a motivating project in the English classes, but it reached the interest of the entire school."

Many parents and teachers have said that the "Family Pages" were excellent, and had created interest for the entire family.

The courtesy and friendly spirit which all departments have shown me is appreciated. MRS. RUTH TILLMAN,
Director of Information & Research,
Montgomery City-County Schools.
Montgomery.

Judicial Reform—II

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

WE HAVE mentioned the objection of an Alabama judge to the contention by proponents of the judicial reform bill that the proposed new Alabama Rules of Civil Procedure are "simple."

They may be *simplifications* of existing rules, but the judge is right in his statement. They aren't simple. Law isn't simple. Wed. 6-19-57

The 86 proposed Alabama rule changes are discussed in the spring issue of *The Alabama Law Review*. Proof enough that the new rules, based largely on the federal rules of procedure, are not mastered in an evening is an article by Talbert B. Fowler, Jr., assistant professor of law at the University, who devotes 24 tightly packed pages to a discussion of "Available Research Materials On The Federal Rules Of Civil Procedure" — the statutes, reports, digests, citators, legal periodicals, encyclopaedia, procedural form books, prac-

tice books, etc. The layman can easily see the complexity of the new rules—simplified though they are said to be—as they have been interpreted by federal and state courts.

Fowler is a librarian at the University Law School. The bulk of his article is tedious reading for the non-lawyer. After many pages, he arrives at a condensed list of publications helpful to the average Alabama lawyer in "adapting his practice to the proposed Alabama Rules of Civil Procedure."

In addition, he recommends that county law libraries buy the complete list of recommended publications. To the lawyer, all these will help explain what the rules mean as interpreted by the courts and explained by authorities.

★

ALL of which is to illustrate the point made by one judge that the new rules will not make civil practice mere child's play.

But other articles in the *Alabama Law Review*—the entire issue being devoted to a symposium on the proposed rules—compliment the commission's simplification work. Charles E. Clark, chief judge, U.S. Court of Appeals, Second Circuit, and formerly Dean of the Yale Law School, says:

> I do not recall anywhere a smoother application of the popular federal practice to local needs than is found here [in the new rules recommended by the Alabama Commission on Judicial Reform] . . . Its passage will put Alabama in the forefront of procedural progress in this country. This is no attempt to reject the wisdom and experience that lawyers have acquired over the centuries. Rather it is a plan to build and make use of it . . . Some of the best common pleading is preserved and utilized. . . . There is no intent to burn the old legal books, only to use them as they constitute the heritage of all educated lawyers . . .

★

CHARLES ALAN WRIGHT, professor of law at the University of Texas, confesses in his article that legislative codes enacted before the Federal Rules of 1938 often resulted in a "confusing proliferation of detail." But with the vaunted federal rules as a model, subsequent legislative codes of pleading have recognized that "the object of the court is to dispense justice, not to vindicate scientific rules of pleading."

The proposed rules, Wright says, will give Alabama a system in which the pleadings will be simplified and should "discourage battles over mere form of statement [and] do a good deal to insure that cases will be decided on their merits rather than on technicalities."

★

EVERYWHERE judicial reform movements have met with strong pressure not to change the old ways. "Even where the need for change is accepted by all," Wright says, "there is a constant temptation merely to patch up the ancient edifice rather than to build an entirely new structure." While conceding that there are minor aspects of the new rules which he disagrees with, Wright continues:

> I have no hesitation in concluding that these rules, as a system, are the best of any jurisdiction in the world. Their adoption in Alabama will not only make justice in this state better, swifter, and less expensive, but it can confidently be expected that henceforth forward-looking jurisdictions everywhere will turn to the Alabama Rules of Civil Procedure as the model to be copied.

★

THESE are impressive testimonials. In our view they effectively turn aside the criticisms brought against the new rules. There will of course be inconveniences to some lawyers, particularly the lazy ones.

But the public concern for fairer, more efficient civil justice is a much higher question. And it has been answered, we believe, by the Alabama Commission on Judicial Reform and those scholars who have attested to the thoroughness of the Commission's work.

Black Monday

Advertiser P.4-A 7-28-65

Alabamians don't like Justice Hugo Black on the Supreme Court.

How did he get there?

Ku Kluxers and enough others who were not Kluxers twice voted to send him to the U.S. Senate. Roosevelt saw him and appointed him to the court.

We trust the Klan is satisfied.

A Judicious Washington Newspaper

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

THAT which follows may seem a novel treat to many thirsting Alabamians. It is a restrained and sympathetic editorial out of a Northern newspaper on the South. There isn't a line of piety or self-righteousness in it. In the following the *Washington Evening Star* holds with the South on jury trial and the civil rights bill:

Wed. Editorial P.4-A

> The attempt to add a jury-trial amendment to the so-called civil rights bill has been beaten down in the House by a vote of 199 to 167. This 32-vote margin, according to Rep. Willis, Democrat of Louisiana, resulted from White House pressure on Republican House members.
>
> We do not know whether this is correct. If it is, it means that the President, who carried five Southern States last year, does not trust Southern jurors to live up to their oaths. For the real reason behind the drive against the jury-trial amendment was the fear, real or professed, that Southern juries would not convict defendants in civil rights contempt trials, regardless of the evidence.
>
> Whatever the case with respect to the President, it is clear that the House has prejudged, and adversely prejudged, an entire area of the country. In effect, this was a vote of no confidence in the South, and that, we think, is a high price to pay for some supposed political advantage among Negro voters outside the South.
>
> The jury-trial amendment was offered by Rep. Keeney, a freshman Republican House member from Illinois. He said he submitted the amendment because as a judge in Illinois he had always considered a jury trial as an integral part of any court.
>
> It required political courage for Mr. Keeney to take this stand, and, with respect to cases in which punishment for criminal contempt is comparable to punishment for other crimes, we think he is right. We do not believe that considerations of expediency, especially considerations based on speculation, justify bypassing the jury trial, and we trust that this matter will receive more earnest consideration in the Senate.

The editor of the *Washington Evening Star* is Benjamin McKelway, an unspectacular, but judicious and seasoned writing editor. He and his paper do not approach complex situations with the razzle-dazzle superficiality of many other major papers. For example, it may interest Alabamians to know that before Editor McKelway wrote on the subject of Montgomery's church bombing trial verdict, he telephoned *The Advertiser* for first-hand information and requested our editorials and news stories on the subject.

The competing Washington newspaper, *The Post & Times Herald*, is a different breed of cat. It is brilliant, energetic and high-minded. But it hasn't any perplexities. Its owner, the wife of the owner, the publisher, and its editors have "Potomac fever" conspicuously. *The Post* considers itself a branch of the government. It is so confident of its viewpoints that a few years ago it subscribed to less than a half dozen other newspapers. If it had to choose between being a newspaper and an "institution", it would be an institution. Whereas the *Star* has been an institution so long that it need think only of being a newspaper.

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Montgomery, Ala.

Off The Bench

Advertiser P. 4-A

By Judge Walter B. Jones

A Subscriber Lets 'Time' Hear From Him

IT HAS always been a source of regret and an outrageous injustice to the people of the South, that the magazines and weeklies published at the North, and whose circulations run into the millions, have apparently decided that they can best serve their country and boost their circulations in the North by a studied, day after day misrepresentation of the people of the South, especially with reference to racial relations.

JONES

The attitude of these weeklies is that nothing good can come out of the South. They never see the bad things which daily happen on their own doorsteps. They conveniently ignore these things and never publish them, but let some unhappy event happen in the South and the large circulation weeklies are after the people of the South like the bloodhounds after Little Eva.

Recently a Southern gentleman of character, courage and marked legal ability, now past the century mark, indignant at the things he saw in the weekly magazine *Time*, wrote them a letter and requested that his name be removed from its list of subscribers. This letter from Hon. S. Palmer Gaillard, distinguished Mobile lawyer and proud and loyal Southerner, is as follows:

"I have reached the point as a reader of your otherwise excellent journal, where I speculate as I take it up: How much news of general interest—especially to the South—have you swept under your news carpet, that should be in this issue of *Time?*

"Why this mental attitude? And I answer by saying, because of your own record. Eample:

"1. A small newspaper in North Carolina refused to put the picture of a Negro in his paper, and being in the South *Time* had it, with its coloring and it brought forth three letters, two of them from foreign countries condemning the press of the South for its hostility towards our Negro citizens, and *Time* published them with your sarcastic caption, 'Southern Hospitality;' yet, when I sent you two clippings from our great old paper, the *Mobile Press Register*, one with pictures of some six candidates for city councilmen with their *pictures* and a nice personal sketch of each, one being a Negro minister; and the other clipping being that of a pleasing writeup of a Negro librarian, you swept both under your carpet. Did you not owe something to your foreign readers and especially to those who relied on the accuracy of your paper as a news reporter? Something to Southern newspapers? Something to the South?

"2. I read in papers and magazines of such items as that of a Negro educator from the Northwest being called to Philadelphia but sent back instantly when he turned out to be a Negro; of a group of Vermont students engaging and paying for hotel accommodations for a weekend holiday but rejected when one turned out to be a Negro. *Time* looked South and was silent about such items.

"3. Your uniform attitude of bitter hostility towards the South on racial lines, hatreds, prejudice and racial segregation, only if they occur in the South.

"A reputable Negro published a criticism of Northern states for racial prejudice and segregation by saying that Philadelphia, and indeed the great state of Pennsylvania had but a small handful of Negro teachers in public schools. To a Southerner, *that* is rank and unjust racial discrimination. And according to the same authority, similar conditions prevail in New York. *Time*, of Philadelphia, is too busy looking South to publish such conditions at home, but looking South it could see more qualified and respected Negro teachers and principals in the city of Mobile than in the state of Pennsylvania, housed in buildings the counterpart of white schools and on the same pay scale.

"But *Time* cannot see that segregation in the South does not mean hatred or unnatural prejudice to our Negro citizens, and will not see that the billions of dollars spent and the helping hands outstretched by the great mass of white citizens, evidence our warm interest in their advancement as a race as far as they can go. It sees only the bad apple.

"*As a race*, yes, and without stigma to either white or Negro race, segregated in their private, social and family spheres because by nature and a higher power they were so segregated and so lived for some 4,000-6,000 years. In those spheres, I doubt not, have the editors of *Time* and their ancestors lived and now live, segregated lives with more ill will towards their white race of the South because they draw the racial line of segregation in protection of their private, social and family lives to meet local conditions, than I ever had in my heart or outward living toward the Negro race.

"In other publications I read of the steady flight of the white residents from cities like Washington and Chicago to far suburbs to escape *integration* with Negroes crowding into their neighborhood, accompanied by white demonstrations against them, but *Time* does not seem to think such occurrences 'up North' should be aired in the public press as a matter of policy, the word 'Negro' would have to be used.

"AS I write this friendly criticism of your racial prejudice towards the Southern white race, a Negro woman 80 years old and a servant in my family 50 years ago has come in for help to get civil service allowances because of age and lack of family help, and she got it at once from the hand of a known friend. An invalid daughter lives with her in her own home that she values at $25,000.

"I am only an average speciman of the white race of the South and as such, invite you to consider as evidence before you the city of Mobile, where the two races live in utmost friendliness, Negro citizens register as voters by thousands, vote freely into the same voting machines, are protected in their political and civil rights in state courts presided over by white judges and white juries, practice their professions and as merchants, contractors, carpenters and such like, own homes by thousands, and automobiles, and freely use the banks and savings and loan companies. As to justice in the courts, I as a lawyer have had scores of cases for Negroes against white litigants before our courts *and have never yet lost one case for a Negro client against a white man.*

"Does all that agree with your (mis) conception of the South? With *Time* as it comes to me, I can no longer open it without the expectation of receiving a sharp arrow of criticism pointed with an over zealous prejudice that deprives me of my former pleasure of many years in reading it—and I regretfully request you to now strike my name from your mailing list. I could have said this with few words, but have written hoping for a clearer judgment of the South by *Time* and renewed satisfaction with *Time*—in time."

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

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Tues 6-4-57

What The Methodist Vote Means

P. 4-A

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER: There has been a great deal of misunderstanding regarding the action of the recent session of the Alabama-West Florida Methodist Conference in its vote on a constitutional amendment involving the transfer of Negro Methodist churches into all-white conferences and the transfer of Negro conferences into white jurisdictions.

The amendment was submitted by the General Conference. It has been approved in a number of annual conferences but it was defeated in the Alabama-West Florida Conference by a vote of 262 to 178. The vote cannot be considered on strictly conservative and liberal lines. Some conservatives voted for the amendment and some liberals voted against it. It became a matter of the interpretation of the individual as to how this action might affect other proposals still to be decided.

The organization of the Methodist Church is a complicated one. When the Northern and Southern Methodist bodies united with the Methodist Protestant church in 1939, this union was consummated by the acceptance of what was then considered a firm agreement placing the more than 300,000 Negro Methodists in the Northern church in a separate all-Negro jurisdiction with its own conferences and bishops. They are a part of the general organization—a small minority in a vast body numbering nearly 10,000,000 members.

This Negro membership has not grown for a number of years. Each year the total church membership and number of ordained ministers decrease. It is not a self supporting jurisdiction. It came into being immediately after the Civil War and as a result of the labors of Methodists from the North. Despite large financial support from white Methodists, many of these congregations are closing their doors. Very naturally, Negro Methodists, preferring their own racial groups, are casting their lot with one of the major Negro organizations—the AME, the AME Zion, and the CME Church. They have had fine leadership and they are at home in the churches of their own people and have never evidenced the slightest desire to seek union with any Methodist church with a predominantly white membership.

The amendment now before the an-

nual conferences of the Methodist Church simply proposes a way by which transfers can be made into other groups. The procedure is difficult, requiring a two-thirds vote of a quarterly conference of a local church; the church conference of the local church; and the two conferences involved—one from which the local church would transfer and the one into which it seeks to be received. The same two-thirds will apply to conferences seeking to merge or to become a member of another jurisdiction in which many conferences hold membership.

Admittedly the proposal contains the provision of local autonomy and "freedom of choice." It can be argued with some reason that no Southern conference or jurisdiction would ever give the necessary two-thirds vote of approval, but there are many, both among the supporters and opponents of the amendment, who claim that it is the first step toward the final elimination and absorption of the all-Negro central jurisdictions and the final merger of the Negro conferences into the white conferences. Indeed this is the position taken by the most ardent integrationists in the Northern conferences and it is the sentiment frequently expressed in Methodist publications representing Northern and Eastern conferences.

While the vote of Alabama and West Florida Methodist (262 against and 178 for) may seem somewhat confusing, there is no doubt among Methodists in our area concerning the sentiment toward the preservation of the present jurisdictional structure and the continuance of the all-Negro central jurisdiction as a unit separate from the other. Immediately following the vote on the amendment, I presented a resolution to the conference asking for the appointment of a special commission to go before a general "commission for study and action of the jurisdictional system" appointed by the General Conference of the Methodist Church.

This resolution passed without a dissenting vote and those appointed will appear before this general commission and ask that no further changes be made in our Methodist jurisdictional structure.

Whatever the vote on the present amendment in any of the conferences may be, the white conferences of the South do not want proposed transfers or mergers. We are in a minority—both in the General Conference and in the total votes in our annual conferences. The pressure is on and it will continue—aided and abetted by those propaganda organizations who are using all the churches to force us into an impossible situation.

The demand does not come from the rank and file of the Negro or white members in local churches. It is a part of a vast propaganda movement carried on by agitators who distort the teachings of our Christian faith to gain ends profitable to themselves but tragic in their consequences to the people of both races.

The hope for preserving mutual good will and understanding among the people of both races rests with the sensible good people who compose the body of the membership of the Christian churches throughout the South.

[THE REV.] G. STANLEY FRAZER.
Montgomery.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Fri. 5-31-57

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

Freedom To Bite The Hand That Feeds

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — After reading your lengthy editorial on "Academic Freedom at Auburn," I would like to take the liberty of summarizing the stand you have taken:

It appears that in the interests of so-called academic freedom, zealots of integration should be fed and supported by the people of Alabama while they vent their sociological hypocrisy on the same (as they like to think) unenlightened people.

This upon the novel theory that if we pay such people they might not attack us quite as vociferously or slice our respective throats quite so deep. That hush-money should be the order of the day. That the best way to win a battle is not to offend the enemy, but hire him and thus confuse him by having him indebted to the very people he opposes. That a forthright stand on any issue is a sign of bigotry.

That although you don't agree with a particular philosophy and sincerely believe it to be false you should submit to it and pay to have the seeds sown. (To do otherwise would be to quell freedom of speech.) That in the interests of so-called academic freedom our people should be willing to pay for the piecemeal destruction of their way-of-life by (to use your phraseology) tweedy zealots and blockheads preaching doctrines straight out of the integration caldron of the North. That not only should sedition in local affairs be condoned but that we should pay for the same in the interests of academic freedom.

This despite the undisputed fact that the question involved is not and has not been a purely academic question for some time but one with the issues clearly and undeniably defined.

You expressed surprise that more Alabama newspapers and professors did not comment on the dismissal of one individual. What surprises the writer is that we don't have more editorial comment on garbled principles and pseudo-pious-outcrys such as that raised in this editorial. I cannot believe that the people of our state believe that if we can't lick these false prophets who, as you have often pointed out, do not pretend to practice what they preach, that we should hire them in order to demonstrate our magnanimity.

Freedom of speech! Certainly. But not freedom to accept our money and damn our people in the same breath. Since you seem to be disturbed by the application or lack of application of hallowed principles let me remind you of one cardinal principle you seem to have forgotten. That principle is that, "No man should have to pay another to do him in."

Academically the question is not whether or not a dog has the freedom and right to bite the hand that feeds him but whether or not there remains a moral obligation to feed such an animal after he has performed this act. On this point we seem to disagree.

Atmore, Ala. DOUGLAS S. WEBB.

Force Breeds Hatred

Editor, The Advertiser:

Because a person believes in segregation it is wrong to accuse him of being "against" other races, their welfare and well-being. Here in the segregated South the spirit of cooperation and helpfulness between the races has been remarkable. Every Negro, except a few of the incorrigible type, has known white friends they could go to and get help. And these white friends knew they could call on their Negro friends when trouble or emergencies came and they would assist.

The vast majority of the devout Christian people in the South favor segregation because they religiously believe God made the different races and, in the beginning segregated them onto different continents.

It is contrary to all Christian principles to try to force oneself on others. To do so causes resentment and produces hate. Those of a race who believe they must mingle with another race, regardless of the resentment it causes, reveal a feeling of inferiority in their own race which they hope to counteract by association with another. Their own race should note them well for their lack of racial pride.

The people of the South, Negro and white, deserve eternal praise because they have not heeded those disgruntled few who would stir their tempers, but have continued living in their accustomed way, each exhibiting pride by association in their own race. They know good will can only be achieved through cooperation and helpfulness; it can never be forced; not even by a Supreme Court order. T. J. CAMPBELL.

2292 Coronet Way NW, Atlanta 18, Ga.

Revised Opinion Of Southern Speech

Advertiser P. 4-A Fri. 7-5-57

Montgomery, Ala.

Several years ago we argued that the Southern accent "sounds like hell".

Because it's Southern, many people retorted that on the contrary it sounded like heaven. This element subsided when confronted with the fact that the imperative thing a Southern gentleman does when he becomes a radio announcer is to abandon his Southern accent. They must do so to be unmistakably understood—no advertiser is going to pay money to have his wares touted in words that may not be understood (after all, radio and TV advertising are a pretty uncertain medium in any event when compared to newspapers). In short, no Alabama announcer talks like the people who listen to him.

To be understood word for word one must talk yankee-like. But while holding to that previously expressed view, we must honestly acknowledge that several more years of monitoring has caused us to modify the judgment. Simply to have your every word understood is not worth the price of yankee speech. What we have discovered is that yankee speech is monotonous in its mechanistic, slavish enunciation of every syllable.

The Southerner, grotesque as his speech often is, is not the utensil of words; words are his utensils. When he comes to a syllable that doesn't seem worthwhile, or would give an awkward stretch to his vocal chords, he simply ignores it, impenitently.

It is thus erroneous to say that Southern speech is slower, for while the Southerner does not hasten along like the yankee, he skips so many syllables that he gets to the end of the sentence just as quickly. And his tone is softer, more agreeable.

As a matter of fact, the fine orators are not those who emit a flawless stream with never a groping for the right word or a shot-at-and-missed, Maggie's Drawers pronunciation. The greatest orator of this century is a lisping fumbler—Churchill.

Finally, if it's absolutely necessary for a Southerner to make every word and syllable clear due to some emergency, he can always write it. Otherwise, his slouching speech is more human and better wearing than the more correct but monotonous yankee squawk box.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Sat. 4-20-57 P. 4-A

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

Race Problems In Connecticut

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER.—On your editorial page of Monday, April 8, you reprinted from the *Yale Review* an article, "Segregation and The Professor," by a University of Alabama professor, who thought Negroes were being treated very unjustly in not being admitted to the University, and wondered if he ought to resign, either quietly or with a vigorous protest. That suggested an inquiry into the racial situation in Connecticut (where Yale University is situated) to see if Negroes fare any better in that abolitionist state than they do in Alabama.

Connecticut is the southrnmost of the New England states, and therefore has the largest proportion of Negroes in its population, as would be expected. In 1790, when they constituted 2.34% of the population, nearly half of them were slaves. But the number of slaves decreased rapidly, and all of them were freed before 1850. The proportion of Negroes in the state's population increased to 2.90% in 1820, and then decreased to 1.36% in 1910.

The first World War, and subsequent immigration restrictions, checked the influx of uneducated foreigners (too old to be subject to the compulsory education laws), who for many decades had furnished the bulk of the unskilled labor in the many northeastern factories; and thus opened up vast opportunities for Negroes from the South to take their places. The arrival of the boll weevil in the South about the same time speeded up the northward migration.

The Negro population of Connecticut increased from 15,174 in 1910 and 21,046 in 1920 to 53,472 in 1950; the last figure being 2.64% of the total population. There were also in the state at the same time 1,479 other "non-whites" (Indian, Chinese, Japanese, etc.). Some of the 1950 statistics used here are for Negroes only, and some lump all the colored together, but that makes very little difference in the ratios.

Over 90% of the Negroes in Connecticut, as compared with about 75% of the whites, now live in cities. In Alabama at the same time less than half the population of either race was urban (though both may have passed the 50% mark by this time). Other northern states have much the same condition in this respect as Connecticut, and this is important to remember when making comparisons between North and South, especially in such matters as education and income.

CONSIDERING only cities that had over 1,000 Negroes in 1950, the largest number was in Hartford, the capital, which had 12,654, or 7.23% of the city's population, or 23.7% of the Negroes in the state. (A magazine article about Negro migration, several years ago, said many or most of those in Hartford came from Americus, Ga.) Next were New Haven, 5.85% Negro; Stamford, 5.22%; Norwalk, 4.70%; Bridgeport, 4.25%, and New London, 4.10%. (All these except Hartford are on the southern shore, as close to the gulf stream as possible.)

Education statistics for 1950 can be had in considerable detail for every state, and in less detail for counties and cities; but it may suffice to say here that in the population of Connecticut over 25 years old in that year, 3.18% of the whites had never been to school, and 7.31% had been through college. The corresponding figures for Conecticut "non whites" were 4.20% and 2.37%. (The same for the whole United States, white 2.13 and 6.62, colored 6.80 and 2.24. For Alabama, whites 2.13 and 4.71, colored 10.40 and 1.37.) Negroes are naturally better educated in the North than in the South, partly on account of their larger proportion of white blood, and partly because the great majority of them live in cities, within easy reach of schools.

It has not been many years since there were some separate schools for Negroes in Connecticut, but I am not at present informed as to their number and location, or when and why they were discontinued. There might still be some with all or nearly all the pupils colored in cities like Hartford and New Haven, with large Negro populations.

Income is correlated pretty well with education, when sufficiently large numbers are considered. Available statistics of income are much less exact than those of education, on account of many uncertainties involved, but the uncertainties ought to be about the same everywhere, so that the figures are good enough for comparative purposes. Data are available for both families and individuals, and for the urban and rural population separately, but it may suffice to say here that the 1950 census gives the median incomes of gainfully employed individuals in Connecticut as $2,277 for whites and $1,594 for non-whites. (The average would be somewhat higher, but are not ascertainable exactly from the figures given.)

A FEW years ago a commission was appointed in Connecticut to investigate alleged racial discrimination in employment. Its findings were, in substance, that the Negroes were generally found in the less remunerative jobs, but that was what they were best fitted for, and little or no discrimination could be proved.

Connecticut is one of several states that no longer published statistics of illegitimacy; possibly because the racial contrasts might be embarrassing to the equalitarians. But a loophole that was overlooked by the officials lets the cat out of the bag. The birth records of every state give the number of fathers of unknown age, which amounts to practically the same thing. From 1950 to 1954 the percentage of such fathers in the white population of Connecticut was between 1.4 and 1.5, while that in the colored population increased from 11.55 to 14.40. And these figures are not very different from the illegitimacy percentages for Alabama and several other states, both Northern and Southern.

Another indirect index of morality is the percentage of married persons whose spouses were absent or separated (but not divorced) at the time of the census. The 1950 census gives some interesting figures on that, and shows that 2.22% of the white married women in Connecticut had husbands temporarily absent and 2.34% separated; while the corresponding figures for colored were 6.62% and 15.15%. These ratios vary from state to state, but the racial contrasts are much the same in all.

Morality naturally suggests religion. It does not seem to be widely known that Negroes prefer separate churches in Connecticut, as in all other states (and Canada), because they like to worship in their own way, and gather with their friends on Sundays, like many other groups. A few years ago a white church in a small town in Connecticut made news by calling a Negro to the pastorate, but I have not heard if he is still there, or if any other churches followed the example. Unfortunately there is no official religious census of the United States since that of 1936; but that showed 1,494 white and 76 Negro churches in Connecticut. The average white church building was worth $59,000, and the average Negro church $22,400. Corresponding figures for pastors' salaries were $1,330 and $834. Figures for now, two decades later, would of course be quite different, on account of the subsequent depreciation of the dollar, but there is no reason to believe that the racial contrasts have changed much. If these inequalities are held to indicate injustice, how could it be righted? Surely not by our benevolent federal government, as long as our constitution is interpreted as requiring separation of church and state.

IN *U.S. News & World Report* for Feb. 22 there was a very interesting article on the housing situation in several Connecticut cities (not identified, but presumably including some of those mentioned above as having the most Negroes). The inquiry covered 219 Negro families and 390 white families in mixed neighborhoods, and it was estimated that about 600 Negro families in the whole state, or 4% of the Negro population, where living in such neighborhoods (which would leave about 96% of the Negroes pretty well segregated). These selected families were said to be far above the state Negro average in education and income, and about equal to their white neighbors in those respects. But even so they were not very popular with their neighbors. A few white families liked their Negro neighbors, some were indifferent or resigned to the situation, especially if the Negroes were there first or had been there a long time, and some moved away when the Negroes arrived. The Negroes were naturally much better satisfied than the whites, for they moved into the neighborhoods of their own accord.

There was very little social mingling among adults, but more among children, for those of both races unavoidably came into contact in schools, and could not help learning each other's names and something about them, and at the same time were too young to appreciate the dangers of race mixing.

This housing situation does not differ materially from that in many Southern cities that have only a small proportion of Negroes. There, as everywhere else, the Negroes tend to congregate in certain neighborhoods for companionship, but some of them are scattered in white neighborhoods, without causing any particular trouble, except depressing the values of neighboring property.

ROLAND M. HARPER.

University, Ala.

Ethiopians not Negroes; race created as a "curse", whites write to Alabama paper

Tribune Wed. 4-17-57 Los Angeles Calif.

P. 15

The bride of the First chapter, Fifth verse of the "Songs of Solomon", who proclaimed that she was "black, but comely", was not a Negro, but merely sunburned, several white Biblical scholars submitted in a forum of letters to the Montgomery, Ala. Daily Advertiser recently.

The Advertiser has been carrying a succession of letters from both Negroes and whites, touched off by a column by Judge Walter B. Jones, who rendered many of the anti-integration local court decisions in Montgomery, titled, "I Speak for the White Race".

The white race has produced all of the really talented people of the world, from "the world's discoverers and explorers" through the great musicians, artists, authors, philosophers, inventors, lawgivers, statesmen, Judge Jones asserted.

"No race has produced poets who compare with our poets. . . . Christ, a Jew . . . the founder of Christianity", was also claimed as kudo for the white man by Judge Jones.

REBUTTED BY NEGRO

The column was rebutted by Mrs. Jo Ann Robinson, Montgomery school teacher who has been one of the leaders in the Montgomery bus boycott and writes the newsletter for the Montgomery Improvement ass'n. These pieces and the subsequent flurry of correspondence they touched off, were sent the Tribune by P. F. Chadwick, of 1220½ E. 23rd st., a Tribune reader, formerly of Alabama.

Mrs. Robinson claimed that Solomon, himself, cited as one of the "great white religious leaders" by Judge Jones, was a Negro. She also pointed out that Moses "married a black woman, an Ethiopian, and when Miriam, his sister, laughed at her, God turned her into a leper."

Mrs. Robinson was challenged on this by Norman A. Brittin, of Auburn, Ala., who attributed the "black, but comely" proclamation, not to Solomon, but to a "sunburned" bride who was apologizing, "for while tending the family grapevines, she failed to keep her own vineyard of beauty."

Brittin said this is confirmed in a passage translated in the Revised Standard Version of the Bible, "I am very dark, but comely. . . . Do not gaze at me because I am swarthy, because the sun has scorched me."

NEGROES CAN SING

Mrs. Barton thought that the Negro, "under the guidance of the white race, has contributed much to our life." She added:

"Some of the most beautiful singing I have ever heard has come from a Negro choir in a little rural church near my home where my father gave them the land and sawed the lumber to build their church many years ago."

Mrs. Barton thought that "When Negroes have earned respect and recognition, it has been granted . . . but it seems the vast majority of them have yet to learn that the most valuable things of life — the things they say they want — must be earned. They are not gained by force and Supreme Court rulings."

NEGRO A "CURSE"

To Clarence Byrd, of Opp, Ala., the "origin of the Negro race did not come to pass in act of creation on the part of the creator of the human race."

Rather, it was a curse, "passed upon the descendants of Ham", said Byrd.

Two letter writers attempted to disabuse Negroes of the notion that Ethiopians are Negroes.

"The ancient Ethiopians are generally held to have been a Hamitic race. . . . Ethnologists universally class the Hamites as Caucasians, though their skin may be bronze, dark olive, or 'even black'," said one writer.

Massey Wilson, of Oakhill, Ala., complimented Negroes on their "many good qualities. They are kindly disposed when not emotionally aroused. They are naturally musical. They have shown a talent for art.

"Some of my best friends and neighbors are Negroes. But we do not mix socially. Neither of us wants to," said Wilson.

"The American Negro has made great progress," he conceded. "It has been made under segregation and white supremacy. It would have been impossible except for the tolerance and aid of southern white people."

'A Study In Southerners'

Advertiser Thurs. 5-9-57

THE *Minneapolis Morning Tribune* (a newspaper with which Montgomery has enjoyed close relations on occasion) has delivered itself of an editorial entitled, "A Study In Southerners." It says in part:

Montgomery, Ala.

For many years the American Negro has been the victim of a cruel and unjust stereotype. We have been told by the white supremacists that he is shiftless and ignorant, congenitally disposed toward crime and dedicated in his childlike mind to racial intermarriage.

P. 4-a

Today there is danger that the white Southerner will be similarly victimized. The stereotype, in his case, differs somewhat in form but it is quite as ugly. The white Southerner, we are told by his thoughtless critics, is bigoted and arrogant. Where the Negro is concerned, he is utterly without conscience, seeking to maintain segregation by fair or foul means and sowing broadcast the seeds of night-shirted terror and intolerance.

This stereotype came to mind Sunday evening when the imperial wizard of the Ku Klux Klan was interviewed on a television network. Here was bigotry at close range with every minute facet of it ruthlessly exposed by the television cameras. The imperial wizard was garbed in the ceremonial robes of his order but his dream world of ignorance, his evasiveness, his bland contempt for the Negro, were nakedly revealed. Through this dream world the press, the Anti-Defamation League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People stalked like ghostly villains and nothing was real or good that did not have the mark of racial segregation on it.

Yet any thoughtful citizen must have known that the imperial wizard was hardly more representative of the South's people than the boll weevil is representative of the South's agriculture.

★

IN THE first place, *The Advertiser* wishes to match this era of good feeling in the form of this *Tribune* editorial by asserting that Northern newspapers have been the victim of an unjust stereotype. While many of them are dense and ignorant of the South, there are exceptions. None strives more manfully than the *Tribune* to be understanding.

The Kluxer is no more representative of the South than a Minneapolis blizzard of its climate. In Montgomery it is no exaggeration to say that the Kluxers are looked upon as the village idiot.

The Minneapolis paper will probably be intrigued by *The Advertiser's* assertion that a Klan leader would have no more chance of election to public office than one of the NAACP Mau Maus.

We have watched at first hand Kluxer oafs plodding down Dexter Avenue. Montgomerians reacted with expressions that made it obvious that the Kluxers were lucky to get off Dexter Avenue without being spat upon. And if somebody had to be lynched, one of these albino hooligans would have been the popular choice.

Trouble, the South has had, trouble the South will have, but *The Advertiser* does not believe it will come in the sheet and form of the Klan. Northern reporters and TV dandies are interested in familiar symbols. They use the Klan like a yo-yo.

★

ONE more counsel to the *Tribune*, because it plainly wants to understand. It makes an error if it thinks whites generally considered Negroes irremediably "shiftless and ignorant, congenitally disposed toward crime."

All statistics, including those recently released by the FBI and those of the police department in every Northern metropolis, show that this is relatively true at present. But whites well recognize the potentiality of the colored man. He has a long way to go, but he has already come a longer way.

This white attitude is epitomized by Alabama's expenditure on Negro education. A third of our population is Negro, a third of our state schools budget is for Negro education. Does anybody think we'd be spending $30,000,000 a year if we doubted that the certain destiny of the Negro is onward and upward?

Anybody who does business in Montgomery knows what Negro economic power is. Ask the credit reporting agencies about Negro credit. You will get a surprisingly favorable report. It is a mistake to think that the white is oblivious to the colored man's potential.

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Advertiser

Off The Bench

Advertiser
Mon. 3-4-57 P. 4

By Judge Walter B. Jones

Montgomery, Ala.

I Speak For The White Race

SEN. CARMACK of Tennessee in 1925 made a speech in the U.S. Senate in defense of the South which was then, as now, under vicious attack. He began his address by saying: "I speak, Sir, for my native state, for my native South."

JONES

Today I paraphrase the senator's words by saying: "I speak for the White Race, my race," because today it is being unjustly assailed all over the world. It is being subjected to assaults here by radical newspapers and magazines, communists and the federal judiciary. Columnists and photographers have been sent to the South to take back to the people of the North untrue and slanted tales about the South. Truly a massive campaign of super-brainwashing propaganda is now being directed against the white race, particularly by those who envy its glory and greatness. Because our people have pride of race we are denounced as bigoted, prejudiced, racial propagandists and hate-mongers by those who wish an impure, mixed breed that would destroy the white race by mongrelization. The integrationists and mongrelizers do not deceive any person of common sense with their pious talk of wanting only equal rights and opportunities for other races. Their real and final goal is intermarriage and mongrelization of the American people.

WHEN members of the white race point with pride to its impressive record and call impartial history to witness its technical and political supremacy through the centuries, its cultural creativeness, we are sneered at as breeders of race hatred. Pseudo-scientists tell us there is no such thing as a superior race. We are assured by them that the white race will some day be forced into an inferior place by the colored races of the world and that the day of white leadership is nearing its end.

Students of race recognize three main divisions: White, Mongoloid, and Negroid, each created by God with different qualities, instincts, and characteristics, transmissible by descent.

The white or Caucasion race includes peoples whose skin color may be white, pink, ruddy or light brown. Their hair is usually wavy or straight. It is never "dead black" or woolly. The white race includes the tall blonds of Northwest Europe, the Scandinavians, Norwegians, Dutch, Swedes, Russians and also the French, Germans, English, Italians and Americans, and further, the Greeks, the Jews, the Arabs, the Spanish and Portuguese.

So let us now study a little history and inquire if the white race has any justification for pride in its contributions to world civilization and leadership.

Members of the white race have ever been the world's discoverers and explorers, and from our race have come bold spirits like Lief the Red, Columbus, Vasco da Gama, Balboa, Magellan, Cabot, Drake, La Salle and Peary.

Consider sculpture: The white race has produced Proxiteles, Myron, Phidias, Donatello, Houdon, Rodin, Thorwaldsen, St. Gaudens, Daniel Chester French, Canova, Bernini, and Herbert Adams.

When you listen and enjoy beautiful music remember the great musicians: Mozart, Bach, Chopin, Beethoven, Handel, Liszt, Brahms, Wagner and Verdi, are of the white race.

No race has produced poets who compare with our poets: Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Pindar, Lucretius, and Dante; in the English-speaking wold, Shakespeare, Milton, Byron, Burns, Wordsworth, Pope, Shelley, Tennyson, Whitman, Rosetti, Lanier and Poe.

WHEN you come to consider the eminent artists of the ages, the white race takes pride in its Fra Angelico, Michaelangelo, Boticelli, Velasquez, Raphael, Titian, Rembrandt, Van Dyck, Rubens, Gainsborough, Millet, Corot, Landseer, Whistler, Benjamin West, Abbey and Gilbert Stuart.

The best in literature comes, too, from white authors: Homer, Cervantes, Montaigne, Victor Hugo, Sir Walter, Sir Walter Scott, Charles Dickens, Tolstoy, Hans Christian Andersen, Ruskin, Robert Louis Stevenson, Rudyard Kipling, Thackeray and Macaulay.

The white race is proud of its philosophers: Socrates, Ulato, Maimonides, Aristotle, Spinoza, Francis Bacon, Locke, Descartes, Kant, Hume and Spencer.

Practically all useful inventions have been made by members of the white race: The airplane, steamboat, steel, wireless telegraphy, telephone, the telescope, the typewriter, the X-ray, movable type, the rotary printing press, the sewing machine, the cotton gin, the steam engine, the automobile, the motion picture machine, and the incandescent light bulb.

From the ranks of the white race have come the world's great law-givers, statesmen and jurists, among them: Solon of Athens, Gaius, Justinian, Crotius, Coke, Jefferson, Blackstone, Wilson, George Mason and Marshall.

Among the historians of the world the white race can claim Xenophon, Thucydides, Herodotus, Plutarch, Tacitus, J. R. Greene, J. A. Froude, Bancroft, Prescott and Carlyle.

When you consider the great sugeons and medical men the white race can claim: Hippocrates, Galen, Vessalius, Pare, William Harvey, John Hunter, Crawford Long, J. Marion Sims, Cushing and Keen.

Remember that Christ, a Jew, is the founder of Christianity. Recall, too, other great religious leaders: Moses, David, Solomon, Judas Maccabeus, John Knox, John Huss, Tyndale, Miles Coverdale, and John Wycliffe.

EVERY one of the 57 signers of the Declaration of Independence and every one of the 39 signers of the Federal Constitution were members of the white race.

When you look up at the universe of stars and galaxies, recall some of the white race's astronomers and scientists: Copernicus, Galileo, Herschel, Halley, Kepler, Newton and Sir James Jeans.

So when you call the roll of the world's noble and useful spirits, the men and women of the white race stand up in honor and glory with a just pride in the race's achievements. We have all kindly feelings for the world's other races, but we will maintain at any and all sacrifices the purity of our blood strain and race. We shall never submit to the demands of integrationists. The white race shall forever remain white.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Thurs. 3-14-57 P. 4-a

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it

Montgomery, Ala.

'Behold Thou Art Fair, My Love . . .'

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Neither the remarks of Jo Ann Robinson nor those of Franklin Turner regarding the *Song Of Solomon*, 1:5-6, are in accordance with the best Biblical scholarship, which holds that:

1. There is no evidence that Solomon wrote the *Song Of Songs;*

2. The *Song Of Songs* is a collection of love poems of an ancient type, a type of sensuous rustic wedding songs still sung at wedding times in the Near East;

3. Rabbis at the end of the First Century A.D. interpreted this material to symbolize the "solidarity" of Israel and the close relation between the God Yahweh and his chosen people, like that between husband and wife;

4. Christians of the Third Century reinterpreted the material, pushing the allegory further in order to symbolize the relations of Christ and the Church;

5. In Verse 5 it is the bride who says: "I am black but comely . . .," meaning not that she is a Negro but that she is sunburned—for while tending the family grapevines, she failed to keep her own vineyard of beauty. The passage is translated in the *Revised Standard Version:* "I am very dark, but comely . . . Do not gaze at me because I am swarthy, because the sun has scorched me."

(Consult George Foot Moore, *The Literature Of The Testament;* Stanley Cook, *An Introduction To The Bible;* Mary Ellen Chase, *The Bible And The Common Reader; The Abingdon Bible Commentary.*)

Auburn, Ala. NORMAN A. BRITTIN.

◆

Aesop, Like Homer, May Never Have Lived

Editor, The Advertiser:

I would like to call attention to a few of the errors in Mrs. Jo Ann Robinson's letter of March 8, "I Speak for the Negro Race."

The writings of anthropologists and sociologists and others are worth noting when they clash with the highest authority in heaven and on earth—the Word of God. She says that the origin of the races has been lost in antiquity. The word race as pertaining to people is not mentioned in the Bible but the genealogy of the white people has been very carefully preserved. God did not deal with races. He dealt with nations and individuals and there is no record in the Bible where He had any dealings with a Negro nation. I am not hinting that the Negroes are not subject to salvation. Jesus died for all.

Zipporah, the wife of Moses, was the daughter of Jethro, a Midianite priest. The Midianites were descendants of Midian, the son of Abraham and Keturah. Miriam and Aaron described her as an Ethiopian to voice their contempt for her. This displeased God and Miriam became leprous. The Bible shows that Moses and Aaron prayed one prayer each for her healing and she was healed after seven days.

She quotes from the *Song Of Solomon:* "I am black, but comely . . . Look

not upon me because I am black, because the sun has looked upon me . . . This is a song. Solomon was speaking of the deformity of the church. He was not speaking of himself. The Bible plainly states that David, the father of Solomon, was of a fair countenance. Therefore, he could not have been black.

All of the references I have found show that Narvaez was Spanish Cheops was Egyptian. And Aesop, if he lived at all, was Greek — all members of the white race. All slaves have not always been Negroes.

The Negro, under the guidance of the white race, has contributed much to our life. Some of the most beautiful singing I have ever heard has come from a Negro choir in a little rural church near my home where my father gave them the land and sawed the lumber to build their church many years ago. When Negroes have earned respect and recognition it has been granted to them. I can mention any number of instances of this but it seems that the vast majority of them have yet to learn that the most valuable things of life—the things they say they want—must be earned. They are not gained by force and Supreme Court rulings.

[MRS.] GERTRUDE M. BARTON.
Rt. 1, Eufaula, Ala.

Suggested Further Reading

Editor, The Advertiser:

The letters written by Mrs. Taber and Mrs. Symmes move me to ask this question: Why are white people so inconsistent in their thinking when it applies to Negroes?

When facts were stated about the deeds and accomplishments of Negroes, Mrs. Taber called it "grandeur;" on the other hand Mrs. Symmes states the Negro should be proud of his race. I wonder if being proud of the deeds and accomplishments of one's race isn't being proud of the race?

Proud of the Negro race. Yes, indeed. That's why the Negro has thrown off the apathy and lethargy he found himself in and has arisen to demand the rights that are due every American citizen, such as the "four freedoms." The Negro also knows that there is only one race, and that is the *human* race, and no race is superior to another.

I also wonder what did Mrs. Taber mean to imply when she stated that the people named by Mrs. Robinson were mulatto? She mentioned the Caucasian race was different from the Nefro in features, hair, physical and intellectual characteristics. I am sure she did not mean the American Negro; for the American Negro is a mixture of all races and has hair, features, physical and intellectual characteristics of the Caucasian, yellow, brown and black races.

I can't close without thanking Mrs. Robinson for stating so beautifully the deeds, accomplishments, rights and wants of the Negro.

May I add to her honor roll the names of Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethume, Frederick Douglass and Crispus Attucks, a slave, first to give his life for American freedom.

Lanett, Ala. LUCILE JAMES.

Stop The Ants

Editor, The Advertiser:

In recent travels in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, Mrs. Williams and I have been amazed at the prevalence of the fire ant. Its hills are thick beside the highway, beginning at Abbeville, Ga., and extending west for 30 miles. Then from Eufaula to Montgomery there is almost continuous infestation, as is the road from Prattville to Centerville. We saw no more until we passed Columbus, Miss. Then hills for 20 miles.

It seems all main roads along the coast in Mississippi and Alabama and west Florida are infested. The destruction of this serious pest needs governmental aid, and a trained team who will hunt out the beds along the roads and in the woods as well as in the fields, and destroy them with clordane, dieldrin, or hexachlor. Since the fertile queens seem to travel by car or truck long distances, no single land owner could do much toward their destruction. It is a job to be done fully and wholly, wherever they are found in the many states where they now are. Half measures, owing to their fast spread, won't do.

Any day now that the weather is warm the fertile queense will emerge and seek new homes for ney colonies. Hence it will pay all who are troubled with the pest to stop the queens with poison. A neighbor tells me that a pint of gasoline poured in the nest and well covered to hold the fumes within will kill them.

Most thoughtful farmers are worried over this pest, as is "Auburn" which is getting out a bulletin on them. My farm isn't big enough for both them and me. P. W. WILLIAMS.
Ramer, Ala.

Racial Origins

Editor, The Advertiser:

Reading [Mrs.] Jo Ann Robinson's article, "I Speak for the Negro Race," published in March 8 issue of *The Advertiser*, we are reminded of how much mischief may be done by one writing from a lack of information. As we read her writing, we observed her statement that the origin of the races is lost in antiquity. That certainly is not true with reference to the Negro race.

As a mater of fact the origin of the Negro race has been well preserved and will forever be as long as people will believe and appropriate the scriptures as a worthy source of information.

Those who would know the truth of the origin of the Negro race should read Gen. 9:18-27 which we will not quote because it is too easy a matter to read it from the Bible. After reading the passage cited it will be helpful, maybe, if the reader would turn to and read the 18th chapter of Leviticus.

But to the intelligent reader it should be obvious, we think, that the origin of the Negro race did not come to pass in act of creation on the part of the creator of the human race. Rather the origin came to pass because of a curse passed upon the descendants of Ham, one of the sons of Noah who with his wife were saved from destruction in the flood along with Noah, his wife and their three sons and their wives.

The scripture cited reveals why the curse. As one reads the scripture it would be well perhaps to take notice of the significance of the word *servant*.

Opp, Ala. CLARENCE BYRD.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser - Alabama Journal

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it

Montgomery, Ala.

The Majority Must Assert Itself

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — From newspaper and radio reports, it appears to me that the race situation in Montgomery is not exactly pretty at this time.

Sun. 2-3-57

Please permit me to say here that I've no happy solution to the problem; not even an unhappy one. I wish only to try to recognize the situation as it is and mention one or two contingencies in connection therewith. One is that the future outcome of the present trouble seems to be bound up in no small degree in the ability of the older and wiser heads to be able to keep their heads.

Another is that unless the "Cradle of the Confederacy" can continue to be governed by reason from minds that are mature, it can become the predecessor to municipalities where martial law will be a perpetually ugly thing—unless the racial issue can be settled peacefully.

Surely most of the people of both races of Montgomery are still well-meaning citizens and do not desire or condone the racial violence that occurs in their city. Surely they resent the attempt to use or spotlight their city as an example for other cities in whatever happens.

It is the duty and responsibility of this good-intentioned majority of Montgomerians, both white and black, to resist being intimidated with the fear of a minor element in its midst, which evidences the desire to foster and perpetuate fear, hate and violence.

A greater need never existed than now for rational minds to assert themselves, both individually and collectively, as a sort of last bulwark against a threatened breakdown of law and order everywhere. The good people of Montgomery can publicly register their own assent to this defense of human morality and decency, by publicly condemning these racial outrages which have occurred with painful frequency in their city.

Route 2, H. H. WATSON.
Phil Campbell, Ala.

Advertiser P. 2-B
Sun. 3-31-57
Montgomery, Ala.

31

31 1957

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Fri. 3-29-57

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it

Montgomery, Ala.

The Supreme Court, Not Dr. King, Should Be Canonized

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Dr. Charles H. Thompson [of Emory University, Atlanta] has at long last defended his benevolent action in endowing Rev. M. L. King with sainthood but his statement contains many weaknesses and irregularities. P.A-a

As has already been pointed out, this is likely the first instance in history where a professor in a Methodist institution has pronounced sainthood in "man's church" upon a Baptist in accordance with Roman Catholic standards. It is believed that all members of these three large religious bodies who believe in the risen Christ will reject this theory of the church as being founded upon human personality.

It has also been pointed out that the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court alone, and not the boycott, was the determining factor that produced the change in seating on city buses. Therefore, if there has been an "attestable miracle" as Dr. Thompson alleges then the nine justices of the Supreme Court should rightfully wear the "saintly crown." Their disregard of the expressed will of a majority, legal precedent, and tradition in this and similar cases indicates they might not find this unusual procedure for obtaining sainthood objectionable. Otherwise there probably will be other candidates for Dr. Thompson's blessings.

Dr. Thompson has also given all credit to Rev. King for the absence of violence throughout the boycott. This fact was due in larger measure to the mutual understanding, good-will, kindly feeling and cooperation of which the fabric of race relations was woven in Montgomery long before Rev. King appeared on the scene.

Rev. King has achieved some notable success which may not have come to the attention of Dr. Thompson.

He has in a short space of time come to enjoy financial prosperity and a certain prestige obviously beyond that of any other minister in Montgomery. Jesus refused great wealth and worldly acclaim in resisting the temptation of the devil in the wilderness. He also warned his disciples of the evils of accepting great reward for their ministry.

By his public utterances in all parts of the country Rev. King has succeeded in creating more confusion, misunderstanding and bitterness toward the South than has existed in many years, thus nullifying the years of effort to restore a spirit of unity to a nation torn asunder by an internal conflict. This attitude belies his public professions of love and forgiveness of his enemies which are the essence of the teachings of Jesus.

Rev. King stated before the platform committee of the Democratic Convention last year that there has been a "complete breakdown of law and order in Montgomery, Ala." He had at that time launched the movement to destroy the segregation laws on city buses. His continued disregard for "law and order" is evident in a more recent public statement of his intent to work for the further destruction of other laws of segregation which are the will of the majority. When questioned about obedience to the Roman law, by which he was finally sentenced to death, Jesus said, "Render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's."

Rev. King is at long last gaining some success in breaking down the long-standing goodwill between races in Montgomery. More and more people are recognizing the ultimate objectives of the Negro movement which extend far beyond their humble petition for so-called civil rights. While I know of no single instance of a Negro being discharged for activity in the movement, they are finding it more difficult to find employment. One Negro recently stated the opinion that there were more unemployed Negroes in Montgomery now than at any time in the last 20 years. Furthermore, they are finding that the traditional hand-outs from their white friends to pay rent, doctor bills and court fines are no longer so readily obtainable.

Whether or not these accomplishments merit for Rev. King the title of "saint" is not known, but they have beyond question established him as a great leader. According to legend the Pied Piper of Hamlin also acquired a large following. The fruits or failures of leadership may well be determined by the direction which it takes.

Montgomery. A. W. F.

ADVERTISER

Segregation And The Professor

Advertiser Mon. 4-8-57

A University Of Alabama Professor Discusses The Moral Dilemma Facing Faculty Members Who Disagree With University Policy

Montgomery, Ala. P. 4

By Prof. Iredell Jenkins
In The Yale Review

The University of Alabama recently announced that six faculty members who resigned last year gave the Artherine Lucy incident as the principal reason for their leaving.—Ed.

THE PROBLEM of loosening the bonds of segregated education in the South is now at the center of national attention. I want to examine one facet of that problem: the moral and practical dilemma of professors who experience a conflict between their personal principles and the purposes of the universities and communities of which they are members.

To give warning of possible bias, I had better start with a few simple statements of fact and conviction. I was born and brought up and largely educated in the South, and have spent most of my life here. I studied in Europe for a year. I have lived and taught in New England for several years, and have also taught and traveled in the Middle West and on the West Coast. I am now a professor of philosophy at the University of Alabama.

I think that the present treatment of the Negro throughout the country (though most conspicuously because most openly in the South) is clearly unjust. I recognize that change can come only gradually and hesitantly, but I feel that the only sane course for the future is to make real the paper promise of equal opportunity, especially in education. More particularly, I am convinced that the universities of the South should play a constructive role in this undertaking, and should on their own initiative begin to open their academic communities to qualified Negroes who want and need the training that can be obtained only within these communities. I am by no means alone in this conviction: it is widely held among the faculties of the colleges in question, to a lesser extent among the students, and probably still less among the people at large. But there is a solid and widespread core of support for this view.

I presume that the various episodes that have occurred in connection with this issue, and most notoriously the events at the University of Alabama during last February and March, are too familiar to require even a summary. But a brief reference to general conditions is necessary. The most vocal segments of the public, and of the various state legislatures, are vehemently opposed to integration in any way, on any terms, at any level; this is quite certainly true of the majority of the citizens of several Southern states. And it must be remembered that a state university is immediately dependent upon the active good will of its legislature; and more remotely, though quite really, upon the support of the people at large.

LAW IS SOVEREIGN

IT HAS BEEN publicly stated that the governing officers of several Southern state universities share the common opinion: they sincerely think that integration is morally and socially wrong, and that segregation is for the real best interests of all concerned. It is common knowledge that they resisted to their legal utmost the consequences of the recent Supreme Court decisions on this matter. There is no question that they were within their right and authority in doing so.

And there is little doubt that public opinion and political realties would demand such an ostensible stand, whatever the private opinions of those in authority. On the other hand, these officers acknowledged the sovereignty of national law, submitted to it, and admitted several Negro students. I think that the sincerity of both their beliefs and their actions, their opposition in principle and their conformity in practice, should be accepted: they did not approve of integration, but they acceded to it.

Many harsh words have been uttered on the way in which this policy has been applied in various concrete cases. However, I think it is extremely impertinent, and it is altogether irrelevant to my purpose, to question the motives and the decisions of those who have nad to take responsible action in these cases. I dissent from their policy on the general issue, and I regret the outcome of specific events. But I sympathize with them in the difficult position in which they are placed.

I am confident that they hold their beliefs honestly and have acted in good faith. I will even entertain the abstract possibility that their principles and policies are correct. Intellectual and moral intolerence are never virtues, and they are highly inexpedient in one who adheres to a minority opinion. So let us stipulate the good intentions of all parties, and move on to the problem

that really and immediately occupies me.

WHAT COURSE OF ACTION?

MY CONCERN lies with the moral dilemma that now confronts all those professors who share my convictions. The official policy of several Southern universities, reflecting pressures from their states, is openly opposed to integration in principle, and apparently determined to employ all available legal means to delay and contain its realization in practice. I am by no means alone in my feeling that gradual integration is necessary on both moral and social grounds. Finding himself in this situation, what is a person to do? What is the proper, the moral, course for a professor to follow in these circumstances? In what way can he best fulfill the various obligations that he is under? I think we shall find that this seemingly simple problem is in fact enormously complex, and perhaps even insoluble: at least in the sense of affording a solution that satisfies all of the demands of moral obligation and violates none of them.

The solution that probably offers itself most spontaneously is to resign forthwith. This can be done either with quiet dignity or with a ringing public declaration in which one asserts one's own dedication to high ethical principles and denounces all who disagree as subverters of morality, religion, and the law of the land. The later course is particularly appealing.

It is fed by frustration, warmed by devotion, sustained by anger, and clothed in nobility. I can almost see our colleagues in more fortunate (in this matter) Northern and Western universities leaning forward with ears cocked to catch the first note of our protest and departure. Soon they become impatient, their feet tap, their gorges rise, their indignation mounts—and their fingers itch. As this last symptom grows intense, they will make our declarations for us: and I can assure them that we will agree with every word.

Facetiousness aside—and any situation as dramatic as this is forever hovering on the brink of the facetious—resignation may be the best solution. Those adopting it serve at least two good purposes. First, they assure the world at large that there is solid opposition on the faculties to the official policy of segregation, that there are many professors who are dedicated to the cause of progress and equality in race relations. And this will certainly help to repair that precious asset, the national reputation of these universities.

Second, those who resign serve notice on state and university authorities, and on the people at large, that a substantial body of the academic profession places freedom in all of its forms almost first among the virtues, and rejects both the policy of enforced segregation and the practice of absentee management. This gives clear warning that these universities could be vitally weakened if their course is narrowly and blindly pursued. To the extent that the people value education, and are proud of their institutions, this awareness can be a very effective deterrent.

THE BATTLEGROUND

BUT THERE is another side to this solution. If all, or most, of those who are of this opinion resign, then who is to defend their cause? He who runs away may very well live to fight another day—but not in the battle now in progress. The place to fight for a principle is where it is living issue, not where it is an accomplished fact, and still less where it has become a mere object of sanctimonious self-congratulation. An individual who resigns inevitably weakens both the cause and the institution to which he is committed. For it is where the issue is in doubt that one's forces should be mustered, and he who withdraws deprives his colleagues of support they badly need. Resignation is certainly one legitimate moral decision, furthering some real values, and it will rightfully be adopted by some professors. But these conditions give pause to many who contemplate it.

There is another solution to the dilemma that is equally obvious but radically different: this is to ignore the problem and cultivate one's garden. Those making this decision take the attitude that there is nothing effective they can do about the immediate situation, that its nearness exaggeraes its seriousness, that it will anyway improve rather quickly in the natural course of events, and that they will merely stir up trouble by intruding where they lack either the power to stand against public opinion or the influence to alter it.

These professors hold, with much reason, that their first commitment is to the discovery and the teaching of truth, and that their involvement in this issue will only distract them from these more important purposes. They are unhappy about the present state of affairs, they disapprove of the policy being followed, and they are anxious to see it changed. But they are convinced that their best and wisest course is to go about their business as scholars and teachers with all of the concentration they can command.

Both resigning and cultivating one's garden are quite straight-forward, and once the decision to do one or the other is taken it can be readily adhered to. But it requires an extraordinary degree of intellectual certitude and moral assurance to publicly wash one's hands of a great university and assert that its case is hopeless, while it requires an arrogance that is either divine or demonic to adopt this attitude toward a whole huge section of the country. On the other hand, to prepare a future that one may never see demands a patience and faith that many do not possess.

For these reasons, numerous professors are now looking — as they have looked in analogous situations at other times and places — for some middle course between resignation and acquiescence, which are both tantamount to withdrawal, at least from the immediate conflict of views. What such men desperately want is to participate in the formation of present policy and in the determination of impending events.

It is impossible to plot such a course in detail, and difficult to define even the direction it should take. Only the rough outline is clear: to state one's ideas in public, to mix them in the melting-pot of discussion, and so to have them make their impact on whatever decisions are taken. The call to make such a contribution bears upon many professors not only as an abstract right but even more sharply as a concrete duty. An extremely important issue, affecting far larger interests than merely those of one's university, is being fought out; extreme courses are being frenetically urged. . . . In any such case it appears to be the obvious responsibility of the academic community to make its position clear and to state its arguments as compellingly as possible.

A university is supposed to be a place where passions are purged of prejudice, and emerge as thoughtful emotions and intentions. One of its most significant functions is to educate public opinion, to draw it toward what honest inquiry indicates as the best policy. Many professors therefore feel a deep conviction that they must make their views known; and they feel it the more intensely when their views are being widely misrepresented by irresponsible parties who give the false impression of speaking for them and for the university as a whole. The only way professors can protect themselves against this abuse, and fulfill their obligation as scholars and citizens, is to raise their voices.

THE CONSEQUENCES

THEIR RIGHT to do this is not questioned by anyone. But the possible consequences of the exercise of this right are portentous. I think we can ignore the purely personal consequences. Most professors who feel strongly on any such issue as this are perfectly willing to run the risk of official disfavor or dismissal. And these risks are in fact quite small. The university itself, and behind it all of the panoply of academic and professional organizations, would very certainly defend any professor who faced persecution for stating his views.

Even if the worse came to the worst, and he were forced out, martyrs do not usually want for jobs. There is, indeed, another and far uglier aspect of this matter: that is the possibility of personal abuse and outrage from those self-declared protectors of public morality, the White Citizens Councils. This is a real risk. But it is apt to be demoralizing rather than dangerous, and to be silenced by this threat is to acquiesce in the abdication of reason and moderation to ignorance and fanaticism; so this again will not seriously deter many professors from declaring and supporting their convictions.

It is the larger consequences of a course of active intervention that are frightening. Professors are soon made to realize that when they raise their voices it is the university that is heard. So whatever they say must be measured in terms of its impact upon their universities, not merely upon themselves. This impact comes eventually from public opinion, and more directly from the state legislatures that represent it more or less accurately. And the people will make their weight felt against a university that ignores their demands and espouses ideas and policies to which they are vehemently opposed.

It is from these simple facts that there emerges the complicated web of the professor's dilemma. He wants to assert that he thinks is right, persuade the people to his views, and so advance the cause of what he regards as justice and progress. But he finds that in doing so he runs the risk of alienating the people, weakening the effectiveness of his university, and damaging the cause he seeks to serve. In the pursuit of his clear goal he finds himself launched upon a course that often appears cowardly to his distant colleagues, that seems devious even to himself, and that demands constant compromise with his purpose. So does the practice of his principles threaten to undermine and perhaps betray them.

A large number of professors will certainly engage themselves in this course, pursuing it in various ways and with varying intensities. If successful, it promises the fullest measure of value. It is at once a policy of protest against evil, of the cultivation of virtue, and of active struggle for good. But those who choose this course confront grave difficulties. In committing themselves to change the direction of events, they put themselves partly at the mercy of events. They must be prepared to make concessions that they deem unworthy, to sacrifice abstract principles for concrete values, and to temper morality with prudence.

Even with all this they may find that they do more harm than good: by exposing their intention to lead university policy in one direction they take the calculated risk of arousing community feeling to such an extent that this policy will actually be forced in the opposite direction. It is this realization that weighs most heavily upon responsible men and makes them hesitate before this decision.

THE UNIVERSITY MUST WAIT

THE INFLUENCE of a university rests on the authority of reason, and this makes small appeal to violent emotions and militant prejudices. A university can effect little in the larger community in such circumstances, while it can suffer greatly. What it can and should do is to preserve the academic atmosphere of its own community: it can protect its faculty against any threat to the right of free and open discussion, even if some professors indiscreetly abuse this right; and particularly it can cultivate the virtues of intellectual integrity and tolerance that are at once its privilege and its responsibility.

Universities are magnificently equipped to discover the truth, and make it available to minds that have been prepared to appreciate it. But they are extremely ill equipped to mobilize and direct popular sentiment. The subtlety and caution, the detachment and balance, that are necessary to the first task disarm them for the second. So when public feeling is aroused there is little a university can do save wait for the storm to subside, when it can again assert its position and influence.

31 1957

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Fri. 4-5-57 p. 4-a

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Montgomery, Ala.

Time For A Moral Crusade For Segregation

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I am a native of Tennessee now residing in Sweden where I am continuing study toward a Ph.D. degree in philosophy which I began at Harvard University. I am writing you to send you copies of two letters by me and one by a resident of Holland who agreed with me which appeared in the European edition of *The New York Herald Tribune* and which were on the subject of racial integration in the United States.

I like most other natives of Tennessee and most other Southerners have been greatly disturbed by the attempted forced school integration in Clinton. It was of course an ironical event in the history of American democracy that troops were sent there and to Kentucky towns to force the white majorities to accept Negros in their schools. As former Supreme Court Justice, Secretary of State and Governor of South Carolina Byrnes pointed out in a recent speech, it was indeed ironical that troops should have been used to enable Negroes to enter schools against the will of white majorities while they cannot be used to allow non-striking workers to cross a labor picket line. I agree with those who believe that Gov. Clement should have been impeached for his ordering troops to Clinton. And I read an article recently in *U.S. News & World Report* appraising the justice of the FBI's being used to enforce court injunctions which have never been enacted by any elective legislative assembly.

But disturbing as the situation in Clinton is, I believe the situation in Montgomery is even more so. I have been very disappointed that the proposed running of the buses by private concerns has not materialized, which is an urgently needed step; it is true also because of the implications of the so-called "moral offensive" by the Negro preacher, Dr. Martin Luther King. According to the recent article on him in *Time* magazine, some white ministers in the South are responding to his "offensive" with statements to the effect that he is "awakening the conscience of the South." Those statements remind of course of the white minister in Clinton's highly publicized act of taking it upon himself to escort Negroes to Clinton High School.

That is a distressing situation because the Rev. King's moral position is certainly not right and white ministers who respond to him are certainly not in the right, all the more so since by so responding they desert their own people in their time of great need when they should instead be giving them their comfort and support. Ethical questions must be solved according to what is the highest, greatest or ultimate good. While the races of the world all are human, they are certainly not equal in mental and creative capacities, as is evidenced by the differences in their intellectual and artistic creations and the natures of their civilizations (as wel las by the congressional report on school integration in Washington).

Those differences exist, proved in history and are not just because one people had more opportunity than others. The Negroes have advanced much since the days of slavery in America and they can advance more there and in Africa but they can never advance to the degree of producing a Shakespeare, a Rembrandt or a Beethoven; likewise the art and thought of India and China are different from that of the Western nations, as is their civilizations, and that of the Latin nations is different from that of the Northern European nations. The ultimate, highest and greatest ethical question involved in the racial question is that the races should be maintained distinct for the intrinsic good of it and so that the white race can continue to make great contributions for the betterment of all humanity.

The majority of the white people of the South are cultured and religious people and it is certainly very unjust that they should be called immoral by those who do not understand because they defend the way of life which is historically theirs and which they know is right. And it is certainly cruelly ironical that some of their own clergymen should turn on them due to their own short-sightedness and advocate integration as "the Christian way." Ministers also have taken it upon themselves to say that God is on the side of government policies in wars but history affords many examples of that not having been true.

There is an urgent need for a moral offensive by the white people of the South and that of course should begin in Montgomery by a counterpart to the activities of Dr. King.

DOUGLAS S. CARR.
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ADVERTISER

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Fri. 4-12-57

Career Orphans

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I would like to say a word for the little "career-orphans." They are very numerous these days. I am referring to the tots whose mothers work and leave them to the care of any maid who applies for the job.

p. 4-B

It is a cinch for the maid. She has the house to herself all day and may do as she pleases. But what of the child? The maid sleeps, idles indoors, and watches television while the child is left indoors and gets little fresh air.

A dear little girl moved next door to us a few months ago. The mother is gone all day and the child is "taken care of" by a Negro maid. All day the house is still. The child is never seen or heard, never plays outside. Occasionally she is taken out just in time to return to meet the mother. Naturally, the mother probably thinks the child plays outside and gets plenty of exercise and sunshine.

A woman went to a home one day and the door was opened by the small child. And there, on the couch lay the Negro maid fast asleep. The child could have opened the door and gone out in the street, and anything could have happened.

If the mother must work, the children should be left at a day nursery under responsible supervision where their play outside and food are all carefully supervised.

Mothers take too much for granted.

Montgomery. B. M.

◆

Eisenhower Hypocrisy

Editor, The Advertiser:

The recent giveaway of $75,000,000 in American taxes to communist Poland high lights the utter deception and hypocrisy of this administration and certain Democratic senators.

Tax funds donated to communist Tito are reaching the same Hungarian regime that President Eisenhower so piously denounced when he flooded us with 67,000 alleged refugees. This administration has created a socialist government contract, big business cartel working hand in glove with tax-free labor extortionists.

The Supreme Court has been packed and our country torn with racial strife to capture a self-styled minority controlling the outmoded electoral college. A vicious new piece of legislation is now proposed which would bypass state courts and juries with a new army of federal agents, manufacture professional informers and stimulate anarchy.

OSCAR LAPIROW.
West Jeffe[illegible]n, Ohio.

REWRITTEN FOR NAACP

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER

We heard sometime ago that the NAACP was attempting to secure the deletion of the word "Darkies" from Stephen Foster's classic MY OLD KENTUCKY HOME. Recently over our station WSFA on "This is Your Music," the songs of Stephen Foster were featured and to our astonishment when they sang MY OLD KENTUCKY HOME, the word "People" was substituted.

How can an organization producer of the program permit such a classic to be raped just because the NAACP so desires?

R.R. Rossell

Montgomery

Advertiser p 4 b
Tues. 7-23-57
Montgomery, Ala.

All Quiet In Montgomery

Advertiser p. 4-A Montgomery Ala. Wed. 4-17-57

Minneapolis Editor Finds The Cradle Of Confederacy Quiet And Pleasant, Alert To Modern Trends, But Says Change Is Inevitable

ASSOCIATE EDITOR GEORGE L. PETERSON IN THE MINNEAPOLIS STAR-TRIBUNE

MONTGOMERY, ALA.

MONTGOMERY, which recently experienced a long bus boycott by Negro protesters against segregation and then a series of bombings, doesn't look like a beleaguered city.

It's a pleasant place in late spring—late for Alabama, that is. The azaleas and fruit trees are through blooming, crops are in on nearby farms. The state Capitol, which also served as first capitol of the Confederacy, looks benignly down on the center of town. The comfortable "White House" of Jefferson Davis stands nearby.

Like most communities of the Deep South, Montgomery clings—sometimes proudly, sometimes grimly—to its traditions. Yet it is alert to all the modern trends in business and likes the rapid population growth it is undergoing.

Montgomery is quiet now. The buses are running on schedule and the patronage seems largely Negro. In conformity with court rulings, segregation of riders no longer is enforced. But the Negroes still tend to seat themselves from the back, white patrons from the front.

Things never were so bad as outsiders seemed to infer, insist most of the Montgomery people with whom I have talked. Grover C. Hall Jr., talented and affable editor of *The Montgomery Advertiser*, says that individual friendliness between Negro and white citizens has been unaffected in the main by racial events. He admits there is considerable group hostility, though he doesn't thing the feeling could be called hatred.

"We had more violence in a telephone strike two years ago than we saw in the whole bus fiasco," Hall emphasizes. To him the boycott was a "fiasco" because it brought no real change in conditions.

CONVICTIONS UNLIKELY

HE AND others pointed to the prompt arrest of a dozen persons in the bombings of Negro churches and homes as evidence that Montgomery is determined to settle things peacefully and lawfully. But some of the obviously guilty have gone free, only four were indicted, and I'd guess that their convictions are unlikely.

Montgomery people are hurt that their city should have received so much publicity on the race question. "In race relations Montgomery is the most liberal town in Alabama," the white citizens assure you in all sincerity.

They tell you that the bus boycott was something like a strike—many Negroes were intimidated into shunning the buses. They would have you believe that the majority of Montgomery Negroes are satisfied with the old lines of demarcation.

Montgomery, like the other states of the old Confederacy, still is segregated in schools, churches, theaters, etc. There seems no immediate chance of a change, despite Supreme Court decisions. Yet everybody seems to recognize that change is inevitable.

Hall, who visited Minneapolis last November and found the city depressing, sums up the attitude of the gradualist about integrated schools when he asks, "Why should this present generation have to carry the full brunt of bringing the Negroes up to par educationally?"

NEGRO GRADUALISTS

FROM the few short conversations I have had with Negroes here I vould judge that many of them are gradualists, too. In actual practice in the Deep South they might be the laggards in integration. Still, they all know there's a new day coming and some are quite impatient for it.

An anomaly here is Gov. Big Jim Folsom, who has most of the attributes of a demagogue but who never has baited the Negro. As a result he has the solid Negro vote, which, however, isn't very big—probably 50,000 votes out of half a million. Negroes constitute about 40% of the population of Montgomery, a slightly smaller percentage of Alabama's population. The Negro vote is cut down by a literacy provision and a dollar and a half poll tax.

FOLSOM AND POWELL

BIG JIM is serving his second four-year term as governor. Under the state constitution he can't serve continuous terms. He hopes to come back to Montgomery from his insurance business in northern Alabama for a third term after another four years out of office.

He's considered a buffoon and has won office via the votes of rural Alabamians. But many of them think Congressman Clayton Powell may have given Folsom the kiss of death when the New York Negro casually remarked at a Montgomery meeting that he had stopped by at the executive mansion, at the governor's invitation, for a chat and a scotch and soda.

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Stockholm, Sweden.

31 1957

Local Unitarians Move Here, There

Advertiser Sat. 3-23-57 P. 4-A

Which Fact Is Owing Not To Their Desire, But To Intolerance

In A City Famous For Tolerance

Montgomery, Ala.

31 Advertiser

By Lillian De Loach

Of The Advertiser Staff

A GROUP of about 25 professional people in Montgomery—members of the Fellowship for Liberal Religion — have experienced first hand the problem of the few in number.

At the beginning of last summer, after having met at the YWCA's hut since the group was formed in 1953, they were suddenly told that the hut would be needed "immediately" for youth activities.

DE LOACH

This announcement came toward the end of the week, and after a final meeting on Sunday, the group dispersed for the summer. Some small social meetings were held in individual homes during the months that followed, but because of the lack of an adequate place to gather as a religious body, no formal meetings were held.

This expulsion came after the group had taken a vote reaffirming a principle of the Unitarian covenant (most of the members are Unitarian) which states that neither race, color nor creed determines the merit of a man. The vote had been prompted by a number of the more strongly liberal members, now gone.

Coming when it did, this vote was interpreted, according to reports, as an indication that the group was taking an active part in the furtherance of race mixing.

In October, the group was reunited in two classrooms on the Huntingdon College campus. There followed a series of well-attended meetings. Again hopeful and with the beginnings of a solid core of members reestablished, it was decided to set up the Sunday school which had been discontinued with the move from the "Y."

Again pressures assailed them both on religious grounds and on unestablished charges of furthering integration and again they were left with no place to meet.

These pressures were stimulated by a prominent elderly woman from a central Alabama county, the mother of a young man who left the Methodist Church for Unitarianism. An opponent of the group for a number of years, upon hearing of the Unitarians meeting at Huntingdon, she instigated a move by her small-town church, including threats to discontinue contributions to the college amounting to $10,000 or more.

Reportedly, there were other instances of pressure exerted on the college administration to ban the Unitarians.

UNWANTED INTRUDER

Another instance of agitation which only added to the local group's unpopularity occurred during the spring of 1956. A quick trip through the South by a free-lance Unitarian, one Homer Jack from Illinois, who became one of the many three-day authorities on segregation, served to confirm suspicions of Unitarian segregation movements more strongly. The Yankee minister has since been ordered by the national group to stay out of this area except by invitation, which is not likely to be extended.

Temporarily housed at Maxwell Air Force Base, the Unitarians are still in search of a place to meet. Arrangements are being negotiated for meeting in an auditorium at Normandale.

Unitarianism is defined by the *Encyclopaedia Bitannica* as a 'system of Christian thought and religious observance, deriving its name from its doctrine of the single personality of God the Father in contrast with the Trinitarian conception of His threefold being as Father, Son and Holy Spirit."

The significance of the movement is "imperfectly indicated by the name," the *Britannica* states. "Is real importance lies in teachings concerning mankind and the nature and work of Jesus Christ."

EMBRACE SPIRIT OF CHRIST

Unitarians look upon Jesus as a great ad inspired moral teacher. Holding a humanitarian view of the person of Jesus, they accept His religious teachings, and in accordance with those teachings, define, according to another authority, practical religion as love to God and love to man."

To support their argument of the humanity of Jesus, they point out that as far as is known, Jesus himself "did not teach the doctrine of the Trinity, nor did his Apostles." It was "at least 150 years after the crucifixion of Jesus" that the term Trinity began to be used by "Christian teachers, and much later before it was decided on as the Christian concept of deity."

ADVERTISER (MONTGOMERY, ALA.)

Unitarians consider the important thing is to be Christian in spirit. They regard Christianity not so much a 'set of definitions of God and Christ as the Christ spirit which a man is under obligation to put into his everyday life."

The most popular statement of faith of the Unitarian is "The Fatherhood of God; the brotherhood of man; the leadership of Jesus; salvation by character; the progress of mankind onward and upward forever."

DO THEIR OWN THINKING

A Biblical reference which expresses the Unitarian idea: "Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is One Lord." *(Deut.* vi 4)

In Unitarian history are stamped certain characteristics. Many early leaders were forced into exile by exclusion from larger historic churches of Christendom. Considered with subsequent denominational history, this has infused a "certain habit of mind—of independent judgment, of bringing opinions to the bar of strong common sense, of proving all things and holding fast to that which is good."

Common among the upper and more educated classes in Boston and other large New England towns since the 1780s, Unitarianism has been a matter of debate in America since 1805. At that time a Unitarian was appointed to a professorship of divinity at Harvard College. It is an interesting note, however, that Harvard Divinity School was founded by Unitarians in 1816 and completely endowed by them until 1870 when the school became unsectarian.

75,000 MEMBERS

With its International Association for Liberal Christanity and Religious Freedom, Unitarianism had correspondents in 22 countries at mid-20th Century A non-proselyting religion, they still believe in extending the hand of fellowship to any who may reach out for it.

By mid-20th Century, Unitarian churches in the U.S. numbered 350, with 450 ordained clergymen, 10 of which were women. Church membership was listed as over 75,000, with 50,000 of this number over 13 years of age.

5 U.S. PRESIDENTS WERE UNITARIANS

This census does not include the numerous fellowships, such as the Montgomery group (with membership less than the required 65 families to form a church), which are scattered over the nation. Nor does the number of clergy include the lay leaders of the fellowships, such as Martin J. Wiman who serves as president of the Montgomery fellowship.

Brought to America by an English clergyman, chemist and physicist, Dr. Joseph Prestly—discoverer of oxygen—in 1794, the Unitarian faith claims many renowned men and women.

Among them are Ralph Waldo Emerson, for a time Unitarian minister; William Ellery Channing, the distinguished exponent of American Unitarianism's formation; John Milton, the poet, who expressed his views in "Christian Doctrine;" Isaac Newton; John Locke, on whom the Founding Fathers leaned heavily in writing the U.S. Constitution; Theodore Parker, who espoused reforms in church and state; Margaret Fuller, Julia Ward Howe and Susan B. Anthony, who advocated the emancipation of women; Henry David Thoreau, who conducted the famous experiment at Walden Pond.

Among Unitarian Presidents of the United States are included John Adams, John Quincy Adams, Thomas Jefferson (a deist in his day, which compares with modern Unitarianism); Millard Fillmore, William Howard Taft — and the would-be President, Adlai Stevenson (now on leave to the Presbyterians because, he said, there was no Unitarian church near his Libertyville home)

OLDEST PILGRIM CHURCH UNITARIAN

A little realized fact of Unitarian-American history, termed a 'suggestive and significant fact" by the *Encyclopaedia Americana*, is that the oldest Pilgrim church in America, that founded at Plymouth in 1620, in about 1800 declared itself to be Unitarian by a large majority vote. This was done without making any change in the original covenant.

Today that church, Unitarian in "name and fellowship," uses the identical statement of faith drawn up by the Pilgrim founders."

Pearson On Hill

Editor, The Advertiser:

In the news release of March 23 from Birmingham, *The Advertiser* quoted Columnist Drew Pearson who chose to embarrass our Sen. Lister Hill in his own state when he called the senator "a fence sitter" on the proposed federal aid to education that the senator is worried sick for fear the Powell amendment will be tacked onto the school bill."

Advertiser Mar 23 1957

If such a "fence" exists, I have a feeling that it might be the "fence" on the Mason-Dixon line and he might be sitting there to be ever watchful for what tries to come over that "fence." The senator is sitting up high enough to observe what's coming and if it's good for the people of Alabama the gate will be opened. Otherwise, naught.

If the columnist is so good predicting what has and is going to happen, it would be far easier to tell the worthwhile projects Sen. Hill has done for Alabama and the South. The last election should be proof enough: Alabama elected Sen. Hill with the largest vote ever. Why an outsider chose to embarrass the senator in his own state is beyond the writer's understanding. If the senator needs suggestions, it's up to the people of Alabama to do it and not an outsider.

Montgomery. ED C. REEDER.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Tues. 3-19-57

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

The South Is Sad

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I am like other true Southerners. All of my life I've been considerate of the Negro; often inconveniencing myself to do an act of kindness for one, but it was always a pleasure.

P. 4

Not many Montgomerians can say that all of their eight great-grandparents moved into the territory of Alabama and later played a part in making it a state. All were slave owners; so it is obvious that it has been handed down to me to do for the Negro when an opportunity presented itself. My forebears respected the Negro and in 1845 one grandparent wanted the legislature to prohibit Northern slave traders from selling slaves in Alabama for a "period of five years, or longer," for they were bringing down vicious and wicked Negroes to get rid of them which interfered with the happiness of all by deteriorating the character of our slave population.

Quoting *The Montgomery Advertiser* of Oct. 31, 1845: "Slavery, with us, should be made a service of kindness on the one side and affectionate attachment on the other, both promoted by long years of acquaintance from childhood to old age."

I feel I can speak for every true Southerner when I say there has always been a tie or close bond between the whites and the Negroes in the South until in recent years when agitators descended. This warm friendship was an inheritance but it is rapidly dying. Why? Because the Rev. Martin Luther King threw the bomb which injured this feeling of good-will. Today there exists a great amount of sadness, for one doesn't have the same desire to do for the Negro in general.

No one knows what the future holds for all. May God restore the friendliness between the two races in our Southland. LIZZIE BANKS PICKETT.

Montgomery.

◆

Judge Jones, White Spokesman

Editor, The Advertiser:

Much has been written and said about the need for intelligent and strong leadership in the South's fight to maintain racial segregation, and thereby to preserve the white race of people in America.

With all respect, may I ask where in all of these United States or the whole world for that matter, could a more capable, more respected, or better loved leader be found than our own Judge Waler B. Jones of Mongomery?

He has spoken once for the white race. Let us all entreat him to continue to speak for us.

Opelika, Ala. CHARLES COPELAND.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Tues. 3-26-57

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Montgomery, Ala.

P. 4-a

Reasons Why Theologian Calls Dr. King Saint

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — A recent editorial has taken me to task for my reference to Dr. Martin Luther King as "an exceptional saint." The editor supports his criticisms by reference to Webster's diefinition of sainthood.

But the church looks at sainthood a little differently than does the famous lexicographer. The Roman Catholic Church, for example, requires two things in a saint: (1) that he have been dead for an appropriate number of years, and (2) that he shal lhave performed some attestable miracle.

As for Dr. King, he is not dead; though doubtless some of his enemies wish he were. So on this score he cannot qualify.

But as for the other test, he has performed one of the most notable miracles in America. In the midst of a dangerously explosive situation, at grave danger to himself and his family, he guided the Negroes of Montgomery in the achievement of their legal rights as citizens of a democracy. And he did it without violence on the part of the Negroes. Furthermore, and even more remarkable, he has refused to hate or fight back at people who have threatened him, ridiculed him, sought to bribe him, and even have set off bombs at his house.

I submit: this is a miracle of the first order.

Any other candidates care to compete with the Rev. Martin Luther King for the saintly crown in Montgomery? In my way of thinking this is amazingly similar to the way in which Jesus of Nazareth faced the enemies of His day. This is sainthood in man's church.

CLAUDE H. THOMPSON.
[Professor of Systematic Theology, Emory University.]
Atlanta, Ga.

¶ *Dr. Thompson's letter refers to a Feb. 10* Advertiser *editorial which revealed that he accorded Dr. King sainthood in a Methodist publication. —Ed.*

The White Minority

Editor, The Advertiser:

It seems to me that we now have a golden, double barreled, opportunity to convince our heads of state, president and vice president, that minorities are minorities no matter where they minor.

Mr. Nixon has visited Liberia. I was there, Sharlie, in 1913. From reports, conditions are the same then as now. The ruling caste speaks a queer brand of English and "the natives" have less civil rights than the sacred Southern "Negro."

Montgomery, Ala.

Also they do not let a white man vote or own property. He is just one step lower than "the natives."

So it will be here when the civil righters have their way.

Wed. 3-27-57

JOHN JONES.
P.O. Box 1171, Hollywood 28, Calif.

'The Doggone Detroit Public Is Fickle'

Editor, The Advertiser:

As a civic minded man, interested in your city's home economic program, I hope you may be interested in some of Detroit's buses for sale. Your city, I understand, was recently "integrated" and these buses should be just the thing, because they are all guaranteed fully "integrated" modes of transportation.

Advertiser

Many of them haven't had the dust knocked off the starters since they came from the assembly line to serve the new sociological-psychological-political program.

Tues. 3-5-57

The city commission here is just dying to find some use for them. In the case of the street cars, their tracks were cemented over, the cars sold and used as hamburger joints and contractors' headquarters. Some of the buses have become peanut-and-popcorn vendors. But for the rest of the buses, they are sighing for use in integration.

The doggone public here is fickle. The city went to such expense to get these nice buses for integration, and the thankless public just jumped into their private cars and thumbed their noses at the city commission. Bumper-to-bumper like busy little ants these private cars swish along, one man to the car, eyeing the big buses still in use as a dying bird of paradise.

Southerners are gentle and understanding, and a bit sentimental, too, and it is these characteristics which are needed to "save" our integration buses from the infamy of disuse and plain-old rust.

The city commission continues to lose money, too, but of course they will never go broke—as long as the public has a tax dollar. Please help us out. Buy the buses. E. B. GIRDLEY.
2435 Lawndale, Detroit 9, Mich.

Dr. Thompson's Pious Egotism

Advertiser P. 2-b

Editor, The Advertiser:

The letter from Dr. Claude Thompson of the Emory School of Theology in last Thursday's Advertiser is a typical example of pious egotism. Having lived in Atlanta, not too far from Emory University, I cannot understand how teachers of his type are kept on the faculty. I have heard his statements discussed in several circles, though it is particularly embarrassing to Methodist people.

Montgomery, Ala.

I would like to raise some points in the conroversy growing out of the foolish statement that Rev. Martin Luther King is "an exceptional saint."

If this statement was published in Methodist Sunday School literature, who is responsible for it being accepted for publication; and what remedy do Methodist people have to prevent such things being published again in church magazines? Do the Methodist people furnish money and support such publications? What do the Methodist bishops say about having Methodist churches used to bring about integration? Do local churches have any right to protest and will their protests be heard?

When did integration agitators start to using the churches to further their ends? I am 53 years old and I never heard of the churches being used this way until the last four or five years, and now all the churches seem to be having trouble in this way.

In my judgment, this thing will hurt the churches more than anything else unless steps are taken to clean house. If I give my money to church causes, I want to be dead sure that it will not be used to pay salaries to people with Dr. Claude Thompson's views, and to others who take advantage of good loyal church people to air their own notions.

Montgomery. WALTER V. KIRVEN.

31 1957 ADVERTISER

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

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Thurs. 4-25-57 P. 4-A

Nix On Stories Written By Northern Reporters

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — As a long-time reader of your paper, I feel called upon to comment upon the series of the Ku Klux Klan written by Robert Bird of the *New York Herald Tribune.* These questions came to my mind as I read his stories. Since when does *The Montgomery Advertiser* have to rely upon New York reporters for stories concerning the South? As I recall, this was not your [former] practice.

And when did it become your practice to feature Negro reporters on the editorial page (Poston [of the *New York Post),* for instance). Haven't you said M. L. King was not successful with his boycott, that the Supreme Court knocked out bus segregation? Then why let a Negro reporter, of all people, come into your editorial pages and give this rabble-rouser King the credit for something the Supreme Court did? As to where King goes from here, I think plenty of Montgomerians can make a good suggestion regarding the King's next move.

How about a series on the NAACP—how it functions by intimidation, etc.? King forcing his congregation to join would be a good starter on the series. Why hasn't this type of thing been done before? Doesn't *The Advertiser* have any reporters capable of such a series? Quit relying upon outside writers for such touchy subjects.

Personally, the Klan story is, I believe, to be a good thing. Hope it opens the eyes of a few people right in Autauga and Montgomery counties to the Klan's methods. What I say is that you should not rely upon Northern writers unless you can get a NAACP study by a Southern writer printed on the front page of the *Tribune.*

And by the way, Bird has an error (or a conscious bit of slanted, misleading writing) in his last Friday story. Bird says the Georgia governor didn't let a white team play a Negro team and that people in Atlanta, Ga., objected because he didn't. The facts are this: The game was to have been played between two *Negro* teams on the football field of a white school in Georgia. Entirely different from what your reporter would have his readers think. Stopping the game looks even sillier under those circumstances, but the way Bird has it would make Georgians approving of inter-racial football in their high schools—not so. How about a correction on this unless you have been brainwashed, too?

OSCAR L. FAULK.

Prattville, Ala.

GROVER C. HALL JR.
'National Headliner'

Grover Hall Wins National Press Prize

Advertiser Sat. 4-20-57 Montgomery, Ala. P. 1

'Consistently Outstanding' Editorials Cited

ATLANTIC CITY, N.J., April 19—The National Headliner Club announced here tonight that Grover C. Hall Jr., editor-in-chief of The Montgomery Advertiser, is winner of the 1957 Headliner Medal for "consistently outstanding editorial page editing."

Hall was adjudged the winner of the prize in competition with the editors in this country and Canada.

Account was taken of all Hall's work in 1956 in The Advertiser, but his "Askelon" series was specificially cited by the judges acting for the Headliner Club.

Silver medals will be presented to Hall and the 21 winners in the categories for reporters, cartoonists, TV-radio broadcasting and newsreels at a ceremony in Atlantic City April 27.

NORTH PRESS ATTACKED

The National Headliner Club membership is composed of all those who have won Headliner Medals through the years since their inception in 1935.

That Hall's editorials should have won the prize is noteworthy in that all the judges were Northerners and his "Askelon" editorials were in large measure a gouging, savage attack on the Northern press for suppressing news of Northern race strife and discrimination.

During the Askelon series, 30-odd in number, the editorial page of The Advertiser was the most quoted of any newspaper in the Southern states.

WIDELY QUOTED

The Advertiser stimulated U.S. News & World Report to do a series on discrimination in New York, Chicago, California, England and France. The New York Post, in candid acknowledgement of Hall's challenge, assigned some 14 reporters to do an exhaustive series on New York discrimination.

Editorials in response to Askelon, some friendly and some hostile, appeared from New York to Oregon and in Europe. Askelon entered the debate in the 1956 convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

R. F. Hudson Jr., publisher of The Advertiser, nominated Hall for the award, submitting in part: ". . . Truly a rare firepower demonstration of an American editorial page."

1,000 NOMINATIONS P. 10

There were more than a thousand nominations for the 22 prizes. Sat. 4-20-57

Hall adapted the Askelon name from the second Book of Samuel: "Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon; lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice, lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph."

Hall, one of a formerly numerous Alabama newspaper tribe, is the son of a former editor of The Advertiser who died January, 1941. In 1948 a bronze plaque was erected in the Advertiser building by Sigma Delta Chi, national professional journalism fraternity, to designate it "an historic site in American journalism," made so by the editorials of the elder Hall.

OTHER AWARDS

The other Headliners:

In the Photographic Classifications: Best Spot News Picture—Winfield I. Parks Jr., of The Providence Journal-Bulletin, for his dramatic shot of detectives firing shots at a fleeing bandit car tires; Best Sports Action Picture—Al Sund, of The San Diego Union for "The Lady And The Bull," showing a bull attacking lady matador Pat McCormick; Best Feature Picture Stressing Human Interest—Dan Tortorell, the Chicago Tribune for "Lend An Ear," showing a baby apparently whispering in the ear of a boxer pup.

Outstanding Public Service by a newspaper: The St. Petersburg Times, for its general series of public service programs and specifically Lowell Brandle's series, "Disaster Calls You Daddy," dealing with the retarded children situation in Florida.

In other newspaper classifications: Frank Miller of The Des Moines Register for Consistently Outstanding Editorial Cartoons; Milton Richman of the United Press, Consistently Outstanding Sports Writing; Endre Marton of the Associated Press, Outstanding Coverage of a Major Foreign News Story, for his beat on the Hungarian revolt; The Chicago Daily News expose of Illinois' "Hodge Case" was judged the best in the Outstanding Coverage of a Major Domestic New Story.

Jay Carmody, theater critic of the Washington Star was named best in the entries in the Consistently Outstanding Radio-TV-Theater Column category.

SMALLER NEWSPAPERS

In the smaller newspaper-by-circulation categories, Pat Munroe of the Washington Bureau of the Albuquerque Journal for revealing the secrecy barrier on government-paid travel by members of Congress. This was in the papers of from 25,000 to 50,000 classification. In the papers from 2,500 to 25,000 the award went to Dave Beronio of the Vallejo, Calif., Times-Hearld for his coverage of the Olympic games and general excellence in local sports columning.

Look magazine and writers Chester Morrison and William Attwood won the Best News Feature in magazine competition for their feature "Arab vs. Jew."

Irving Levine of NBC won the Consistently Outstanding Radio Network News Broadcasting for his "This Is Moscow" reports from Russia. The award for Consistently Outstanding News Reporting by a Radio Station went to WBBM, Chicago.

For Outstanding Public Service by a Radio Station, the judges selected Station KMOX, St. Louis, for its comprehensive campaign on juvenile delinquency titled "Youth In The Shadows."

TELEVISION AWARDS

Television news awards were made to CBS News for its coverage of the Hungarian revolt in the Outstanding Network Television Coverage of a News Event, and for individual stations the television news award went to Station KDKA in Pittsburgh and News Director Bill Burns for the general calibre of its daily news telecasts and specifically an airliner crash.

For Outstanding Public Service by a Television Station, the honors went to KPIX, San Francisco, for its campaign to relieve traffic and parking conditions.

The H Bomb story brought "News of the Day" the medal in Outstanding Coverage of a News Event, while Telenews won a special award for Outstanding Sportsfilm via its "Weekly Sports Review," and cameramen Ted Rickman and Frank Koza.

The judges were: Nich Archer, news editor of Telenews, New York; John Madigan, Washington bureau of Newsweek; John J. Madigan, radio news manager of United Press Associations, New York; John T. Madigan, program director of station WMTW-TV, Poland Spring, Maine; Andrew J. May, vice president of Harris & Ewing, Washington, D.C.; chairman Tom Paprocki, cartoonist for AP Newsfeateres, New York; Ralph Squillace, managing editor of the Vineland, N.J., Times-Journal.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser 4-4-H

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Montgomery, Ala.

Ivy Creek Methodist Church Dissents

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—We, the teachers and members of the adult classes and the church school superintendent of the Ivy Creek Methodist Church, voted in a joint meeting the following resolutions objecting to our church school literature being used for the promotion of racial integration.

¶ That we deplore the publication of articles teaching integration in our church school magazine such as the Dr. Claud Thompson articles which recently appeared in the *Adult Student*. We are in wholehearted and complete disagreement with statements made in the Dr. Thompson articles.

¶ That we are opposed to the preaching of racial integration from our pulpits.

¶ That we are also opposed to our church paper publishing statements, or extracts from statements, made by men and women who are promoting integration in the Methodist Church.

¶ That the membership of the Ivy Creek Methodist Church expects to continue to be a segregated church.

R. H. HOWARD,
W. P. JONES,
J. D. DISMUKES,
Resolution Committee.

Autaugaville, Ala.

Tell It To Old Grandma

advertiser Fri 4-26-57

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W. P. JONES,
J. D. DISMUKES,
Resolution Committee.

Autaugaville, Ala.

P. 14a

Stimulated Production

Editor, The Advertiser:

Glad you called attention to the egg surpluses produced in England as a result of additional money incentive to producers.

Now, why not speculate on what would happen if the English subsidized the export of their surplus to this country, as we are doing with our exports of surplus cotton?

Truly, we weave a tangled web, once we start using artificial devices to stimulate production—or to stabilize prices.

Chicago, Ill. JOHN J. LACEY.

Slower Cars

Editor, The Advertiser:

We see in old papers about the enormous highway death rate and see all the different remedies. But they still have not come up with anything worth while. I know I will be considered a nut and crazy by our great free enterprise membership and those who claim to be so free.

Pass a law making all auto and truck manufacturers gear the cars down to not over 50 miles per hour. This will stop 90% of killings.

There is no other country in the wide world that would stand for such human slaughter, a national disgrace.

Montgomery. JOSEPH C. GREEN.

A Safer Mulberry

Editor, The Advertiser:

We thank the city for answering our request for the street lights on Mulberry Street in Oak aPrk.

Our children and elder ones are very grateful for the safeguard before fatal accidents occur.

In most cases traffic lights are installed after tragic deaths occur, or serious accidents. This traffic light system is doing a good job, slowing traffic on a busy thoroughfare and was needed very badly in the shopping district of Oak Park. MRS. C. GOOLSBY.

Montgomery.

First Draft Completed

Advertiser

Grandma is proud of its prizes and citations in the Alabama Associated Press Association contest. This is particularly true in the case of Photographer Joe Holloway and the citation of the news staff for the bus boycott story from day to day.

Adv. 5-2-57

Holloway was once a lean Marine. He is not the same size these days, but his generous girth and puffing diminish neither his industry nor artistry. The picture he shot downtown of a Negro woman looking quizzically at some Klansmen lumbering down the street on the hem of their sheets was instantly recognizable as a near classic. A reporter would have to write a lot of words to tell as much. This picture has since been reproduced in newspapers and magazines all over the country and no doubt will endure for a time to come.

The staff citation of *The Advertiser's* boycott and bombing coverage is cherished as it recognized the ability of the staff as a whole. Every phase of the boycott story was systematically covered as the story developed into one of international interest.

A newspaper's true purpose in our country is not to bring good news or bad news, but the news whatever the news. That we sought to do. The community expectation that the news of the turmoil could be found in these columns handicapped baseless, exciting rumors and in our judgment did much to fortify the remarkable calm of both the white and Negro communities during nervous interludes.

The citation testifies that, insofar as a newspaper is a first draft of history, the writing is up to date on the boycott times of 1956.

Off The Bench

By Judge Walter B. Jones

Advertiser P+A

I Speak For The White Race

SEN. CARMACK of Tennessee in 1925 made a speech in the U.S. Senate 'n defense of the South which was then, as now, under vicious attack. He began his address by saying: "I speak, Sir, for my native state, for my native South."

JONES

Today I paraphrase the senator's words by saying: "I speak for the White Race, my race," because today it is being unjustly assailed all over the world. It is being subjected to assaults here by radical newspapers and magazines, communists and the federal judiciary. Columnists and photographers have been sent to the South to take back to the people of the North untrue and slanted tales about the South. Truly a massive campaign of super-brainwashing propaganda is now being directed against the white race, particularly by those who envy its glory and greatness. Because our people have pride of race we are denounced as bigoted, prejudiced, racial propagandists and hate-mongers by those who wish an impure, mixed breed that would destroy the white race by mongrelization. The integrationists and mongrelizers do not deceive any person of common sense with their pious talk of wanting only equal rights and opportunities for other races. Their real and final goal is intermarriage and mongrelization of the American people.

Montgomery Ala

WHEN members of the white race point with pride to its impressive record and call impartial history to witness its technical and political supremacy through the centuries, its cultural creativeness, we are sneered at as breeders of race hatred. Pseudo-scientists tell us there is no such thing as a superior race. We are assured by them that the white race will some day be forced into an inferior place by the colored races of the world and that the day of white leadership is nearing its end. Mon. 3-4-57

Students of race recognize three main divisions: White, Mongoloid, and Negroid, each created by God with different qualities, instincts, and characteristics, transmissible by descent.

The white or Caucasion race includes peoples whose skin color may be white, pink, ruddy or light brown. Their hair is usually wavy or straight. It is never "dead black" or woolly. The white race includes the tall blonds of Northwest Europe, the Scandinavians, Norwegians, Dutch, Swedes, Russians and also the French, Germans, English, Italians and Americans, and further, the Greeks, the Jews, the Arabs, the Spanish and Portuguese.

So let us now study a little history and inquire if the white race has any justification for pride in its contributions to world civilization and leadership.

Members of the white race have ever been the world's discoverers and explorers, and from our race have come bold spirits like Lief the Red, Columbus, Vasco da Gama, Balboa, Magellan, Cabot, Drake, La Salle and Peary.

Consider sculpture: The white race has produced Proxiteles, Myron, Phidias, Donatello, Houdon, Rodin, Thorwaldsen, St. Gaudens, Daniel Chester French, Canova, Bernini, and Herbert Adams.

When you listen and enjoy beautiful music remember the great musicians: Mozart, Bach, Chopin, Beethoven, Handel, Liszt, Brahms, Wagner and Verdi, are of the white race.

No race has produced poets who compare with our poets: Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Pindar, Lucretius, and Dante; in the English-speaking wold, Shakespeare, Milton, Byron, Burns, Wordsworth, Pope, Shelley, Tennyson, Whitman, Rosetti, Lanier and Poe.

WHEN you come to consider the eminent artists of the ages, the white race takes pride in its Fra Angelico, Michaelangelo, Boticelli, Velasquez, Raphael, Titian, Rembrandt, Van Dyck, Rubens, Gainsborough, Millet, Corot, Landseer, Whistler, Benjamin West, Abbey and Gilbert Stuart.

The best in literature comes, too, from white authors: Homer, Cervantes, Montaigne, Victor Hugo, Sir Walter Sir Walter Scott, Charles Dickens, Tolstoy, Hans Christian Andersen, Ruskin, Robert Louis Stevenson, Rudyard Kipling, Thackeray and Macaulay.

The white race is proud of its philosophers: Socrates, Ulato, Maimonides, Aristotle, Spinoza, Francis Bacon, Locke, Descartes, Kant, Hume and Spencer.

Practically all useful inventions have been made by members of the white race: The airplane, steamboat, steel, wireless telegraphy, telephone, the telescope, the typewriter, the X-ray, movable type, the rotary printing press, the sewing machine, the cotton gin, the steam engine, the automobile, the motion picture machine, and the incandescent light bulb.

From the ranks of the white race have come the world's great law-givers, statesmen and jurists, among them: Solon of Athens, Gaius, Justinian, Crotius, Coke, Jefferson, Blackstone, Wilson, George Mason and Marshall.

Among the historians of the world the white race can claim Xenophon, Thucydides, Herodotus, Plutarch, Tacitus, J. R. Greene, J. A. Froude, Bancroft, Prescott and Carlyle.

When you consider the great sugeons and medical men the white race can claim: Hippocrates, Galen, Vessalius, Pare, William Harvey, John Hunter, Crawford Long, J. Marion Sims, Cushing and Keen.

Remember that Christ, a Jew, is the founder of Christianity. Recall, too, other great religious leaders: Moses, David, Solomon, Judas Maccabeus, John Knox, John Huss, Tyndale, Miles Coverdale, and John Wycliffe.

EVERY one of the 57 signers of the Declaration of Independence and every one of the 39 signers of the Federal Constitution were members of the white race.

When you look up at the universe of stars and galaxies, recall some of the white race's astronomers and scientists: Copernicus, Galileo, Herschel, Halley, Kepler, Newton and Sir James Jeans.

So when you call the roll of the world's noble and useful spirits, the men and women of the white race stand up in honor and glory with a just pride in the race's achievements. We have all kindly feelings for the world's other races, but we will maintain at any and all sacrifices the purity of our blood strain and race. We shall never submit to the demands of integrationists The white race shall forever remain white.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser 4-4-57

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it

Montgomery Ala.

Masterful And Irrefutable

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — The masterful and irrefutable statement of the white man's case published in *The Advertiser* Monday, March 4, from the pen of Judge Walter B. Jones is most admirable. It should be reprinted in every publication in this country, and, for that matter, throughout the white nations of the world.

Every rational person should know that the white race is the only race which has that spark of initiative, or inborn capacity to "lift itself by its own bootstraps." What colored or mongrelized race, for thousands of years has made any appreciable progress toward civilization or enlightenment that is not directly attributable to its contact with the whie man? The mongrelizers should ponder his carefully and well before proceeding upon their ruinous course.

C. S. WARREN.

Montgomery.

'I Speak For The Negro Race'

Editor, The Advertiser:

I do not usualy reply to articles or letters which appear from time to time in your paper, but Judge Walter B. Jones' article, "I speak for the white race," in *Off The Bench, The Advertiser,* March 4, is worthy of an answer.

For these reasons, this writer humbly submits this letter in reply to the honorable writer, in the hope that he and his many readers may recognize that there are two sides to every story.

I can name for the judge a dozen and more anthropologists who show that racial inferiority or superiority is a myth and they give data proving that different races have contributed to the growth of world culture. The white race, or Western civilization, borrowed from Greek civilization; the Greeks borrowed from the Orient, and the Orient borrowed from Egyptian and other influences.

The origin of the races is lost in antiquity, but the general and deep conviction among all the more expert students of Man is that all the existing human races are but varieties of one and the same species. Dr. Maurice R. Davie, professor of sociology at Yale, says in *Negro In American Society,* that though the commonly accepted classification of races is threefold: Negroid and Mongoloid (which constitute about 83% of the world's people) and Caucasoid (about 17%), with an unclassified group of "others," that there are races ranging from two to 29. The assumption is that in very early times groups of human beings from the one species drifted and became isolated long enough to develop certain types of physical characteristics, each responding to the influences of climatic conditions under which it found itself.

Where Judge Jones argues that these three groups were "created by God, with different qualities, instincts and characteristics," students of anthropology differ by proving that climatic, environmental conditions over periods of thousands of years have contributed to

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Sun. 3-10-57

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

Delusions Of Grandeur

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EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—The remarkable claims the Russians and Negroes have made recently of achievements in scince, literature, art, etc., we usually view with tolerant amusement. Southerners have a long and intimate friendship with Negroes and assume that if it lends to their self esteem to imagine they have some cultural background it is just as well.

But when a long letter such as that to *The Advertiser* on March 8 by [Mrs.] Jo Ann Robinson in reply to Judge Jones' valuable article "I Speak For The White Race" appears, one feels that a little learning is a dangerous thing and perhaps some notice may be taken.

The Greeks are of course of the white race so it did not borrow from them. Esop was a Greek slave. Most Greek slaves were white. There is no proof he was a Negro.

The Caucasian division of mankind comprises the chief races of Europe, North Africa and Southwestern Asia, with variations from country to country. They have features, hair, physical and intellectual characteristics differeing from the Negro.

The list she gives of Negroes who have become prominent, many of whom are mulatto, is absurd to compare with that given by Judge Jones. To mention a writer of such trash as Frank Yerby is ridiculous.

There is no proof that Narvaez, the Spanish explorer, was a Negro. She says, "Who knows how many of the other 600 were Negro explorers?" Who indeed. Just as we took many body servants to the Confederate army, the Spaniards probably used them likewise on their expeditions.

We wish Negroes to have education and training to help and uplift them. Looking at facts without delusions of grandeur is part of that training.

Montgomery. FANNY T. TABER.

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Faulty Bible Scholarship

Editor, The Advertiser:

If [Mrs.] Jo Ann Robinson's quotations from history, anthropology, and sociology are as full of mistakes, and misinterpretations and half-truths [as her biblical references], we shall be forced to take it all with a grain of salt.

In quoting from the Song of Solomon, she says that King Solomon says in his own words "I am black, but comely. . . Look not upon me because I am black, because the sun has looked upon me. . ." She left out "Oh ye daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon." She also left out "my mother's children were angry with me; they made me the keeper of the vineyards; but my own have I not kept."

When you give the whole thing as it is written, you can readily see that the whole chapter deals with the Church, not King Solomon. In the fact you will find, that the whole book of the Song of Solomon deals with the Church, not King Solomon.

Again if she had read Numbers carefully, nowhere would she have found in it where Miriam laughed as Moses' wife the Ethiopian. The facts were, Miriam and Aaron questioned the leadership of Moses because he had married the Ethiopian woman. It angered God for mortals questioning his appointment. and God made a leper out of Miriam, not for making fun of the Ethiopian woman, but for daring to question His appointment of Moses. It behooves all of us when quoting the word of God to quote it just as it appears in Holy Writ.

Montgomery. FRANKLIN TURNER.

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The Negro's Benefactor

Editor, The Advertiser:

Just a bit of applause for the excellent article in a recent issue by Judge Jones, "I Speak for the White Race."

He has very ably listed many of the white man's reasons for pride in his race: The many priceless gifts he has given the world, his contributions to civilization, progress and culture.

However, Judge Jones might have also pointed out that the Negro has never made any progress except through the contact, guidance and aid of the white man. Only through his imitation of the white man's way of life has he emerged from barbarism.

His civilization, education, economic advance has all been given him by the white man.

This should give the Negro food for thought, and a sense of gratitude instead of his present bitterness and resentment, and if he would cease his noisy clamor for (unwelcome) integration with the white race and develop a race pride of his own he would win more respect and there would be more peace and harmony in a world far too full of larger problems.

ROBERTA SYMMES.

Montgomery.

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the variations found in the different races. Such physical characteristics were "not created by God," but were influenced by climate and environment. Human beings adapt and modify according to environment.

Anthopologists and sociologists further prove that *all* humanity, irrespective of race, has four basic innate urges: (not instincts, since instincts refer to lower animals) hunger, sex, recognition and security. All races possess these urges.

Experts on race also prove that human qualities are similar — there are good and bad, virtuous and vile — in every race. Name the race and all these qualities are found in it.

In discovery and exploration the judge needs but to consult a few historical works to note that in the discovery of America, Columbus had on board a Negro navigator, Petro Alonzo. Narvaez, the explorer, brought 600 men to America and explored land all the way from Mexico to Florida. Only four of the 600 survived. History shows that one of the four was a Negro. Who knows how many of the other 600 were Negro explorers?

If the judge would investigate the works of historians, not only Negro but white historians, he would find that sculpture by darker races has profoundly influenced European and American (Occidental) art. He should start with the study of Cheops, a brilliant black man who designed the Pyramids, then he could proceed from there.

In music there is no end to Negro contributors. Negroes have great composers of spirituals: Samuel Coleridge Taylor, Thomas Dorsey, Nathaniel Dett, Dawson and others. Great singers who challenge the nightingales of Britain are represented in Roland Hayes, Marian Anderson, Paul Robeson, Dorothy Manor and others. Blues composers, among whom are W. C. Handy, Duke Ellington and others, are unsurpassed.

Surely Homer, Virgil, Milton and others were great poets. But does the judge know that Homer, Plato, Aristotle, Aristophanes, Cicero, Shakespeare and other great thinkers and writers were influenced by Esop, a flat-nosed, thick-lipped, black slave (sixth century B.C.), whose name "Esop" came from "Ethiop?" Esop's fables, which have been read for hundreds of years by all nationalities, and the books written about him, would fill a library.

Such names as Paul Lawrence Dunbar, Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, Phyllis Wheatley, James Weldon Johnson, who reached fame and success despite the grinding struggle against poverty and deprivations, are poets too well known to try to prove their superior mental qualities. William Stanley Braithwaie for years was known as the foremost critic of current American poetry, irrespective of race.

In novel writing and oratory many contemporary Negroes are outstanding. Frank Yerby, proclaimed one of the most prolific authors, has written any number of "best selers." There are hundreds of others.

Many inventions by Negro slaves were not patented in their names because as late as 1858, "slaves could not take out patents on their own inventions." Thus, many slaves invented things for which the masters got credit. (See J. A. Rogers, *World's Great Men of Color.*) Interested readers should examine the names of Benjamin Baneker, Jo Anderson, slave of Cyrus McCormick, J. E. Motzeliger, Elbert R. Robinson, Clarence Gregg, Wiliam Purvis, H. Julian, Granville T. Woods, all of whom are inventors. George W. Carver was one of the world's foremost agricultural chemists.

Carter G. Woodson, William Little, and Benjamin Brawley are just a few of the many well-known Negro historians.

There are great white surgeons and medical men, but there are great Negro doctors, too, beginning with Imhotep, 2900 B.C. In modern years Dr. Charles Drew discovered blood plasma which has saved many a life.

The judge names Solomon as a white man. If he would read "The Song of Solomon," 1:5-6, he would find the king's own words: "I am black, but comly. . . . Look not upon me because I am black, because the sun has looked upon me . . ."

The judge mentions Moses as a great leader, but if he would read *Numbers* 12:1-16, he would find that Moses married a black woman, an Ethiopian, and when Miriam, his sister laughed at her, God turned her into a leper. It took seven days of incessant prayer by Moses for God to heal her of the disease.

Toussaint L'Overture, Haile Selassie, Ralph Bunche, Wiliam Hastie and others all have proved their leadership ability. There is no need of naming Negroes in sports, cinema, business, etc. They are too numerous, but they have their place.

The judge accuses some people of trying to mongrelize the races. It seems to me that the indignation of white femininity should be aroused over insinuations that they, white women, will be such easy prey. The suggestion is unfair to womanhood.

Negroes are not interested in amalgamation of races. They want human rights, human dignity, respect, equal education and opportunity. Whites have remained white where integration is practiced. It is reasonable to believe that they will continue to maintain their racial identity even in an integrated society.

Authorities in the study of Man say that "color has been the focus for imputations on racial differences for years, and that the 'entrenched segregation idea,' under severe criticism, finds it necessary to justify itself through the 'mongrelization argument.'"

(MRS.) JO ANN ROBINSON.

Montgomery.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Thurs. 2-28-57 P. 4-a

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it

Montgomery, Ala.

'Heard Of Dearborn, Mich.?—See Here!'

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Your "cause" is becoming well known around these United States. The article published in the *U.S. News & World Report*, Aug. 3, 1956, should have claimed a lot of attention and I might add possibly a great deal of speculation of things to come in the South. It has become quite apparent that the people are not giving any ground in their fight to maintain segregation.

I was, however quite disturbed by one of your statements and would like at this time to clarify it for you. You stated: "For example, where did you ever hear of Dearbon, Mich., until a newspaper in Alabama stumbled on it?"

Henry Ford put Dearborn on the map so to speak when he built the Rouge plant, "the world's largest industrial city," covering 1,200 acres. Here cars and trucks such as the Ford, Mercury, Lincoln, Thunderbird and Continental are produced daily by 63,000 men and women. Within the Rouge are complete railroad and bus systems, and the world's largest production foundry. Not only is the Rouge plant located here, but also the Ford Rotunda, which is the "showplace of the automobile industry;" famed Greenfield Village, part of which is the Edison Institute, named after Mr. Ford's close friend of bygone days, Thomas Alva Edison; and the Central Staff Building, completed in the summer of 1956, and which architecturally resembles the United Nations Building in New York. A few of the more outstanding features of this building are: 11 floors of offices, a penthouse a huge auditorium, cafeteria, coffee shop, barbershop, lounges and underground parking facilities.

I am certain there are thousands of people residing outside the state of Michigan who not only have heard of the Ford Motor Co., but also the city in which it is located—Dearborn!

MRS. RONALD L. SMITH.
Dearborn, Mich.

¶ *Indeed everybody does know of Dearborn: What we meant was the country previously knew nothing of the total residential exclusion there. —Ed.*

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Georgia Politicians At Work

Editor, The Advertiser:

Our sister state of Georgia reached its extremity in its latest advocacy of two resolutions on social legislation. Impeaching the members of the Supreme Court for their anti-segregation [rulings] and barring interracial sports in the state.

I believe most people feel that these lawmakers are quite insincere and are bidding for votes and political popularity. They simply can't be sincere in the face of facts and public feeling.

We remember how the governor was chagrined when he advocated calling off a football game with a Northern city whose team had a Negro on it, and the boys of the university rose up in protest and insisted on playing the game.

To censure the Supreme Court for its [ruling] in favor of interracial justice and good will is enough. To impeach them is absurd.

Interracial participation in the nationally favored baseball pastime is too old and popular for anyone to advocate its discontinuance. Several Negro players are now on the Sally League teams and the Southern Association. In the major leagues the practice is now nine years old, or since Jackie Robinson's entrance in 1947.

I recently talked with a senior student from Macon, Ga., who attends Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga. He was attending the basketball tournament and was a guest in my home. He said that he knew personally the three players on the Macon team. They are fine, upstanding fellows and are held in high esteem by both races. Both their conduct and baseball finesse bid for them a higher berth in top leagues.

Prejudice causes one to see what he pleases but not see what is plain. And few things are stronger than prejudice. A crazy sentimentalism like that of Peter the Hermit hurled half of Europe against Asia and changed the destinies of kingdoms. Votes and popularity are too costly when paid for at the price of unfairness and ill will and ignoring the favorable attitudes towards race adjustments.

CHARLES W. KELLY.
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

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Time's Brainwashing

Editor, The Advertiser:

Mayor Gayle and Commissioner Sellers are to be commended for their "roundhouse swing" at the *Time* magazine article which was another in the series of "biased-for-purpose" reporting designed to brainwash readers of this publication into falling for the diabolical scheme sponsoring such infiltration of our modern thinking.

The writer, as well as a considerable number of his acquaintances, long ago barred *Life* and *Time* from coming into our homes as a step toward safeguarding ourselves against further contamination with such un-American editorial policies.

CARL DANIELS.
1125 Water Ave., Selma, Ala.

Race Mobs In Abolition-Land

Advertiser Fri. 3-1-57

Montgomery, Ala.

The Richmond Times-Dispatch

CONGRATULATIONS are in order to the city of Chicago, chief metropolis in the state of Abraham Lincoln, the Great Emancipator. The 24-hour police patrol has at last withdrawn from the Trumbull Park housing project in the Windy City, and the Negro families who moved in there more than three years ago, apparently are now safe from being mobbed by white Chicagoans.

P. 4-a

Scores, if not hundreds, of police were stationed at the housing project, beginning in August, 1953, when the first Negro family moved in. Bricks were hurled through the colored family's windows, after which things got worse, instead of better. There were slashed tires, mob fights, explosions and attacks on police.

On July 4, 1955, nearly two years after the disorder began, it reached a peak, with a king-sized race riot. Two dozen cops were beaten up on that memorable Independence Day, dozens of members of the mob were injured, and one man was shot.

Finally, nearly two years later, things calmed down sufficiently for the round-the-clock police patrol at Trumbull Park to be withdrawn. Permit us to observe that it's about time. The regular cops on the beat are still there, of course, but at least, the furious mobs of Chicago whites, bent on mayhem and murder, are no longer around. Nothing like this has ever happened in the South in the 20th Century.

NOT far from Chicago, in the city of Detroit—scene in 1943 of a far worse race riot than any that has occurred in the South in the past several decades—mobs demonstrated recently outside the home of a Negro woman who had moved into a white neighborhood.

Not only so, but whereas news of this disgraceful affair was telegraphed to all corners of the nation by the Associated Press, *not one word appeared in the three Detroit newspapers*—according to alert *Montgomery Advertiser* which obtained copies of each.

The Detroit press is always ready to publish news of the horrible interracial goings-on in the South, it appears. On the very day that news of the menacing mob outside the Negro woman's home in Detroit was suppressed in the Detroit papers, the *Times*, of that city, published a blast from a minister who said that "the segregation matter is sitting on the conscience of the South while the whole world watches."

ON THE next page of the same organ of enlightenment was an Associated Press dispatch from Lansing proclaiming that Gov. Soapy Williams' "campaign for the Democratic nomination for president in 1960 would include renewal of his plea for rigid enforcement of the Supreme Court's desegregation order."

But when it comes to chronicling the doings of white mobsters right under Soapy's nose, the Detroit newspapers clam up.

We are reminded of the observation made some 50 years ago by "Mr. Dooley," a Northerner whose real name was Finley Peter Dunne, and who convulsed the citizenry before and after the turn of the century with his articles in Irish dialect

"Mr. Dooley" said he was not so much troubled about the Negro "whin he lives among his oppressors as I am whin he falls into th' hands iv his liberators," and he went on to declare that "'tis the divvle's own hardship to be pursooed by a mob iv abolitionists 'till he's dhriven to seek police protection."

Half a century seems not to have lessened the fury of the pursuing "abolitionist mobs" in Chicago and Detroit.

The View From Detroit

Editor, The Advertiser: Advertiser

I like your paper. I live in Michigan, not because I want to, but because I couldn't get a job in Alabama—I am over 50. Fri. 3-1-57 P. 4-a

I have been reading about the trouble down there. We have the same thing here. A Negro family moved in a white neighborhood and the people broke all of the windows and door glass in the house. Police have been on guard 24 hours a day. Montgomery, Ala.

In most of the property deeds there are clauses prohibiting sale to colored persons. You never find anything about it in papers up here. But let something happen down there and we have it in headlines.

We have one town here where Negroes can't live, and their children to school or go to a public beach. I guess Alabama isn't so bad after all.

CLAUDE BLAKE.
15491 Cherrylawn, Detroit 38, Mich.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser 3-2-57

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

Needed: A Regional Advertising Program

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Some action must and can be taken to counter the serious unfavorable publicity about the South that is being spread throughout the North and the rest of the world by certain publications and individuals.

Tues. 3-3-57

These prejudiced and natural enemies of the South are doing irreparable harm to a vast region of a great country. Our industrial growth, our institutions and our whole welfare are being severely handicapped by their constant propaganda of lies.

This writer has lived in a good many cities of the North and West. The vast majority of the people in all sections of the country think and act as we do in the South. We are no better or worse than they are, and they will say the same thing about themselves. Human nature is about the same the world over.

Our many Yankee relatives and the thousands of Northerners living in the South are just as amazed as we to find in the pages of *Time* and *Life* magazines articles and pictures dedicated to the ridicule of the South. For many years these two magazines have opened their pages to any and every crackpot who could write a letter reviling a whole state, community or individual. Their running weekly account of events in the South are so utterly devoid of facts and truths that even their friends are nauseated by the type of journalism put out by the two otherwise excellent magazines.

Let no one believe that the racial issue is the cause of their behavior. To them only the South has its faults and failures, hardly ever a line about the crime and conduct in its own backyard. By implication and innuendo the South has long been pictured as the land of Dog Patch, our language, our grammar and behavior as that typical to that mystical land and all the Tobacco Roads.

Several years ago *Time* ran an article about the South that implied that the one thing the South had in common with the rest of the country was that we drove automobiles.

What can the South do about it. There is much that can be done. Part of the answer comes from the "Voice of America." Just as that medium was set up to combat the communistic propaganda against all of America, we must likewise resort to a means to carry our message to the country. Ours must be done by a series of advertisements in all the magazines and other publications.

The small ads now being used by certain industries and localities of the South are not effective and not worth the money expended.

The need is for a joint effort and pooling of resources of all the big industries, states and municipalities of the South into a giant advertising campaign. The suace used should be two page spreads in color.

The wording should be confined to bringing out the advantages of living, working and visiting in the South. A common motto such as "A better place to live, work and play." Different states and industries could be advertised at different times within the same framework.

Only last year a large Northern industry was to build a $70,000,000 plant addition. Before deciding on the state or section in which to build they advertised for their engineers, technicians and skilled workers. These ads ran in newspapers all over the country and the men needed were given the preference of several stats named—North West and South. The great majority of replies requested the Southern state. That was that. The Southern state got the plant.

Let the newspapers get behind such a greatly needed project as suggested here. Chambers of commerce, civic clubs, state and city officials all over the South should give much thought to it.

The great and able Tom Martin of Birmingham would be the man to head the movement and be its chairman. There is no doubt that the South will benefit from his leadership in such an undertaking.

J. B. H.

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Congressional Camouflage

Editor, The Advertiser:

It is always disquieting to find numerous members of Congress playing politics with an important issue.

Under the delusion of helping the veterans obtain housing on low-interest rate loans a recent proposal to raise the rates to a more realistic figure was defeated in committee. Several substitutes, all involving direct loans by the government have been suggested. They are unsound for many reasons, and in my opinion the chief one is that they would constitute another giant step toward government control of the housing industry; and followed to its ultimate conclusion we can all realize what that would mean. It can easily be proved that even the veteran purchasers would not benefit in any way.

Thus, the legislators are attempting to invest every citizen's money in a way that some of the wisest business men in the country refuse to do with the funds entrusted to them.

As a member of the real estate profession and as a veteran I resent this camouflage; and I hope that you will speak out on this matter for the above and other valid reasons.

Montgomery. IRVING WINTER.

Divide And Conquer

Advertiser

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Reference is made to the enclosed news item. [*Georgia Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook's warning that the President's Civil Rights program would lead to a "gestapo."*—Ed.]

Montgomery, Ala.

If you're not above a suggestion from a Yankee, kindly accept the following: "If you can't lick 'em, join 'em."

While this Civil Rights program calling for a special commission to investigate civil rights problems and the establishment of a civil rights division in the Justice Department, could indeed lead to a federal gestapo, it is equally true that, if you join 'em, it can be made to lead to the strongest force in your fight against integration.

P. 4-A

They shout and wail that it's against civil rights to bar a person from school because of color. But they would bar a man from his civil rights to work because of nonmembership in a labor union.

Tues. 2-26-57

Here, then, you have two civil rights —the right to school and the right to work. Well, join the civil rights program and tie these two civil rights together—like Siamese twins.

As you no doubt know, a Siamese twin can commit a murder and he cannot be prosecuted for to do so would punish his innocent twin. Thus, you can capitalize on the whole civil rights program by dumping it right back in the laps of the Supreme Court, the Justice Department and Ike the Innocent. All you need is chairmanship of the special commission to investigate civil rights problems.

GEORGE NOONAN.

1224-C N. Flores, Los Angeles 46, Calif.

Northern Discrimination

Advertiser P. 4-A

Montgomery, Ala.

Editor, the *Pittsburgh Post Gazette:*

Recently I made a visit to a widely advertised reducing salon, and to my amazement I was turned down flat because of my color. I have read of such things happening, but to be a victim of circumstances was obviously shocking.

Sat. 3-2-57

This action did not happen down South but right here in Downtown Pittsburgh. I know there are good and bad in all races, but should we all be belittled because of a few? All men were created equal, but equality has yet to come to the Negro-Americans.

MRS. CARRIE McGRAY.

Beltzhoover, Pa.

★ Tell It ★

Advertiser

To Old Grandma

Tues. 3-12-57

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

Federal Aid To Schools

P. 4-A

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Your editorial of March 6 and Mr. Ingram's article of March 3 on federal aid for schools were both excellent and will contribute to a better understanding of the necessity for some federal aid for schools. I am glad you expressed your opinion on this subject.

Your editorials are very interesting to me even when I do not agree. This time I heartily agree, and thank you for helping to clarify the issue.,

NORMA S. BRISTOW,

Supervisor of Instruction, Montgomery Schools.

◆

On The Jones Bandwagon

Editor, The Advertiser:

This writer would thank you in his very best style of appreciation, congratulations and commendation of Judge Walter Jones' "Off The Bench" contribution to your paper March 4. The learned judge may have been "Off The Bench" for the time being in rendering this public service but he was certainly "on the beam." I have heard so much comment and hearty approval it made me want to ride the Jones fan bandwagon for a little stretch.

Of course there were many references in it which were Dutch to me but I am sure the judge would be glad to have interested persons check on him and see if he is right and if his remarks are well founded. All these codified records just go to show what a rock of Gibraltar the first, second and concluding paragraphs are based upon.

The learned jurist put his finger upon the goal of Negroes and the National Association for the Agitation of Colored Politics immediately when he said it was intermarriage with white people and social equality and not just a chance to sell some votes to a corrupt candidate.

That little headline over the article was just written to suit me: "I Speak for The White Race." Then down at the end he said: "We shall never submit to the demands of the integrationists. The white race shall forever remain white."

I do not believe you could even get a decent argument in Alabama about Judge Jones' premise, his supporting references or his brave and defiant determination to keep white people white. The white people have been running the business of this world for ages and centuries and I make bold to assert just here that we are going to keep on doing it.

JESSE M. HODGES.

Montgomery.

★ Tell It To Old Grandma ★

advertiser
Wed. 1-23-57

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

False And Wishful

p. 4

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Some few days ago I noticed in *The Advertiser* a statement made by the Rev. Martin Luther King who said (in effect) that it was worth dying for to get to sit by white people, and for the children of his race to mingle and mix with white children in school.

That is some price to pay, yet not the full price. How about the price the white race and ultimately the nation would pay for such perverse social contact if this scheme should succeed?

In looking back through the history of his race and noting that it is the only race in the world that has no written language, that his race alone has never contributed to any civilization, I presume he thinks that rubbing elbows with the white man will improve the brain power of his race.

What false and wishful thinking by the Reverend.

Box 133, F. LAMAR HAYES.
Georgiana, Ala.

◆

Integration In Germany

Editor, The Advertiser:

I would like for some Southern people, who are in doubt as to what integration really is, to read this letter. I have been in a strictly and a highly forced intergrated society for the last two years, in the army. While up north and overseas in Germany I saw integration for what it really is.

It is debasing, unbelievably atrocious, and beyond the comprehension of most good Southerners. I have seen race riots overseas among our servicemen the likes of which would turn one's stomach. When I left they kept a riot squad on 24-hour alert.

We as whites owe it to our forefathers, and to the generations yet to come to protect and preserve our race. Think what Montgomery would be like in 25 years if we intergrated like the federal government would have us do. Don't kid yourself, and don't let anyone else do it. Take the advice of one who has seen. We don't want it.

Montgomery. DAVID C. FOX JR.

★ Tell It To Old Grandma ★

Advertiser - Alabama Journal
Montgomery, Ala.

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Sun. 1-27-57

Reply To Fox

p. 2-B

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — I am writing this letter in reference to the one written by David C. Fox Jr. in the Jan. 23 issue of your paper.

I should like Mr. Fox to know that I am also a veteran of 12½ years service. Seven and one half of those years were overseas. Believe you me, they did not pick any color to put in a foxhole beside me. These Negro boys got just as cold and hungry as I did, their parents were just as proud of them as your and mine were of us. So let's don't kick them in the face.

I don't remember seeing any Hungarian soldiers or refugees fighting in Europe or Korea either, so if we can buy thousands of foreigners homes, clothes, feed them, even give them jobs, then we should at least let the Negroes, who fought for this country, keep the homes they already have, and not be bombing their homes and churches. I might be wrong, but to me that doesn't seem civilized.

At present I am being treated by Negro doctors and nurses at the Tuskegee V.A. Hospital, and I assure you, I could not be treated better anywhere else. All of the personnel here have treated me wonderful. I take this opportunity to thank them.

GLENDON M. HETHCOX (White)
Ward D, Bed 37,
VAH, Tuskegee, Ala.

Tell It To Old Grandma

31 advertiser

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Grotesque And Irresponsible

Advertiser p. 4-a

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Your very thoughtful editorial Feb. 10 discussing the fact that a Methodist publication, *The Adult Student*, printed a recent article setting forth the incredible idea that the leader of the Montgomery bus boycott, the Rev. M. L. King, is an "exceptional saint," will provoke wide concern in Methodist circles.

The use of official literature to promote radical programs of racial integration has been a source of embarrassment not only to Methodists but to the members of other denominations. How long the rank and rile of church members will support church agencies and periodicals whose policies defy individual convictions, no one can say. We do know that there is a growing chorus of protest.

It is difficult to associate the grotesque and irresponsible statement by the author of *Adult Student* article, Dr. Claude Thompson, with the institution in which he holds a professorship. The Candler School of Theology of Emory University is one of the best training centers for young ministers in the Methodist Church. Its official head, Dr. William R. Cannon, is certainly one of the ablest and sanest leaders in the field of theological education.

However ill conceived, it would be kind to think that Dr. Thompson wrote without accurate knowledge of the facts of the Montgomery bus boycott, whose results in the loss of friendship and good will among the races have been tragic for all concerned. It began in violence when buses were fired upon and people were beaten or threatened to prevent riding on buses. In some of the churches where meetings were held there was an unertone of bitterness and even hatred.

Some solution must be found to counteract the work of agitators and professional propagandists who seek fame and fortune even though they destroy the spirit of understanding and mutual helpfulness so many years in the making.

Each race has its customs and its destiny. There are customs that will be maintained, not because they are old, but because they are sensible. They are deeply rooted in the experience of the past and in the convictions of the present.

It is nothing less than an abomination when men try to use the sacred institution of the church, and distort the teachings of Christ and the Apostles, to give pious reinforcement to schemes to achieve radical social changes.

For more than a century the Methodist Church in the South has carried on a strong and aggressive program of building schools and colleges for Negro youth. Some of our ablest leaders—Bishop William Capers, Bisho Atticus G. Haygood, Bishop Warren A. Candler—gave much of their time to this cause. But they dealt in facts, not fancies, and they avoided extremists.

Good people in all denominations have grown weary of seeing their church and its agencies used by propagandists to build sentiment for racial integration. What was born in the efforts of scheming politicians to control the Negro vote in key American cities, aided and abetted by profitable "betterment" organizations, does not call for a new system of political theology that damns everything and everybody as unchristian because they do not accept a false application of what the Bible teaches.

[THE REV.] G. STANLEY FRAZER.
St. James Methodist Church, Montgomery.

Fred Gray's Patriotism

Advertiser p. 4-a

Editor, The Advertiser:

It is interesting to note that Gen. Lewis Hershey is now attempting to absolve himself of all connection with the Fred Gray draft-dodging affair. The same strategy is being followed by many J-Birds who would like to have a chance in any future elections.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that Hershey's office, if not Hershey himself, ordered the deferment on false grounds and stalled until Fred passed the age for induction.

We shall now see the irony of the situation which this has caused. Fred Gray, who by shirking from his military obligations has proved himself a third-class citizen, will be defending his clients as first-class citizens and invoking the latterday revelations of the Supreme Court to defend the rights guaranteed to his clients by a constitution which Fred Gray himself is either too cowardly or too mercenary to defend by military service. I include "mercenary" because I am certain the U.S. Army does not pay so well as does the NAACP.

And lest we forget, the sons of other American mothers, both white and colored, did not have the choice offered to them which the NAACP offered Gray.

WILLIAM A. DAVIS.
Montgomery.

Wise Up

Advertiser

Editor, The Advertiser:

I have been wondering if all I have been reading in the papers about racial matters is true, if so I have a lot of whys I would like to find an answer to.

Why, if white people work together pool money together and build together for a better future for our children, we don't sit on our hands and demand what someone else has. I am of the working class of white people, I am not rich nor poor, yet I would not dream of demanding the social set accept me on their level for I could not keep up the pace.

Why don't the colored people wise up and realize they can't put on white clothes and expect their skin to change too. Mixing with white people will not make them any color but black. White will not rub off on any of them.

Why not take the money collected

from the NAACP, build better housing projects for the colored, better their living conditions by teaching them better health and education, use the money Rev. King uses for airplane rides and lawyer fees to build your own parks, theatre, churches—instead of wasting the money and depending on the white man to give you these things. I say get yourselves a wise leader and lead your people to progress and better way of life. These things will do more good for your race than all the rubbing elbows with white people. MRS. J. SMITH.

Montgomery.

Buses: Business As Usual

Advertiser 7-4-A

It is trite to say that the City Commission's action yesterday, restoring normal bus service, was timely and will be well received. The service during the emergency was better than nothing, but still intolerable as a regular thing. Buses 40 minutes apart, and knocking off for the day around sundown, no Sunday service to carry the faithful to worship or picnic parties to Oak Park — these have been among the inconveniences endured.

Montgomery, Ala.

Restoration of service will not be hailed as a triumph for integration, except perhaps by wishful-thinking yankee scribes and such like. Montgomery still has *de facto* racial separation on buses, not 100% but for the most part, by an unwritten, unspoken mutual understanding. Members of the two races still occupy different parts of the bus, in general. One regular patron said yesterday that this voluntary apartness seems to be gaining, that there are fewer variations of the pattern than in the days right after the Supreme Court decision. He said he had not observed a single instance of sharing the same seat.

Herald 2-20-57

The situation that has developed is a tribute to common sense on both sides, and evidence of an underlying good will that the demagogues and agitators have not been able to entirely eradicate. Negro passengers seem aware that it may be of benefit all around to voluntarily waive, rather than make a display of, what is now a legal right. White passengers know that acquiescing in what, for them, has been an awkward and unaccustomed situation, does not imply approval of that situation or any abatement of their traditional views.

It is to be devoutly hoped that such attitudes, and not the chip-on-shoulder kind, will continue to prevail on both sides and that our sorely tried and troubled bus system is now back on an even keel.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser 7-4-A

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Montgomery, Ala.

Divide And Conquer

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Reference is made to the enclosed news item. [*Georgia Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook's warning that the President's Civil Rights program would lead to a "gestapo."*—*Ed.*]

Times 2-26-57

If you're not above a suggestion from a Yankee, kindly accept the following: "If you can't lick 'em, join 'em."

While this Civil Rights program calling for a special commission to investigate civil rights problems and the establishment of a civil rights division in the Justice Department, could indeed lead to a federal gestapo, it is equally true that, if you join 'em, it can be made to lead to the strongest force in your fight against integration.

They shout and wail that it's against civil rights to bar a person from school because of color. But they would bar a man from his civil rights to work because of nonmembership in a labor union.

Here, then, you have two civil rights —the right to school and the right to work. Well, join the civil rights program and tie these two civil rights together—like Siamese twins.

As you no doubt know, a Siamese twin can commit a murder and he cannot be prosecuted for to do so would punish his innocent twin. Thus, you can capitalize on the whole civil rights program by dumping it right back in the laps of the Supreme Court, the Justice Department and Ike the Innocent. All you need is chairmanship of the special commission to investigate civil rights problems. GEORGE NOONAN.

1224-C N. Flores, Los Angeles 46, Calif.

As Real As In Montgomery

Advertiser Wed. 2-27-57

Montgomery, Ala.

The Hartford (Conn.) Courant

THE latest report made by the State Civil Rights Commission on integration of Negro families in white neighborhoods in Connecticut is one of the more interesting studies made by that commission. Connecticut laws covering segregation and integration are among the best in the country. For that reason a great many of us have believed that inter-personal relations had reached the same high level. Therefore, the study of the trials of some 219 Negro families in buying new homes, moving into them, and trying to get accepted as neighbors is a shocking revelation of how far we still have to go before a bare minimum of equity and decency is reached.

The truth is, that the Negro in Connecticut, while not persecuted or set upon physicaly, is still discriminated against. When he tries to do what every other immigrant group has done successfully, to move to a better home as his financial condition improves, he finds nearly every hand turned against him. The barriers against his struggle upward begin when he tries to buy a new home. It is virtually impossible for a Negro to rent a home in a white neighborhood. And often the only chance he has to buy a home springs from the mean emotion of spite; a neighbor is to be damaged by the sale of a house to a Negro.

When the word circulates that a Negro is buying a home, there are grumblings and sometimes overt insults. Petitions are circulated and Negroes are told plainly they are not wanted. And even after they have settled in their homes and by years of respectable and exemplary living, have rightfully earned respect, they are still often not integrated into the social life of the community.

This ostracism is as real as anything that occurs in Montgomery, Ala., but the difference is, in Connecticut it is done under a mantle of hypocrisy. Hypocrisy exists because nearly everyone in Connecticut pretends to subscribe to the brotherhood of man. But that belief snaps quickly in the face of the reality of a Negro moving into a white neighborhood.

The irony of this report lies in the fact that the 219 Negroes who are covered by it are of superior intelligence and educationally were far ahead of their white neighbors. It is sad not only because Negroes were given a bad time by people whose traditions should have taught them better, but because these white people cut themselves off from social contact with many rich personalities who might as accepted neighbors have brightened and enriched their lives.

The report is not good, but the fact that it can be published and will be accepted contritely by most people around here will help to take some of the sting out of it. We think the next one, if there is a next one, will be better.

★ Tell It ★

To Old Grandma

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The Ethiopian 'Negro'

Advertiser

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—In her letter "I Speak For The Negro Race" in *The Advertiser* Mrs. Jo Ann Robinson points to Haile Selasse as a great Negro leader.

Herald 3-11-57

Dr. Heiser, a cultured Pennsylvanian, for many years with the Rockefeller Foundation, visited Ethiopia about 25 years ago. He says the Ethiopians are "proud of their semitic blood" and that a person suspected of having Negro blood cannot hope to hold any position of importance in that kingdom. (See *An American Doctor's Odyssey, p 508*). This misconception of racial history is typical of the entire letter.

7-4-A

Negroes have many good qualities. They are kindly disposed when not emotionally aroused. They are naturally musical. They have shown a talent for art.

Montgomery, Ala.

Some of my best friends and neighbors are Negroes. But we do not mix socially. Neither of us wants to.

The American Negro has made great progress. It has been made under segregation and white supremacy. It would have been impossible except for the tolerance and aid of Southern white people.

Oakhill, Ala. MASSEY WILSON.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Tues. 2-19-57

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

The Negro's False Prophets

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—For the past 40 years I have been a reader of *The Advertiser* and have enjoyed it very much. I have always admired the fine standards of journalism and the code of ethical reporting which you have consistently employed over the years.

Oftentimes throughout this period I have agreed with your editorial viewpoint, and at other times I have passionately disagreed, but I have never lost sight of your sense of fair play and your willingness to let others express themselves through the medium of your columns.

I ask for the liberty to express some observations on the question that seems to be of most vital importance at this time — the so-called civil rights and integration issue.

To cloak this issue with the caption of "civil rights" is a misnomer. I was born, reared and educated in Alabama, and have lived and worked here the greater part of a lifetime, and I have never known of the violation, or the attempt to violate, the civil rights of any citizen, be he white or black, in my section of the state, and I do not believe that such a violation has occurred; and until such time as this charge can be established beyond a reasonable doubt, I think it behooves our Northern brethren to cease to flaunt these groundless charges in the face of an intelligent people.

We wish to pay compliment to those brave men, Patterson, Gallion and Wallace, who bearded the lion in his den at Washington, D. C., and told the congressional committee in no uncertain terms what the situation really is, and what lies in the offing if the present trend is continued and pursued.

The true Southern white man does not wish to engender the hatred or the ill will of any man, and he has a good feeling, a respect and an admiration for the honest, law-abiding colored man who respects himself. The Southern white man is willing to share his tax dollar, his land and his bread with the colored man and his family.

He is desirous that they have equal economic opportunities, and has never failed to lend a helping hand in that direction. He has contributed to their schools, their churches and their material well-being, and the relations between the races in this area have in the past been pleasant and profitable to both and many strong and lasting friendships have sprung up and have endured.

But this great improvement in human relations occurred and flourished under our Southern system of segregation, the equal but separate facilities which today is so offensive to the ears of the professional South haters and the "holier-than-thou's."

It is a great pity that masses of our good colored citizens have been led so far astray and afield by such as Dr. Martin Luther King, and others of his ilk and breed. They have destroyed in six short months all the gains and advantages that the Negroes have won over the last 90 years. If the Negroes in Montgomery and vicinity have the intelligence which I honestly believe they possess, and the desire to better their condition and promote the general welfare of their community, then they will forthwith disassociate themselves from these imported pretenders. They will disavow their self-appointed leaders whose only real concern is to wear fine clothes, drive large limousines, fly by the finest air lines, and exploit themselves in the public eye, while the working Negro in Montgomery walks the soles off his shoes to support them.

I would dismiss this particular phase of the discussion by citing one local case in point. There lives in our small south Alabama town a Negro workman, who has labored at the builders trade for over 50 years and has made a success of his work. He has lived quietly and peaceably among his fellow workers honestly and fairly at his trade, lived a decent and honorable life, raised a good family of law-abiding citizens, and owns his own home and other property in the surrounding area. I submit, in all candor and sincerity, that this one colored man, by the exemplary life which he has lived, has contributed more to the general uplift and betterment of the colored race than a thousand Rev. Kings or Fred Grays, and his name will be remembered and honored by members of both races for generations after these rabble rousers and maladjusted bigots have rotted and disintegrated in forgotten dust.

We of the South today ask no more than to be left to our own way of life, to be free to associate or to disassociate with whom we choose, to be free from the biased, prejudiced interpretations of law by the amateur, self-styled psychologists who occupy the bench which in days past was occupied by jurists worthy of the name of Supreme Court justices.

Troy, Ala. H. S. F.

Poison In The Churches

I am not a Methodist but I want to thank *The Advertiser* and Dr. Stanley Frazer for the letter appearing Feb. 12. Dr. Frazer is one of the ablest and most respected ministers in the South, and his protest against using the church for integration propaganda will be applauded by all Christians who know the facts and see the dangers toward which we are heading.

This poison is making its way into the literature of most of the churches. As a Presbyterian I resent the fact that there seems to be a continuing plan to load our church papers with something that is distasteful to our people.

I have written two church editors along this line. They answer they have the right to express their own convictions and will continue to do so. What rights have the church members in these matters? Are we to sit silently by and make our contributions and then take what is offered us whether it violates our Christian conscience or not?

Dr. Frazer made another important point. In his article he said that we must find some way to counteract the damage that is being done to the spirit of understanding that has existed between the races. There are many good, sensible Negroes. They know the dangers that are ahead if the ambitious leaders sway their people and lead them into doing and saying things that will result in bitter feelings.

I know many Negroes who regret the whole bus boycott. They know they haven't gained anything. They ride the same buses and they will continue to go to different schools. But something has been lost, and that is the good will that we have known so long.

The time will come when Negroes and white people will need jobs to keep living. If this business keeps up—holding meetings to stir up our Negro friends—we wil lcome to the place where business men will hesitate to employ Negro help. It is late but not too late. Help build friendship and good will. Don't try to push your way. Simple courtesy and good maners always pay off.

JULIAN C. PATES

Montgomery.

An Australian On The U.S. Race Problem

Advertiser Tues. 2-19-57 Montgomery, Ala. 4-A

The Baptist Record

SOME days ago Alan C. Prior of Sydney, Australia, editor of the *Australian Baptist*, concluded a visit to Mississippi.

Reporting to his paper and people on the Magnolia State, Mr. Prior speaks very frankly, forthrightly, and withal quite fairly of our way of life in these parts.

His observations of the tangled, difficult segregation-integration problem are worth noting:

"Having in mind the picture so often presented in the secular press of Australia let me say the situation looks very different when it is seen more closely. A visitor would need to be much more foolish than I am either to sit in judgment or propound easy solutions but there are some observations that I ought to make. Australian readers may find them helpful.

"¶ The problem of the colored people of the United States is not to be solved by conflict around questions of where they are to sit in buses or what schools they are to attend.

"¶ In Jackson great progress has been made in providing schools equal to and even better than the schools for white children and in advancing the economic and social welfare of the colored people.

"¶ There is a wealth of understanding and good will between white and Negro leaders in Jackson. While I was there the foremost leader of the colored people made it clear that his people were not concerned about the bus question nor would they make an issue of it.

"¶ White Baptists of Mississippi are working untiringly for the good of their colored brethren, assisting them in the establishment of churches and in many other ways. They have set up a seminary for the training of colored ministers. They have a separate department of the convention devoted to the advancement of the colored people and their work. Mississippi Baptists feel that bridges can and must be built by meeting the real needs of their colored brethren and that thus there will be created mutual respect and fellowship . . . Discussions with both white and colored pastors confirmed my opinion that the hope for the future lies in such attitudes and actions. The only solution to the problem that there can be is a Christian one."

Federal School Aid In Montgomery

Advertiser 2-3-B

Montgomery, Ala.

By Bob Ingram

MUCH HAS been said in recent months about the evil of federal aid to education, but this much can be said without any debate—Montgomery County's school system today would be a total wreck had it not been for federal assistance.

INGRAM

During the past five years this county has received approximately $3,500,000 in federal funds for school construction and maintenance. Every cent of it came with no strings attached, with no hint of federal control.

And local school officials intend that it shall remain that way. Should Congress enact a federal school aid bill which carried with it both cash and controls, Montgomery officials are prepared to give their reply—no thanks.

Probably few Montgomerians realize to what a great extent federal money has figured in the country's school construction program. Admittedly, all counties in the state have not been so fortunate, but locally the money from Washington has been a godsend.

Sun 3-3-57

Without Federal Aid, Two Shifts

WALTER P. McKEE, assistant superintendent of schools here and the local envoy to Washington for federal school funds, says the importance of this money is beyond measure.

"I can't imagine in what condition our school would be in today without federal help; certainly we would have required two shifts to meet the needs of the community," McKee says.

"And every cent we have received has been without any federal control whatsoever," McKee added. "It will have to remain that way if we are to continue to accept this money. Either we shall retain absolute control of our schools on a local level or the money can stay in Washington as far as we are concerned."

Montgomery is one of several counties in Alabama which has benefited tremendously from two bills enacted into law by Congress in 1952, and given an additional two years of life last summer.

In brief, the two measures provide for federal assistance to school districts where there is concentrated a large number of children whose parents live or work for federal institutions on tax-exempt property. This includes the military.

The reasoning behind this legislation was briefly this:

A federal installation such as Maxwell or Gunter takes up a considerable amount of property which if in private hands would yield a sizable amount of property tax revenue. Being federally owned, no such tax can be collected. Further, people stationed at such installations can buy certain products such as gasoline and cigarets which are also exempt from state taxes.

This means that these families get a tax break and as such are not contributing as much to the local schools as are the ordinary citizens.

One-Fifth The School Population

THUS THE Congress felt some relief should be given such communities, and this relief came in the form of Public Laws 815 and 874.

P. L. 815 provided that school districts which had a classroom population of which 5 per cent were children of parents who lived on or worked at such tax-exempt installations would be eligible for federal aid.

Montgomery County qualified with room to spare—of today's 31,000 school children some 6,000 have parents working or stationed at Maxwell, Gunter and other federal installations.

Roughly, this law provided a grant of $950 for each child whose parents actually lived on the federal property, and $450 per child was authorized for all whose parents worked at such an installation. The money so granted is earmarked exclusively for school construction.

This act alone has brought Montgomery County $2,525,000 in federal funds. Obviously, credit for most of this must go to the Maxwell Air Force Base.

The county has also received substantial benefits from Public Law 874, a companion bill. It merely provided additional funds for the maintenance of the buildings. From this source has come an additional $936,000 in federal money.

Needless to say, one need not look far to see where and how this money was spent.

Robert E. Lee High School, including 50 classrooms, lunchroom and auditorium-gymnasium, was built at a total cost of $1,064,000. Of that total, the federal government paid $807,000.

Lee Took Washington

SO IMPORTANT was the role of federal funds involved in the construction of the Lee High that it prompted Alabama's U. S. Sen. Lister Hill to observe in his dedicatory address of the school:

"Robert E. Lee finally did take Washington."

And financially speaking, Sen. Hill was never more correct.

But there are other instances equally as impressive. Harrison School on the bypass was built with $35,000 in local funds, $296,000 in federal funds; Bellingrath Junior High cost a total of $308,000, with the federal government paying $241,000 of that amount.

Other projects jointly financed since 1952 include (state funds listed first, then federal):

Capitol Heights Junior High addition, $52,000-$182,000; Morningview addition, $18,000-$39,000; Paterson School, $45,000-$182,000; Hardaway, $34,000-$276,000; Maxwell Elementary, $40,000-$276,000; Gay Meadows, $40,000-$225,000.

Thus for these 10 school building projects which cost a total of $3,116,000, only $591,000 in local funds was used while the federal government paid $2,525,000.

This does not by any means reflect the true and complete picture of school construction in Montgomery County. Unbelievable as it may sound, the county has averaged building one classroom a week since 1946.

McKee reported that a total of 460 classrooms have been built since 1946; 15 combination lunchroom-auditoriums; 3 lunchrooms; 5 lunchroom additions; 4 gyms and 1 auditorium.

For The Ike Bill

McKEE also took time to make a few observations on federal school aid bills now pending in Congress, and there are several of them. And all are sooner or later expected to attract the attention of Harlem's Negro Congressman Adam Clayton Powell.

The two major school aid bills now pending are basically the same, excepting the formula for distributing the funds.

Actually, it is President Eisenhower's proposed bill which is looked upon with most favor by McKee as well as most Southern Democrats in Congress.

First, it specifically rules out any federal controls, racial or otherwise.

Section 3 of the bill declares pointedly:

"In the administration of this Act, no department, agency, officer, or employe of the United States shall exercise any direction, supervision, or control over the personnel, curriculum, or program of instruction of any school or school system."

The Administration plan further provides that the money would be appropriated on a matching formula based on the ability of the individual states to participate in such matching.

As a result, Alabama would fare better than all but two states in the nation—Arkansas and South Carolina. As now written, Alabama would stand to get $11,148,000 annually by putting up but $5,573,000 of its own money.

The Democratic answer to the administration bill also contains equally strong language forbidding federal control, but its formula for distributing the funds is not so favorable. Under this plan the state would have to match federal money dollar for dollar, with the federal funds made available to the states strictly on a classroom population basis.

Wrecker Powell

McKEE IS of the opinion either bill would be of great benefit to the state, provided of course that no controls of any sort were attached.

Rep. Powell has already indicated he will make another attempt to amend any or all such federal aid bills to require schools to integrate before being eligible for the money. In 1956 he was successful in attaching such a rider to the Administration bill, and it was then promptly killed by Congress.

But McKee, just back from a first hand look at the situation in Washington, feels Powell's chances of success in this session are much less than a year ago.

McKee is of the further optimistic opinion that there is a good possibility some compromise federal aid bill will be passed this summer, and enacted without federal controls.

Such a program would go a long way toward solving Alabama's school building program of today.

Negro Must Work Toward Goal, Says Editor

Advertiser

BRUNDIDGE, Ala., Feb. 25 — "Too many whites and too many Negroes are hearing music the band isn't playing," Grover Hall, editor-in-chief of The Montgomery Advertiser, asserted tonight before a combined assemblage of the Brundidge Rotary and Lions Clubs.

Brundidge Rotary Club, presided and the speaker was introduced by Merlin T. Bryant, secretary-treasurer of the Rotary Club.

Montgomery, Ala.

Aggressive, hypnotized Negro leaders are influencing their followers to believe that another decision or two of the U.S. Supreme Court and a speech by Ike standing on the Jefferson Davis star at the Capitol will overnight bring satisfaction of all their aspirations and easement of all their grievances. Nothing of the kind will happen in the South anymore than it has in the North. The truth is that the colored man will have to work his own passage in what truthfully has been called an uneven struggle. Economic power, not the doodling of the Supreme Court, is the Negroes' strongest stay.

Tues 2-26-57

"The white man," Hall said, "has less excuse for kidding himself than the colored man. He is only telling himself what is comfortable when he thinks the colored man is happy. Alabama is spending about $30,000,000 this year on Negro education, it is idle to think that works no changes.

"It is as fanciful to say that nothing will ever change as it is to say it will change the day after tomorrow. The end of the world is not clearly in view."

Lamar Dickert, president of the

31 1957

ADVERTISER

Out The Way—III.

TO CONCLUDE the notes on a first visit to Oklahoma City, they must, to satisfy the demand of present custom, contain a segregation observation (which subject is the most thankless and disagreeable a newspaper ever had to grapple with, one that battleground editors wish had fallen upon another generation, fore or aft is no matter.

Advertiser P 4 A.

Oklahoma (which is only 50 years old) has under 10% colored population; this is less than many northern cities and Oklahoma has no consequential race problem. There are some Negro children in Oklahoma City schools, but they are few and no one is concerned since there is enough mixing to satisfy the federals, at least for the present.

Montgomery Ala

There is no legally enforced segregation, but this city's hotels will not book colored guests. The one exception, a chamber of commerce official instructed us, was the Biltmore, which will register colored persons if they are in a convention group. Thus the finance minister of Ghana would have another White House breakfast coming if he visited here.

Adv. 10 ★ 18-57

WALKING down the main streets of Oklahoma City, the newcomer is impressed with the number of persons whose faces bear Indian characteristics. That would be an easy thing to imagine, but Oklahomans readily confirm the apparent.

There was an earlier time, they say, when whites were not proud of Indian blood. Now, however, a white with Indian blood is distinctly proud of it. The chief justice of Oklahoma's Supreme Court is half Indian, we were told.

The driver of a chartered bus who hacked a group of editors across the plains to see some full-blooded, uniformed Indians was quick to proclaim, "I'm one-sixteenth Indian, Cherokee. You can always tell Indians." And he put his finger to what he considered a high cheek bone. As a matter of fact, the man lacked the acquiline features of the Indian stereotype and possessed the blunt features of a small, dingy Clark Gable.

★

THE federals in Little Rock have, as we were saying, relapsed the country into a state of sectional animosities. But it is, so far as editor relations are a measure, considerably removed from the wrathful. Mainly—so help us—Northern editors, usually sincere men, simply haven't come to understand the nature of Northern race problems, let alone those in the South.

Essentially this infirmity of comprehension is owing to their scant contact, hitherto, with masses of colored population. They are conditioned by having gone to school with perhaps a dozen superior and entirely respectable colored people. And the Northern editor has seen so few mixed marriages in the North where there is no restraint save personal choice he thinks the South's anguish over "mongrelization" is an idle incubus whomped up by Nightmare Alice.

There is cannonading between Northern and Southern editors, but feeling has not reached a degree where it affects personal relationships in the slightest degree. As in the case of the National Conference of Editorial Writers, editors spend a lot of time together over the grape, but they are not the grapes of wrath remarked in the *Battle Hymn Of The Republic*.

The subject was profusely discussed here and with vigor, but we never heard a tart word exchanged. On the contrary, the Southern editor is sought out by his yankee colleagues and earnestly questioned about the nature of things. They knot the brow and lean forward, the true stance of the genuinely questing.

★

THE truth is, as an honest editor will tell you, the posture of neither Northern nor Southern editor is as rigid abroad as it is at home in editorials. He thinks the same thing as at home, but he is not so rigid, strident and certain in his view. North and South, editors (like white bankers, merchants, lawyers, ministers and NAACP leaders) yield to varying extent to the compressions of conformity.

What is slowly permeating the craniums of flexible Northern editors is their experiences with race strife in the North. In consternation, he beholds the Negro migrations to his cities and, despite the fact that "we got laws," his fellow citizens commence acting like Southerners.

On the plane to Oklahoma City, he picks up the *Saturday Evening Post* and reads a featured article by a prominent Negro journalist, Carl Rowan of the *Minneapolis Tribune*, and sees the speculation that perhaps the "showdown" on the race issue may come "in the North."

★

ONE evening we were in a group having a snort of Scotch while waiting to hear an address by that prohibitionist teetotaler Senator Robert Kerr of Oklahoma, which Scotch was supplied by an Oklahoma editor whose paper that day or the day before had carried a dry-up-Oklahoma editorial.

In the group were editors from Buffalo, Minneapolis and Philadelphia. They asked about conditions in Montgomery and got a deposition that both the white and colored communities were pledged not to employ nuclear weapons in the case of war.

"And how's every little thing in Philadelphia?"

The Philadelphia editor didn't bat an eye.

"Damn bad," said he. "We are sitting on a powder keg. Our Negro population has passed 20% and they're stil coming in their hundreds every week. I wouldn't be surprised if I had a call from my office this minute saying 100 or 200 had been injured."

He then added that in a recent riot, in which 1,500 reserve policemen were called out, one Philadelphia paper went to press without a line on the incident (however, *The Advertiser* reprinted a bold and honest editorial and cartoon subsequently from this same paper).

★

THE Buffalo editor repeatedly asked us why we in Alabama didn't go ahead with a spot of token integration, six or seven in a school, and get the monkey off our back. We strived manfully to explain why an official would do away with himself if he sponsored such a thing.

The Buffaloan made the point that Northern citizens, the politicians and professional agitators aside, had not been greatly concerned about the South until Little Rock and Faubus, but that this made opinion bristle.

A realistic fellow, this editor want on to say with a wry grin at his own people that, while there was no resistance to Negroes in the schools, the politicians and goof balls were making an issue, comparable to the New York school situation, over the manner in which public housing projects tended to become all Negro. By individual choice, the Negroes were in them and the whites were elsewhere. But, despite the personal choice, the holy rollers wished to get the two races together in the projects as a matter of brotherhood principle, or some such rot.

★

THE most delightful person encountered in Oklahoma was an Indian, Homer Buffalo. Next was Mrs. Homer Buffalo.

Mr. Buffalo growled that things were swell until the white man came and emancipated the squaws from the role of servants to master. Mrs. Buffalo, who wears horn rim glasses, laughed.

31 1957

The Southern Villains

Advertiser P.4-A

A Distinguished Detroit Editor Confirms A Newspaper Conspiracy Of Silence In Race News, But Blames Most Trouble On Hillbilly Whites From The South

Thurs. 11-24-57

Montgomery Ala.

By Bob Ingram

Of The Advertiser Staff

DETROIT, MICH.

IT IS disturbing for a Southerner on his first mission to Detroit to see the manner in which the natives overlook their own race problems while ridiculing those in the South.

INGRAM

But equally disturbing are those natives who reluctantly admit the existence of Negro problems here but blame it all on the South.

This latter group would have you believe that if all the white Southerners in Detroit could be deported then all the racial problems would go with them.

At least a lukewarm member of this group is Royce Howes, chief editorial writer of the *Detroit Free Press*, a most distinguished and highly regarded journalist. A Pulitzer Prize for editorial writing attests to Howes's position of eminence among journalists.

Howes is a busy man, yet he was not too busy to put aside his pen for a pleasant if perhaps slightly guarded hour-long chat with *Grandma's* representative. Had the visitor been from *The Commercial-Appeal* in Memphis or the Clarion-Ledger in Jackson it's doubtful he would have ever gotten beyond Howes' brisk but polite secretary.

HAND OF WELCOME

It was this same secretary who earlier had reported by phone that Mr. Howes was busy and unavailable, but when the caller identified himself as a representative of *The Advertiser*, Howes suddenly became un-busy and very available. It was he who insisted on the person-to-person visit, even though the afternoon hour was late.

This extra-special attention shown by Howes was also evident in the cluttered *Free Press* newsroom. Other visiting newsmen were given the look of bored indifference so typical of this profession. But when word got around that an agent of *The Advertiser* was on the scene things perked up. There were whispered exchanges, heads turned as one, to get a look at one of these monsters.

It was apparent, impressively so, that *The Advertiser's* campaign of illuminating racial problems other than those under the magnolias had had impact. The missiles fired by *Grandma* had rocketed further and fallen with greater accuracy than anything yet developed at Redstone. This may be immodest, it also is the truth.

But back to Howes and his contention that Detroit's problems are not so much Negro as they are Southern whites.

"The difficulties that arise in Detroit frequently are started by the whites who have moved in here from the South, especially those from the hill country of Tennessee, Kentucky and West Virginia," Howes kicked off.

HILLBILLY PERIL

He was immediately interrupted and asked to delete West Virginia from the category of a Southern state. Kentucky and Tennessee we would claim, West Virginia we would not. After brief debate he agreed.

"Those people from the hill country who have come in here, they aren't your kind of people," Howes continued. "Theyre tough, real troublemakers. I wouldn't dare go into the sections of the city where they live at night. It's not safe."

Howes then touched the resin bag, gave us a lot of motion and let go with his fast ball.

"It was this group, you know, which started the riot in 1943," Howes said, almost triumphantly.

No, we didn't know. We had been braced for a slow, tantalizing curve, Howes had fooled us with his high hard one. There was a momentary lull in the conversation, maybe best described as a stunned silence.

Hindsight being what it is, the Howes pitch should not have come as a surprise. Detroit has on its record a race riot unlike any ever to erupt in Dixieland, so it seems natural they would have a hankering to put the blame elsewhere. The South makes a good fall guy.

When pressed further, Howes later conceded that as the rioting began to spread it was probable that a few non-Southern whites got into the fracas, but he stuck with his earlier verdict that Southerners had started it all.

THE EXODUS IS FASHIONABLE

ADVERTISER

We let that ride and turned to other matters. How did Howes explain the mass movement of whites out of Detroit into the suburban areas?

"That's the popular thing to do now, to own a place in the country," Howes said. "Maybe in some cases the whites moved out to get away from the Negroes, but not many of them."

Again we sought to corner Howes, but found him to be an elusive quarry. Would he not agree, we asked, that the primary reason for the exodus of whites had been entrance of the Negroes.

"No, I really don't think so," Howes insisted. "Like I said, I believe most of them just want to get out of the city. They are mostly young couples who want more room to raise their children."

Off and running on another subject, Howes was asked to justify the policy of the Detroit newspapers of refusing to print incidents of racial disharmony which occurred in Detroit.

"After the 1943 riot the three papers of the city got together and agreed that it would perhaps be best for all concerned if we discontinued publishing such incidents," Howes explained. "We made this decision in all good faith, for what we felt was the good of the city. We knew that piror to 1943 the policy of printing all such incidents had not helped race relations. And we did not want a repetition of that tragic event."

Howes was then reminded of the event he would like most to forget—that of the case where 150 armed policemen were called to protect the home of a colored family in a white community. *The Free Press* finally got around to printing the story 72 hours after *The Advertiser* and most other newspapers had informed their readers of the demonstration.

COVERED BUT NOT PUBLISHED

Howes wanted to get the record straight on one thing.

"We covered that incident from the very beginning, we staffed it all the way," Howes said. "We just withheld the story to see which way it was going. Actually there never was much to the story. We send out 150 policemen up here and it's nothing. They use far more than that for a downtown parade."

Turning from Howes the editorialist to Howes the man, we asked if he too had joined the whites in the flight to the suburbs.

Howes was ready for this one.

"I could throw a rock . . . No, let's say an outfielder could throw a rock . . . into the backyard of a Negro family from my backyard," Howes said. "There are a number of Negro families in my neighborhood."

What about Negroes on the staff of the *Free Press?* Howes didn't fare so well here.

"We have one Negro on the staff," he replied, "and then the caretaker of the building is a Negro. He's been here for years and is a fine man. He could pass for a white man, but he has never tried to cross over."

IT'S NOT DISCRIMINATION

Why but one Negro reporter for a paper which harps incessantly on racial discrimination?

"This isn't discrimination, there just aren't many Negro reporters to hire," Howes said, showing the first signs of annoyance. "We have about 22% Negro population in Detroit so I suppose you would suggest we have a comparable number of Negro reporters. Then we would have to do the same thing for the Polish, Swedes and Irish. That's hardly practical."

A few pleasantries later the interview came to a close. Other than for a few moments of wishful thinking (or so it seemed to one from the land of cotton) Howes had proved to be an entertaining, informative and genial host. It was 55 minutes well spent.

Negro Rule

Advertiser

Detroit Bitterly Faces Negro Vote Control In City Affairs

Montgomery, Ala.

Wed. 11-23-57

By Bob Ingram

Of The Advertiser Staff

IT IS now an accepted fact that eventually Detroit's city government will be controlled by Negroes.

P.4-A

There is no longer a debate as to whether this will happen, the debate now is merely when it will happen.

Mayor Orville L. Hubbard of lily-white Dearborn sets 1965 as the election year when the Negro will win control of the City Council. Detroit observers are prone to believe it will perhaps come a little later, maybe 1969 or 1973. But they all agree the day is coming.

INGRAM

The first step conceivably could come within the next two weeks. An important city election will be held Nov. 5 at which time nine members of the City Council are to be named.

In all, 18 candidates are seeking the seats in the non-partisan primary and three of these candidates are Negroes. At least one of them is expected to be elected and it is not beyond the realm of possibility that all three would win.

This could happen if the Negro voters fully exploit the legal right of single-shot voting—by voting in a bloc for the three Negroes and refusing to vote for any white candidate.

The idea of a Negro serving on the Detroit City Council is new even for this municipality. Negroes have been elected to minor city and county offices for years, but none has ever come close to reaching the potent council.

THE COUNCIL IS WORRIED

That Detroit city officials had not bargained for a development such as this is evidenced by the concern shown by the incumbent members of the council.

Their concern, at least to some degree, is of a selfish nature. They would like to keep their jobs.

As evident as the concern is the resentment of the white city fathers, a resentment which on the surface appears to be justified.

Most of these incumbents can attribute a part of their political success to the fact that they have espoused the cause of the Negro in his quest for equal rights, particularly the right to vote.

Now they find that the Negro is using this same right to remove from office those who helped him the most.

"I've tried as hard as any man to improve the Negro's position in Detroit but I fully expect them to oppose me when I seek reelection," an incumbent councilman said bitterly, after first being assured undey oath he would not be identified. "Talk about biting the hand that feeds you, this is the worst yet. I feel like I've been used."

This reluctance to talk publicly about the Negro problem in Detroit, a very real problem, is typical of all public officials.

THE TWO FACES

Privately they take stands which in comparison would make the Engelhardts, Eastlands and Russells look like wildeyed liberals; publicly they kowtow to the NAACP and Urban League as if they were blood brothers.

The same duplicity holds true in the newspaper profession. The editorial writers who will tell you in a coffee cup confession they are "one of us" will on the following morning muster all the venomous language at their command to denounce the South.

And the managing editors who admit they've moved 30 miles out of town to get away from the Negro are the same managing editors who have instructed their reporters to overlook any racial disturbances in their own back yard.

At this point it should be emphasized that the Detroit newspapers have taken their heads at least partially out of the sand in reporting on racial problems in their own city.

After the bloody 1943 race riot the three leading papers got together on a gentleman's agreement not to report racial disturbances in Detroit.

This policy reached a ridiculous point in 1956 when 150 policemen were called out to protect the home of a colored family which had moved into a white neighborhood. The tenant claimed to be Indian, but his neighbors insisted he was Negro and they demonstrated accordingly.

The Detroit papers, standing firm, made no mention of this story although it was given wide coverage throughout the nation and world. Had a similar event occurred in Montgomery the Detroit papers would have gone wild with glee. Since it happened in Detroit it was not news.

IMPROVED, BUT STILL BAD

The ridicule heaped upon the Detroit press in the days that followed forced them to reappraise their position. They are now showing signs of improvement but still have a long way to go if their aim is to print the truth.

Only last week Wayne County welfare officials reported that during the first three months of the current fiscal year practically all money earmarked for welfare for the entire year had been expended.

This was a big local story, and it was given big play in the Detroit papers. But not one newspaper saw fit to tell the full story, namely, why the marked increase in welfare payments.

The reason, obtained at the expense of a 10¢ telephone call to welfare officials, was that welfare rolls in the county have increased tremendously due to the continued influx of Negroes into Detroit, jobless but not childless.

Nobody in the press corps could come up with an answer as to why this fact was not reported, one feeble suggestion being made that to have printed it would have been offensive to the Negro race.

All they want are the facts—inoffensive facts that is.

★ Tell It To Old Grandma ★

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Tues. 10-22-57

Supreme Commander Ike

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—How can Viscount Alanbrooke, Britain's World War II chief of staff, say Ike's a general "poor in command and tactics?"—Why Ike's bayonet-wielding paratroopers won the "battle of Arkansas" against the unarmed enemy hands down, and proved him worthy of the title, "Supreme Commander!"

The "man of peace" has turned warlike, but alas, sometimes the battle is won and the war lost. Ike's retreat from Arkansas might be as inglorious as Napoleon's from Moscow, and Arkansas could yet be Ike's "Waterloo!"

ELIZABETH LIPPITT.
2414 Pacific Ave., San Francisco 15, Calif.

Send The Troops

Editor, The Advertiser:

I wonder why someone has not called on Eisenhower to call out the troops to hunt for the boy and girl whose plane crashed. In fact, he should not have waited to be asked.

If he had sent in about 1,500 men last Monday or Tuesday to go into remote places on foot, they could have searched so much more thoroughly and might have found the couple alive then.

MRS. RUTH SANSOM.
LaPine, Ala.

Alabama Editors Are Saying

Nixon Fights Hard

Associate Editor E. L. Holland Jr. In The Birmingham News

VICE President Richard Nixon the other day spoke to a group of newspapermen meeting in Oklahoma City. Nixon arrived sans wife Pat, explaining that he and she had made a compact, that since she had to go with him on numerous foreign jaunts, short stateside hops would be made by him alone so that their children wouldn't too often be left without parental presence.

Nixon is not a large man, standing about five feet eight. He has a dark complexion, made to seem darker by an ever-threatening beard. He is exceedingly neat in appearance, precise and exact in his manner. In talking to people, if they are near him, he has a device of reaching out to emphasize points with taps on his listener's arm.

In talking to the newsmen, Nixon delivered an unprepared address of some 15 or 20 minutes, then opened up for questions with no holds barred. He met each question bluntly, and—on such issues as Little Rock—made his position positively clear. Southerners would disagree with that position, of course; but it can be said that Nixon in responding weaseled not once. You took him on the race issue or left him alone and he seemed to be willing to stand on that.

With Nixon were three young men, a Marine colonel assigned to him, an Air Force major, and a secret service man. They were all much like Nixon in one respect: they were sharp, exact in utterance, and they seemed to feel that Nixon was one of their kind. The "team" had the earmarks of youth, of optimism, of being sure of themselves. One of the Nixon assistants was asked whether the vice president was much good at relaxing. The answer was that he wasn't. This seemed apparent. He is taut, intense, and provides an impression of being single-mindedly devoted to running for the presidency.

Is he a "big" man. One can conclude he doesn't seem so in the sense that one feels in the presence of a major statesman. Instead, he is the career man—he would be at home on Madison Avenue, in a corporation office, in command of a military unit—but one wonders of what size.

Mr. Nixon in informal discussion concedes others' points. Newsmen—even from Democratic papers—after talking with him at this particular meeting admitted they were impressed; this was not to say they "liked" Nixon any more than previously; but as one put it, "he didn't do or say anything to hurt himself." But this was not meant that he was cautious; rather, that the impression he made was on the plus side.

The vice president may or may not be the GOP nominee. But he is running hard and with effect. He knows precisely what he is trying to do, and he is driving himself with every ounce of his energy. This is, then, the type of man who cannot be ignored.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Montgomery Ala.

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Jan. 11-17-57 p. 2B

Commissioner Sellers Opposes King Movie

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I should thank you to print the following from me to United Artists.

CLYDE SELLERS,
Commissioner of Public Affairs.
Montgomery.

Mr. Jeffrey Hayden
Director and Producer
United Artists
900 Stone Canyon Rd.
Los Angeles 24, Calif.

Dear Mr. Hayden:

When you were in my office a few weeks ago and discussed the possibility of filming *The Montgomery Story*, it was my understanding that this picture was to depict the great wrong that had been done the City of Montgomery and its white citizens by the unjust and unwarranted attacks made in the press and other news media throughout the nation, and to give credit where credit was actually due for the lack of violence and bloodshed in our overly publicized and overly criticized city.

I have read in our local paper that the northern press has announced that United Artists has signed Harry Bellefonte, mulatto Negro actor, to play the part of Martin Luther King in your proposed picture. I am sure that Bellefonte did not sign to play a minor role, so, I must accume that this picture is being made, not to give the true picture of a maligned and long suffering Montgomery, but to further glorify and praise Martin Luther King and assist him in his campaign to completely integrate the South and the nation as a whole.

THE racial aims of the Communist Party of the United States and those of the NAACP are virtually identical. The Communist program, as reported in the May, 1928, issue of *The Daily Worker* calls for:

"Full racial equality.

"Abolition of all laws which result in segregation of the Negro.

"Abolition of all laws forbidding intermarriage of persons of different races.

"Abolition of all laws and public administrative measures which prohibit, or in practice prevent, Negro children from attending general public schools or universities.

"Full and equal admittance of Negroes to all waiting rooms, restourants, hotels and theaters."

These are the identical demands being made today by the NAACP and Martin Luther King.

ALBERT A. KENNEDY, South Carolina State counselor for the NAACP, gave the Orangeburg, S.C., *Times and Democrat* an interview on Aug. 30, 1955, in which he stated:

"Once the two races are integrated, intermarriage is the natural consequence. Intermingling can't be regulated by the state and if the state tried to regulate it you will find the same thing in every particular in the dark, behind closed doors and in automobiles. Psychologists say that a girl's chances of getting married are governed by the number of her male associates. Integration will result in white girls becoming associated with Negro boys and naturally, intermarriage will result. We, the NAACP, have committed ourselves to a program of full integration."

IN "A Racial Program For The 20th Century," written in 1912 by an English communist, the following is stated:

"We must realize that our party's most powerful weapon is race tension. By pounding into the consciousness of the dark races that for centuries they have been oppressed by the whites, we can mold them to the program of the Communist Party. In America we will aim for a subtle victory. While inflaming the Negro minority against the whites, we will endeavor to instill in the whites a guilt complex for their exploitation of the Negroes. We will aid the Negroes to rise to prominence in every walk of life, in the professions, and in the world of sports and entertainment. With this prestige, the Negroes will be able to intermarry with the whites and begin a process which will deliver America to our cause."

This is the issue, baldly stated, by a prominent member of the Communist Party and agreed to, at least partially, by Martin Luther King in his nationwide broadcast of Oct. 25, 1957, over NBC television when he stated that the "South was suffering from a guilt complex."

AS I STATED to you in our conversation in my office, I am a complete and sincere segregationist and I cannot compromise my principles nor violate my Southern birthright by co-operating in even the smallest way with you or United Artists in making such a picture. For this reason and the other reasons stated above, I now expressly forbid you or anyone else the use of my name or position or any fictional name or character that would depict me in any manner whatever in the making of a picture of this kind.

I would like to further state that as long as I am in a public position in the City of Montgomery, I will do everything within my power to prevent the filming of such a picture in our city or elsewhere. Mayor W. A. Gayle and Commissioner Frank W. Parks are in complete accord with me in the above.

Yours Truly,
CLYDE C. SELLERS,
Commissioner of Public Affairs.
Montgomery.

Unpaid Advertisement

Advertiser p2B

FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT went to the Dust Bowl and, lo, the rain came. But the Roosevelt luck was just some piddling "statistical coincidence" compared with the luck of Dr. King, who seems to be a Baptist minister in Montgomery.

Montgomery Ala.

King's adversaries are his press agents, and something more than that, his press agents even work on Sunday. Which is to say, regard the letter to the editor today in which Police Commissioner Sellers objects to Hollywood making a Rev. King movie in Montgomery "or elsewhere."

Seen 1-17-57

This opposition from a Montgomery police commissioner is a very valuable advertisement for the movie. There is absolutely nothing Sellers can do to prevent Hollywood making a movie about King and the new Lourdes, formerly well known as Montgomery, Ala.

In fact, opposition assures production of the movie.

You can't be too critical of Sellers and other Alabama politicians about their stances and gyrations in connection with the race tumult. A large element of the voting public is out of its head, utterly innocent of reason. They think that just any opposition to the Negro scrimmaging, no matter how sodden with impracticality or hot with backfire, is in the right direction. You know, "stand up and be counted" and such-like nit-wittery and oafishness.

You can't blame a politician. He has to stay out of the falling shrapnel. The sensible people have largely wadded a gag in their own mouths and you rarely hear from them in public. The politician's behavior is largely dictated by the howls and bombasts of the unthinking.

Therefore you can't blame Sellers or any other politician for delousing himself of any connection with a Hollywood fantasia presenting Harry Belafonte in the role of King, the latest made "saint" in the hagiography.

But opposition to the shooting of the movie in Montgomery will unreel nothing. The movie is coming. It will be obnoxious, emotional and untruthful, but it is going to be made.

The more it is opposed, the more certain its success. And much more of the same is to come. A convenient symbol is needed and King has been generally agreed upon by press, TV, Broadway and Hollywood as that symbol. If it wasn't he, it would be his suffragan, the Reverend Abernathy.

Why should King's adversaries labor so skillfully and productively to magnify him by opposition?

Consider the poor galoot who threw the chain over the TV wire. He only made it certain that more people finally heard King than otherwise would have heard him, and allowed King to cut another notch in his martyrdom.

The Rev. King is just something you have to grin and bear—that is, if it is to be played smart. Montgomery morons made him. Why make him bigger? Leave him unnoticed as he skeets up his purling encyclicals through the nimbus supplied by the Hollywood make up man.

The harder you strike that nail, the deeper you drive it.

Alabama Editors Are Saying

The Lesson Of Little Rock

The Tuscaloosa News

Sat. 9-28-57

THE President of the United States has been forced to inject armed strength into the Arkansas situation. His action is drastic. But circumstances approaching insurrection make such a step justified.

It is a step we had hoped would not be necessary. We regret that it had to come at all. It is a frightening thing to have local processes set aside and superseded by federal authority. For we now know that the threat of federal troop intervention hangs over us all. It is infinitely better for state and local law enforcement to keep the peace.

Ultimate solutions are long-time and require patience and forbearance. Showdowns such as that at Little Rock bring chaos in schools and promote inflammatory thinking and action by a people who want to do what is right but who do not like to be driven.

President Eisenhower has been conservative in his attitude toward Southern resistance to integration. With this consideration he maintained a hope and expectation, that obedient steps would be taken in compliance with court orders.

In Arkansas, a mob has thwarted the order of a federal court. Many individuals have violated the law by assaulting other persons engaged in lawful activity.

Montgomery Ala

CIVIL authority proved unable to maintain peace with concurrent carrying out of federal court orders. Persons involved in disorders and defiance of the court had not ceased and dispersed, as requested by the President in his proclamation. Furthermore, the integrity of the National Guard of Arkansas, as a force for maintaining peace and backing up court authority had been impugned (with Arkansas authorities in command). For it previously had been used to keep a federal court order from being carried out.

The number of people involved in the Little Rock violence was small. We do not know how many others there may have approved. We cannot know know how many throughout the South may likewise cheer such action, although we are convinced that a great majority of Southern people, even though against school integration, are opposed to violence and anarchy.

But we do know that a government, such as ours, that operates through lawful authority cannot permit even a minority to engage in flagrant violation of the law and to succeed in defiance of court orders.

For we cannot live in a state of anarchy. We cannot hope to gain anything by permitting ourselves to sink to jungle levels where the only law is brute force.

Sat. 9-28-57

THE Arkansas development gives proof, if any more was needed, of the intensity of Southern emotion over the segregation-integration issue. But events also focus attention anew on the far more important question of whether we people of the South are to support law and order, or whether we are to become insurrectionists.

The question at Little Rock is whether court orders are to be carried out, and whether law and order are to be accepted in preference to mob rule and continuous violence.

The South can continue to fight rear guard action against integration. That will be done. But in showdowns, such as that in Little Rock, defiance of the court, mob violence and personal assaults inevitably will bring from somewhere whatever force is required to maintain peace and to see that the laws of our nation are obeyed.

Attempts to force issues by entering Negro children in white schools on the same levels of Negro schools that already exist on comparable, or fairly comparable, levels, is a mistake. There is a difference between the legal right to do so, and in judgment as to whether or not such action should be taken.

After all, we must keep in mind that the principal object of our school system is to educate the young. And that cannot be done very well under bayonets

National Whirligig

By Ray Tucker

[Every Saturday Ray Tucker answers readers questions of general interest on national and international policies and personalities. Questions may be sent to him at 7008 Hillcrest Place, Chevy Chase, Md.]

WASHINGTON.

"WHILE fully recognizing the radical decisions of the Supreme Court," writes J. S. C. of Santa Cruz, Calif., "I am at a loss to comprehend the degree in which 'Earl Warren revolutionized the social, political and economic scheme of things,' as your recent reference to him and his associates would indicate."

Supreme Court Abets Trend To Despotism

"Revolution" may impress J. E. C. as too strong a characterization, but only, I believe, because we associate that word with changes wrought by violence. The fact is that, with only a few exceptions, the most far-reaching reforms in the history of civilization have been rather peaceful affairs, such as the Renaissance and the Reformation.

Forgetting for the moment the racial integration decision, the Supreme Court under Chief Justice Warren's influence has altered the delicate relationship of the states and the federal government in many respects. If this trend continues, we will have the kind of autocratic, despotic and federalized government which Alexander Hamilton wanted, and which Jefferson successfully opposed.

Sat. 9-28-57

EFFECT OF SUPREME COURT RULINGS—It is not only in the field of racial relations that the high tribunal has revolutionized social, economic and political structures, although that is sufficient to justify use of the characterization I have applied. It has said that the states cannot enact and enforce laws against communists, polluters of food, dope peddlers and other lawbreakers, if there happens to be a federal statute covering those crimes.

Even the most extreme "liberals" on Capitol Hill recognize the eventual evil in such decisions, and they will be nullified or modified by pending congressional legislation.

DECISIONS WIDELY CRITICIZED—The Supreme Court has struck hard at federal, state and local law enforcement with its edict that criminal suspects, including communists, cannot be questioned by the police for a few hours while they seek out, perhaps in the middle of the night, a magistrate or commissioner.

Confessed murderers and rapists have already been set free because of this unexplainable ruling. It has been criticized by Congress, the American Bar Associatiaon and J. Edgar Hoover, FBI director.

The Warren court has thrown open the FBI and other police agencies' files to communists and criminals. In the Girard College segregation case, it raised a doubt about every trusteeship that has even the most remote connection with a governmental unit. It has led local communities to sponsor racial integration in homes and apartments, as in New York City, thus tending to destroy established property values.

In the duPont-General Motors anti-trust litigation, it has jeopardized many existing and proposed mergers of great industries, upsetting a precedent that had prevailed for many years, and outlawing an industrial trend that has been responsible for the most remarkable economic structure in all history.

To my mind, even though we have not yet felt the full effects of these changes, this is revolution. I find that many jurists, lawyers and politicians agree.

★ ★ ★

CHOICE OF UNION MEMBER?—R. C. W. of Franklin Lakes, N.J., questions my statement that "federal laws not only give labor the right to bargain collectively on contract terms, but provide that no man can work unless he joins a union."

However, he appears to [illegible] question when he says in his letter that "a man is free to join a union of his choice, and it is an unfair practice for an employer to refuse to honor this right."

But what kind of "choice" or "freedom" does a man have, if the workers vote by the margin of a single ballot to form a union which the company must recognize, and which the employe must join at the risk of losing his job?

Moreover, under existing conditions which pending legislation seems to remedy, he must pay dues that will be employed to elect candidates for office and to support principles in which he does not believe.

Tell It To Old Grandma

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Defeat Is Not Inevitable

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Without wishing to be offensive, your editorial "Tired Warirors," seems to me to have some of that subliminal advertising rediscussed by you on the same page.

I know this to be true: the statement that white and black school integration is inevitable is a communist lie designed first to discourage and then kill all opposition to it. Your more or less vague references to sinister and irresistible forces arrayed against the South tends in the same direction.

All of this, I vehemently deny. Nothing of a sociological nature is irresistible. Every effort, every event, every happening is the result of untold billions of causes. But the naive mind never sees anything but the apparent immediate cause, like the little child who says tearfully, "Now looky what you went and made me do."

There was never a cause that was not an effect and never an effect that was not a cause. Thus it is that "there's many a slip twixt the cup and the lip."

If everybody who shudders at free race mixing — congressmen, senators, governors and other leaders of thought—had presented to the politicians of the North a solid, implacable wall of resistance to the outrage proposed, and not what appeared to them to be the South's soft underbelly, Brownell and Warren would never have dared to direct their man "Friday" to order a sneak attack upon one of our states.

Listen folks: the outstanding hero of the Spanish-American war was Hobson of Alabama, and of World War I it was Sgt. York of Tennessee, while of World War II it was Audie Murphy of Texas.

All these men were Southerners. Let us ask the citizenry of the nation if they think the fires of Southern national patriotism can burn as brilliantly now, since the Golf ball head viciously slapped the face of every Southern state?

So far as law is concerned—outside of the babblings of a foreign psychologist—the '54 decision of the so-called Supreme Court is based upon a clause embraced in the wholly outrageous 14th Amendment to the Constitution: "Equal protection of the laws."

Even if this amendment were not wholly fraudulent, the decision would stretch the meaning of the word protection until it would pop like a piece of wrapping twine, used to lash an Edsel to a telegraph pole.

The Harriet Beecher Stowes of the North think our people in Dixie are benighted, reactionary and stupid and in need of tutoring. The most prayerful among them, such as the *Christian Science Monitor* of Boston, would have this teaching done lovingly and patiently—but nevertheless done, while the Great Western Railroad God, Warren, and the majestic mentors around the throne in Washington, would summarily kick us in the pants and undies. While all the time it is the North that is ignorant, backward and in need of teaching on just two subjects.

The first is to be taught realistically the difference between the two races concerned and the vcious, hainous, villaneous, fraudulent nature of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution upon which Negro citizenship is based.

Let me here quote from Woodrow Wilson in his character as Professor Wilson.

"A flash of poetry, a flame of passion, a germ of philosophic reflection may reveal some of the unsuspected potencies of life more truly than all the experimental sciences with their mechanistic instruments have ever or ever can reveal."

Have you ever read a flash of poetry or experienced a flame of passion or gem of philosophical reflection of a Negroid nature that has revealed any of the unsuspected potencies of nature?

I have not.

Dothan, Ala. CARL H. FOLSOM.

Alabama Editors Are Saying

It's Just Begun

The Clarke County Democrat

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, Atty. Gen. Brownell, et al., may temporarily have quieted the integration uprising in Little Rock but they are still a long way from having solved the problem in the South as a whole—or in the North as a whole. They have merely started something.

Segregation By Complexion

The Tallassee Tribune

DID the Supreme Court ruling mean that only light complexioned Negroes would be allowed to attend white schools?

Time reports: "The Little Rock school board had selected the nine Negro children carefully, considering intelligence, achievement, conduct, health—even the shades of their skins."

Does the Supreme Court condone such segregation based on the shade of skin? We thought that's what the rhubarb was all about. Will not such a program make the darker complexioned children feel inferior when they have to attend segregated schools and are kept out of integrated schools because the shade of their skin is not lighter? Is the NAACP calling the shots all the way? And is that organization not accepting dues from dark-skinned members?

Wonder how Jackie Robinson and Satchel Mouth Armstrong feel about this discrimination? By no stretch of the imagination could they qualify for this light shade society.

The South Violated

The Opelika Daily News

THhe most atrocious attack on the South since Reconstruction days came with President Eisenhower's dispatch of federal troops to Little Rock. It is not believed that many people realize the sad significance if this act. It is the start of military rule for our section. It is unnecessary, brutal and ominous.

A More Ominous Crisis

The Dothan Eagle

THE Supreme Court's 1954 decision striking down school segregation was the government's first great mistake of this century in the sensitive field of racial relations, for it reversed, with the stroke of a pen, a pattern of life that had not only been legal but accepted for generations.

Now has come the second great mistake—the occupation of Little Rock, Ark., by federal troops on orders of President Eisenhower to force integration at Central High School. It will so go down in the history books, not only as a chapter in racial affairs but as a display of federal military might against state sovereignty contrary to American tradition.

An issue far more important than integration or segregation has been thrust upon the nation. Today it has an entirely new crisis on its hand, a crisis that threatens the foundation of the Constitution and rocks the concept of the Amrican way. A sad day has dawned in the United States.

Faubus, Eisenhower And Troops

The Lee County Bulletin

WHEN Gov. Faubus made the mistake of using the National Guard, he paved the way for Mr. Eisenhower in turn to use Army troops.

They both have erred.

It is not a comfortable feeling either way—seeing National Guard or Army troops, both with clubs, pistols and rifles—patrolling the grounds surrounding a school building.

But neither is it comforting to see, as millions have seen in television news accounts, humans pummeling and kicking and cursing fellow humans in a frenzy of fear and hate.

Order had to replace mob action.

Gov. Faubus said he moved in the National Guard to preserve order. The trouble is that he did not wait for Little Rock authorities to act. He went over their heads. His plea now for home rule, therefore, sounds hollow. He was not for home rule when he refused to wait for Little Rock police authority to assert itself.

Perhaps President Eisenhower had no choice but to order in Army troops following the mess stirred up by Gov. Faubus. From this distance it is not possible to say absolutely whether Little Rock police were able to cope with the mob. Our guess, however, is that local authority would have prevailed. Police already had rounded up 40-odd loud-mouths and that seemed to have pulled the stinger of the mob.

The mobs and the use of troops have placed the South at serious disadvantage in dealing with the problems of integration. Also, we can thank the violent, double-dog-dare talk coming from the mouths of many empty-headed and irresponsible politicians for our present disadvantage. Only a few months ago the nation outside the South seemed willing to give us the time we needed to work out the matter. This week much of the United States has risen in moral indignation against us.

The sooner moderate leadership rises to replace the gasbags, the sooner we will be able to return to "working it out."

Tell It To Old Grandma

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Onward Christian Soldiers

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Will you please find out from the Supreme Court which church I am supposed to attend Sunday?

No troops, please. Advertiser

W. J. GUNNELLS.

Deatsville, Ala. p. 2B

Ike In 1931 And 1957

Montgomery, Ala.

Editor, The Advertiser:

In your [news story] the other day, I believe you stated federal troops were last called out to quell alleged domestic disturbances by Woodrow Wilson. No doubt you have forgotten the fact that the last Republican President who sat in the White House was guilty of this capricious, malicious and damnable act.

Your files, no doubt, bear evidence showing that Herbert Hoover with MacArthur, as his chief of staff, and Eisenhower as [aide], called out federal forces in 1931 during the "bonus march demonstration" there in Washington.

Rt. 3, Montgomery. R. S. BROOKS.

Sun 9-29-57

Explain It To Our Children

Editor, The Advertiser:

Somehow the above heading is symbolic, "Tell It To *Old Grandma*." Just how would old grandma feel if we could tell her what is going on here in our county at this time?

How could we tell her that our President has gone to the extremes that her husband and sons fought so hard against. How could we tell her that the hunger and heartaches that she went through were all in vain?

More than that, how can we explain to our children that ask, "Daddy, why is everybody talking about our President and about fighting?"

Talk has never been so cheap as it is now on the subject of the racial situation. Everybody has his say but no one will go any further.

I would like to ask the President to make another speech and not to the adults of the nation but to the children and explain to them just what he has done and tell them the reason he did it. We can swallow it and take it whether we like it or not, but our children can't understand it. HOWARD McGILL.

Montgomery.

Voodooed

Editor, The Advertiser:

A great wave of nausea has swept over me. I feel that there is a possibility that I, and millions of other Southerners, have been voodooed; for the nausea seems to be caused by the ominous sign that has appeared over Little Rock.

It seems to be the sign of the hammer and the sickle, but it is superimposed upon the great seal of the United States of America. Finally it has come to pass.

Not one but two wedges have been introduced through the efforts of the NAACP, now backed by the action of President Eisenhower and his federal troops. They are the cleavage between the white people and the black people, and between the North and South.

This invasion of the South by federal troops has definitely given aid and comfort to our enemies, the communists. In the days of Benedict Arnold this was called treason. Would a suggestion of impeachment be too strong?

The Little Rock incident is not a local problem, though no doubt President Eisenhower couldn't possibly conceive of it being more than that. It is bigger than Arkansas. It is bigger than the United States of America. This is the thrust of the bayonet that has been felt around the world. It is not the end! it is just the beginning.

OLIVER N. HAMBY.

Hayneville, Ala.

Hitlerian Nightmare

Editor, The Advertiser:

There is a picture on page one of *The Advertiser Thursday* of an injured and bleeding Southern white man, being further threatened by a frowning truculent soldier, wielding a bayonet rifle. The picture is like something out of a Hitlerian nightmare—the brown-shirted one enforcing the will of a ruthless dictator on a helpless minority group.

The picture crams the thought home to me. The whole South is the center of hatred as it has been always, and we, the Southerners, are truly a helpless minority. Our women are criminally assaulted and after fair trials the court in Washington which is held to be supreme remits the just punishment; governors of Northern states refuse extradition and even offer refuge to fugitive murderers, robbers and rapists.

The horror of armed troopers trespassing on private property just happens to be in Little Rock today. The horror will be all over the beautiful Southland within 12 months or less. Surely, we have a paucity of statesmanly leadership at this time when leadership is most needed. Our senators and congressmen appear to be so engrossed in the "pork barrel" and party politics that they are sitting back, doing nothing. Would to God that we had a Yancy, a Morgan or a Pettus to lead us in these horrible and dismal times!

Would it be possible to get Mr. Eisenhower and the governors of the Northern states to come down here individually and let someone other than a party man show them the true picture of our situation? Let each of them talk to the field hands, porters, yardmen, common and even skilled laborers, and I believe that they would see for themselves that these people can not offer the environment to their children necessary to train and teach them so that the association would not be detrimental both to white children who have so many centuries of civilization behind them, but to the little Negroes as well.

Finally, what is the matter with Negroes? Isn't there a single one who is proud of his race? Why can't they produce a Negro Moses to lead them back to their own land, the land God Almighty gave them to be theirs forever?

Something must be done. God help us to find the answer according to His will. BEN S. GAY.

Montgomery.

Sun. 9-29-57

What The Government Means

Editor, The Advertiser:

Will you or some of your readers please tell me what benefits the South gets from the federal government except the 49¢ dollar. Unbearable taxation with our taxes being used to pay Supreme Court justices and federal judges who are appointed, not elected by the people, to change our way of life, federal bayonets to cram mongrelization down our throats; bury our sons, all over the world?

Why doesn't the Constitution apply to the South, especially the ninth and tenth amendments. How can Brownell and Sherman Adams make their own rules? H. E. CURTIS SR.

Montgomery.

Time For Action

Editor, The Advertiser:

Looking at the picture on the front page of *The Advertiser* Thursday, I wondered if this could really be the United States or Hungary. Or had we as well wake to the fact that we have a totalitarian government and that anyone who doesn't agree will be stopped with bayonets.

I'm glad that I'm an old lady and lived when America was ruled by a president of the people, by the people and for the people, including the white South. I have lived in the North and East and the West and as the editor of this paper once wrote that wherever Negroes migrate in sufficient numbers they encounter rejection. What the Negroes can't seem to understand is that they are political pawns for those greedy for office and wanting their votes.

Don't they know that whenever they move into white neighborhoods in the North the white people move out? Don't they know that there is no social equality there any more than in the South. Why did not the President see fit to send federal troops to quell race riots in Chicago and elsewhere in the North?

It's time for action. If we can't do it with bayonets, and of course we can't, then let's use the weapons at our command, private schools, private parks, and dismissing all Negroes from our employ. They would then have to seek new homes and if necessary give them the money to go there.

Montgomery. MRS. J. D. BLAND.

Faubus Here And There

ALAS for Occupied Arkansas that its governor is an erratic, unprincipled ham. Were Faubus steadfast and principled, he could have acted and spoken in a fashion that would have been sobering even to the cynical opportunists around the White House who debase themselves before the northern Negro vote. Advertiser

But taking the statements of Faubus, his infirm character is demonstrated by his skittering thither and yon on the race issue. In his national broadcast Faubus pictured himself as a temperate, reconciled race mixer, saying:

P. 4A

¶ Under my administration, all transportation systems have been integrated, and without serious incidents. Six of the seven state-supported colleges now have Negro students. In the other there were no applicants. Montgomery

¶ I was the first Democratic governor of the South to place Negroes on the Democratic State Central Committee. Negroes also serve on the Republican committee.

¶ Some years ago I was a member of the resolutions committee which recommended to the Democratic State Convention that the so-called white primary be abolished, opening the Democratic primaries to the members of all races. The convention adopted the resolution, and this was accomplished without any ruling by any federal court.

¶ Negroes have been appointed on boards and commissions during my administration, and have been appointed to administration positions never before held by members of their race. Sat 9-28-57

¶ Eight public schools have been peacefully integrated during my administration, more than in any other Southern state outside the border areas.

¶ The first Negro to graduate from law school in a Southern college previously all white was in Arkansas. And the first Negro doctor to graduate from a previously all white Southern college was in Arkansas. All this adds up to greater progress in Arkansas, than in any other state of the Deep South.

¶ I am not in this fight, either as a segregationist or an integrationist. My onld child, a son, is now attending classes in a state-supported integrated college. This is more than can be said by many of the high officials of the national administration, who are responsible for the military occupation of Arkansas.

★

BUT when speaking to the people of Arkansas Jan. 28, 1956, Faubus said:

It should be obvious that centuries-old customs and regional traditions cannot be changed overnight—even by court edict. I cannot be a party from the ill effects that could come to any attempt to force acceptance of a change to which the people are so overwhelmingly opposed.

★

ON FEB. 25, 1956, Faubus said:

Every effort must be made to protect the rights and the inclination of the vast majority of the people of Arkansas and the South and in the prevention of a nullification resolution and a pupil-assignment evader, saying:

★

BY JUNE, 1956, Faubus was a sponsor

I am convinced that the surest way to safeguard our public school system at present for all citizens—both white and Negro—is to preserve our segregated schools.

★ From the Supreme Court's decision.

ADVERTISER (MONTGOMERY, ALA.)

Tell It To Old Grandma

31 1957

Advertiser Wed. 3-20-57 P.4-a

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

Chaotic Rebuttal

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—It appears to this writer that each reply to Mrs. Jo Ann Robinson's letter, "I Speak For The Negro Race," March 8, come from a result of chaos, an inability to make clear interpretation and a limited understanding of the rules of composition.

It is easy, however, to realize and understand that *recognition* is one of the basic innate urges of every human; but is hard to conceive that one would crave for this *recognition* at the expense of exhibiting his limited ability and poor understanding to the public.

The matter of comments and replies to the letter, "I Speak For The Negro Race," could go on indefinitely. But I dare say that one with clear interpretation of her letter could denounce or contest the validity of *any* of her statements as it refers to the Negro.

This writer wishes to invite the attention of those who might attempt to reply, comment or denounce any writer (not only Mrs. Robinson) to read Alexander Pope's *Essay On Criticism*, Part One, line 48.

HOWARD ROBINSON.

Montgomery.

◆

Biblical Warning

Editor, The Advertiser:

Thank you for the editorial, "Black Whites."

The position of Moses was one in a pattern. Until the blood was sprinkled on the lintel in Egypt *(Exodus 12 22)* the second male born in a family represented the line who God worked with in the human families. Adam being the first flesh and Jesus being the second flesh created of God, the second born was chosen for divine purposes. After the blood was applied, then the first male to open the matrix was chosen of God for the divine purpose. Moses made the contact with God, and he told Aaron the elder brother what to do.

Jesus was the second creation of the flesh and He gave us the commandments for Christian perseverance. Jesus, the Christ was a perfect sacrifice, one without spot and blemish *(I Peter 1:19)*. Searching the genealogies, we see God safeguarding the Judah line and the Benjamin line to keep the contamination of the cursed flesh out of the progenitors for Christ. Joseph the earthly protectorate for Christ came from Judah, and, Mary the Womo for Immaculate Conception came from Benjamin. God performs His works in His own way. Bathsheba sinned in that she married Uriah the Hittite. Uriah came from the line of Canaan the cursed flesh *(Genesis 9:25)*. The cursed line placed in servitude had no place in the Free Born of God's Family. *(Genesis 9:24-27)* see below.

For substantiation read the accounts of Judah who married a Canaanite having three half-breed sons. God condoned incest of Judah with his own daughter-in-law to keep the blood stream pure. Read all of *Genesis*, 38th chapter. For conformation, see the geneologies of Matthew and Luke and you will find Pharez the second born as the progenitor for Christ line. David and Solomon were admonished to get rid of their strange women. The last chapter of Ezra and Nehemiah rejects the use of "Strange Women."

What the Bible holds as a schematic for proclamations should be uppermost in the minds of both the white and colered races. Our world seethes in turmoil and strife. The complex pattern of human relations with Divine interposition cannot be regarded lightly in the concourse of Bible outline. The mule is a half-breed and is abomination unto the Lord (Leviticus 19:19). Half-breeds are man made and God's condemnation will surely come to the American peoples if we allow ourselves to amalgamate.

Atmore, Ala. CARL F. LYONS.

White Inconsistency

Editor, The Advertiser:

[Mrs.] Jo Ann Robinson said if Judge Jones would read the 12th chapter of the Book of Numbers he would find that Moses married a black woman, and that Aaron and Miriam laughed at her, and God turned Miriam into a leper, and it took seven days of "incessant prayer" by Moses to God for her to be healed.

Adv. 3-13-57

The Bible does not confirm her conjecture. If she would read again the 12th chapter of the Book of Numbers she would find the Bible does not say Moses married a black woman. The Bible says Moses married an Ethiopian woman. Neither does the Bible say that Miriam laughed at the Ethiopian woman, nor did it take seven days of "incessant prayer" by Moses for Miriam to be healed. Moses prayed one sentence then he only had to obey God and put Miriam out of the camp seven days.

One hears a lot these days about the "Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man." All this confusion in the world today is of the devil. The devil has his children, his preachers, his religions. God's religion is salvation.

Malvern, Ala. TOM PULLUM.

Moral Awakening—After May 17, 1954

Advertiser P.4-a

¶ The following letter to Dr. Claud H. Thompson, Emory University in Atlanta, was written by the Fidelis Class of the Montgomery First Methodist Church, Mrs. R. M. Bishop, President.—Ed.

Wed. 3-20-57

In your recent efforts to make a case for integration of the white and Negro races you wrote that: "Our mandate is not first of all from the (Methodist) General Conference (though that is clear . . .) or from the Supreme Court but from what is right in the sight of God."

Montgomery, Ala.

We respectfully remind you that, although God's mandates have not changed, the General Conference has only taken this line since the Supreme Court reversed its previous ruling on segregation. Where were God's mandates on integration when the General Conference agreed to the establishment of the central or all-Negro jurisdiction? You will understand, we believe, that thinking people must conclude that these new opinions are based upon something less than deep moral convictions to say the least.

We are convinced that integration of the white and Negro churches is not necessary and not desirable from any constructive point of view. We urge you, therefore, to cease using your influence as a writer of lesson materials to confuse, unsettle and divide the Methodist churches.

In your comments for Feb. 24, 1957, you wrote: "When will our Roman Catholic friends learn that we Protestant Christians are as deeply concerned to preserve their freedom of worship as we are to maintain ours? And the motive in it all is, simply Christian respect for the right of a brother's conscience."

We express our feelings by rewording your comments to read: "When will our Negro friends learn that we white Christians are as deeply concerned to preserve their freedom of worship as we are to maintain ours? And the motive in it all is simply Christian respect for the right of a brother's conscience."

We believe you should consider the possible final result of efforts like yours that is, a united church with the central jurisdiction or a divided church without it.

◆

¶ The following is extracted from a resolution passed by unanimous vote of the Official Board of the First Methodist Church, Ozark, Ala., March 17.—Ed.

THE board is aware of recent statements concerning racial integration, and has noted previous statements advocating racial integration in our church literature.

This board is of the unanimous opinion that such expressions and statements are theories more properly confined to the fields of politics and sociology, and have no place in the literature and teaching of our church.

The board earnestly, fervently, and sincerely believes that such statements impair, undermine, and destroy the reputation, standing and prestige of our church; and as such gravely impairs its Christian strength and effectiveness.

We suggest, and most urgently request, that any person, minister, superintendent, bishop, or any other paid or unpaid official, or teacher, who propounds such theory and practice, be immediately dismissed, completely, from the services of the church; including Dr. Claude H. Thompson, and others now known.

A copy of this resolution [will] be sent to the officials of the Methodist Church, and the Candler School of Theology who are concerned herewith. All churches in this conference are urged to take some action to stem the irresponsible, uninformed, and un-Christian men who through their ignorance and personal bias threaten dissolution and destruction of our beloved South.

Copies [will also] be sent to the official boards of this conference; other churches in Ozark, Ala.; the Methodist Publishing House; the *Alabama Christian Advocate*, and other newspaper publications, etc., in Alabama; and to Justice Hugo Black.

Black Whites

Advertiser P.4-a

Recent letters to *Grandma* reflect a popular misconception—that Ethiopian and Negro are one and the same. The correspondence has revolved around Moses' marriage to an Ethiopian woman.

Sun. 3-17-57

Montgomery, Ala.

As to that, there is no question. The 12th Chapter of *Numbers* opens:

"And Miriam and Aaron spake against Moses because of the Ethiopian woman whom he had married: for he had married an Ethiopian woman."

For this, Miriam and Aaron were rebuked by Jehovah. Miriam was smitten with leprosy and healed only at Moses' intercession.

But all the evidence points to the fact that the Ethiopian wife of Moses was not a Negro.

Undoubtedly, in popular usage, Ethiopian and Negro are synonymous. But authoritative sources refute this.

The ancient Ethiopians are generally held to have been a Hamitic race. According to authority, the Hamites were widely spread over North Africa, taking in the ancient Egyptians and "the principal Ethiopian tribes." This source tells us that "ethnologists universally class the Hamites as Caucasians," though a paradox to us, it should be remembered that dark-skinned Caucasians are olive, or bronze, dark olive, or "even black."

As for the modern Ethiopians, they are of Semitic and Hamitic descent.

It appears that Moses' Ethiopian wife may have had a black skin, but that she was definitely not a Negro. If this seems

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Thurs. 3-21-57 P. 4-a

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

Church Reconstruction Fund

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—A committee has been named to solicit funds for the rebuilding of the four Negro churches which were recently bombed. Heading this committee is the Rev. J. W. Bonner, pastor of the First Christian Methodist Episcopal Church. Associated with him as secretary is the Rev. Harold A. L. Clement, pastor of the Mt. Zion AME Zion Church; the Revs. H. H. Hubbard, treasurer; J. W. Hayes, R. H. Johnson and S. S. Seay are the other members of the committee.

In making the appeal for contributions, Rev. Bonner states:

"The great task facing the city of Montgomery is to rebuild the edifices wrecked or partially wrecked by the thoughtless deeds of a minority lawless group of our community. These acts of violence have been publicly and privately condemned by those law-abiding citizens of good will who will feel a responsibility to assist in the restoring of the damaged buildings to usefulness.

"The responsible citizens of Montgomery feel the shame of these acts and are now called upon to make contributions for the restoration of those buildings which were not covered by insurance. The goal is $100,000; such restoration will involve an expenditure of approximately $60,000. It is our belief that Montgomery will respond in a commendable manner to this appeal in order that our city—known for fairness and good human relations—will again stand as a model community of good will."

All checks or postal money orders will be payable to Funds for the Reconstruction. No cash please. All contributions regardless of size will be acknowledged by receipt.

Rev. J. W. Bonner may be addressed at 657 S. Holt Street, Montgomery 8, Ala.

FUND FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION,
Rev. Harold A. L. Clement, Secretary.
Montgomery.

Law And Custom

Advertiser P. 4-a

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — May I call your attention to a fact which seems to have been overlooked by our newspaper editors, radio commentators, and other publicity agents who report the news regarding segregation on local transportation, etc.

Sun. 8-57

The fact is, I remember very clearly as a boy in the late 90s and turn of the century, when street cars were introduced in our larger cities, particularly in the city of Jacksonville, Fla., and Atlanta, Ga. Those street cars were operated at first and for several years on a non-segregated basis. Passengers of both races were permitted to sit or stand anywhere in the cars, and it was only after many disagreeable instances, created by both races, which caused the authorities to establish segregation in public street cars.

Montgomery, Ala.

Apparently, the move was a very wise one, as for the past 50 years, in the South we have had very little difficulty under such arrangement. As you know, only since an attempt on the part of outside interests to abolish this practice, we have had an unusual amount of agitation.

I just wonder if some of our young lawyers, who are arguing these cases before the Courts, have overlooked the original purpose and fact responsible for our present laws? Custom has always been a very strong argument, and many rulings of the Supreme Court of the United States have been based on custom and usage. The fact that desegregation was originally tried and used over a reasonable period before such ordinances and laws were passed, seems to establish strength and reason for the laws controlling this subject.

C. W. BARTLESON.

Fort Myers, Fla.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Fri. 3-29-57 P. 4-a

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

The Supreme Court, Not Dr. King, Should Be Canonized

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Dr. Charles H. Thompson [of Emory University, Atlanta] has at long last defended his benevolent action in endowing Rev. M. L. King with sainthood but his statement contains many weaknesses and irregularities.

As has already been pointed out, this is likely the first instance in history where a professor in a Methodist institution has pronounced sainthood in "man's church" upon a Baptist in accordance with Roman Catholic standards. It is believed that all members of these three large religious bodies who believe in the risen Christ will reject this theory of the church as being founded upon human personality.

It has also been pointed out that the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court alone, and not the boycott, was the determining factor that produced the change in seating on city buses. Therefore, if there has been an "attestable miracle" as Dr. Thompson alleges then the nine justices of the Supreme Court should rightfully wear the "saintly crown." Their disregard of the expressed will of a majority, legal precedent, and tradition in this and similar cases indicates they might not find this unusual procedure for obtaining sainthood objectionable. Otherwise there probably will be other candidates for Dr. Thompson's blessings.

Dr. Thompson has also given all credit to Rev. King for the absence of violence throughout the boycott. This fact was due in larger measure to the mutual understanding, good-will, kindly feeling and cooperation of which the fabric of race relations was woven in Montgomery long before Rev. King appeared on the scene.

Rev. King has achieved some notable success which may not have come to the attention of Dr. Thompson.

He has in a short space of time come to enjoy financial prosperity and a certain prestige obviously beyond that of any other minister in Montgomery. Jesus refused great wealth and worldly acclaim in resisting the temptation of the devil in the wilderness. He also warned his disciples of the evils of accepting great reward for their ministry.

By his public utterances in all parts of the country Rev. King has succeeded in creating more confusion, misunderstanding and bitterness toward the South than has existed in many years, thus nullifying the years of effort to restore a spirit of unity to a nation torn asunder by an internal conflict. This attitude belies his public professions of love and forgiveness of his enemies which are the essence of the teachings of Jesus.

Rev. King stated before the platform committee of the Democratic Convention last year that there has been a "complete breakdown of law and order in Montgomery, Ala." He had at that time launched the movement to destroy the segregation laws on city buses. His continued disregard for "law and order" is evident in a more recent public statement of his intent to work for the further destruction of other laws of segregation which are the will of the majority. When questioned about obedience to the Roman law, by which he was finally sentenced to death, Jesus said, "Render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's."

Rev. King is at long last gaining some success in breaking down the long-standing goodwill between races in Montgomery. More and more people are recognizing the ultimate objectives of the Negro movement which extend far beyond their humble petition for so-called civil rights. While I know of no single instance of a Negro being discharged for activity in the movement, they are finding it more difficult to find employment. One Negro recently stated the opinion that there were more unemployed Negroes in Montgomery now than at any time in the last 20 years. Furthermore, they are finding that the traditional hand-outs from their white friends to pay rent, doctor bills and court fines are no longer so readily obtainable.

Whether or not these accomplishments merit for Rev. King the title of "saint" is not known, but they have beyond question established him as a great leader. According to legend the Pied Piper of Hamlin also acquired a large following. The fruits or failures of leadership may well be determined by the direction which it takes.

Montgomery. A. W. F.

★ Tell It ★
To Old Grandma

Advertiser
Montgomery Ala.

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Adv. 10-25-57

A Minister's Views

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Since my "Little Rock" letter appeared in your *Grandma* column recently many of my friends have encouraged me to write as a minister some of my convictions. Though I write this as a minister, I emphasize that it is a representation of personal views and convictions. My church is not involved in any way.

Several years ago you ran an editorial in which you were quite critical of some minister who was leading a political effort to outlaw the sale of alcoholic beverages in his county. You specifically accused the brother of "fishing in a goldfish bowl." By this I understand that a minister by reason of his official position and of the traditional respect accorded him as a spiritual leader of Christ's Church, has a distinct advantage in such efforts if he chooses to use it in that way.

I agree with you. The minister must use care in the selection of the things he "gets behind." I believe he should never become involved in political movements or programs.

This is the thing that concerns me most about the integration scourge that is sweeping our country like a bobby soxer fad. The promotion of integration has now become a national political issue of the first magnitude, an issue on which sincere and honest Christians differ greatly, and an issue which threatens not only to divide our country and destroy the peace and unity of our nation, but because some of our church leaders insist on lending the influence of the church to its promotion it threatens also to disrupt the peace, unity and usefulness of our churches.

So many of our Negro brethren have prostituted their churches to the support of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a political organization the chief purpose of which is the promotion of integration. They exploited to the fullest the courtesy and respect of our people for the church and its ministers. Their sanctuaries have become pawns of the NAACP, meeting places protected by law as churches. Their ministers have been pushed out in front wherever danger was feared, with the idea that as ministers they will have special protection and special consideration.

Of course this works for awhile, until the new wears off and people realize they are being duped. Finaly they begin to be treated like the politicians they have become. People who fish in goldfish bowls must also take care, for goldfish bowls are easily broken. A church sanctuary *can* be regarded as an obnoxious political headquarters. A grave warning is seen in the bombing of the church building in Montgomery during the bus boycott. Of course, this was wrong. But so is it wrong to prostitute the house of God to political purposes and bring reproach upon the name of Christ and His Church. And the really big ones don't come in goldfish bowls.

It was a queer feeling I had when I noted the following development of the integration movement. The Supreme Court issued its Black Monday decision. Then immediately the churches began to bestir themselves. They said, "We must begin at once to be leaders in this movement. Civic and political leaders are showing us up. It is beginning to appear that they are more Christian and are showing more courage in this matter than our churches and church leaders." From that time on the movement has "snowballed." I have but one observation to make.

The churches are not leaders in it yet, nor ever will be. Whether right or wrong, they lost that opportunity about a hundred years ago. They are merely following the lead of the politicians. They're "on the bandwagon."

ARE our church leaders promoting integration for the same purposes as are the politicians? I merely ask. They now claim the authority for the Bible for their stand, and they strongly assert the responsibility of church members to support the law of the land represented by the unlawful ruling of the Supreme Court. They often slurringly insinuate that those who do not go along with them are following the path of least resistance and doing the popular thing. I would merely ask, Who is on the bandwagon? If they are preaching integration now because the Bible teaches it, where were their Bibles before the Supreme Court ruling? Before it became the accepted thing to do? Did they have to wait for a Supreme Court "interpretation?"

Moreover, we would call on them to show from Scripture that Jesus ever taught the promotion of the Kingdom of God by revamping the social order. Every attempt to redeem man by massse has failed. The classical example is that before the flood, the end of which was a classic failure that ended with the flood. God's only successful plan, the plan He yet follows, is that in which He begins with one man, Abraham, and his family. Redemption continues to be an individual matter. Each man must make the Great Decision for himself. It concerns a man's personal relationship with his God.

Christianity is able to sweeten every relationship of life. It transcends every barrier of offense without the necessity of destroying social barriers and customs, so as to remove the offense.

SOME of our political and church leaders are dealing with fantasy and theories. The southerner knows he is faced with stark reality. The products integration will be more of the "sample" we had in the capital's schools, only infinitely worse. Many of us would rather our children should be illiterate than basely immoral.

The next big question at stake is states rights and civil liberties. If we lose these, we have lost our democracy and our traditional freedoms. Thanks to Gov. Faubus we have received "samples" of these also. Was there ever such a mockery as his trial, at which Judge Davies acted as judge and jury in a case involving himself on an issue about which he was most certainly prejudiced. Yet in this trial we have the decision for every civil rights case to come before a federal district court when, and if the showdown ever comes.

REV. OLIVER N. HAMBY,
Pastor Hayneville Presbyterian Church.
Hayneville, Ala.

★ Tell It ★
To Old Grandma

Advertiser

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Montgomery, Ala.

The South's Pearl Harbor

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — The sneak attack the Japs pulled on Pearl Harbor has faded into insignificance since the President's sneak attack on Little Rock.

If the President thought to make a laughing stock of the South before the whole world, his scheme fell short of the mark for his rash act boomeranged. The only thing he accomplished was to drag the Republican banner in the dust for many years to come and fill the hearts of thousands of peace loving citizens with righteous indignation. He didn't take time to consider that we are 48 United States and if the rights of one state are abused, the other 47 states will sympathize.

We people of the South have obeyed the decree of our God for lo, these many years and the only way we could do it and keep our race pure was through segregation.

Adv. 10-29-57

The northern agitators seem to think that our segregation law applies only to the colored race but it is just as binding on the white race. If we can obey the segregation law, stay in our place, respect and apply the Golden Rule to our colored people, we expect them to do the same. Segregation law is not grievous, but is a protection for both races for it keeps down the shedding of blood.

MRS. PEARL HOWARD.
Rt. 2, Tallassee, Ala.

◆

One Nation

Editor, The Advertiser:

There was a crowd of us watching TV and when the American Flag was shown some one said: "Down with that rag. Up with the Confederate flag." It was all facetious, of course, but it revealed the resentment of a Southerner who was outraged that our President had betrayed us by sending troops to one of our southern states, thereby proclaiming himself not the President of the people, but the President of the Negroes and the northern states.

I reacted in true feminine fashion: Protective and possessive feelings surged through me at the thought of our beautiful flag being no longer ours and a new one blowing in its place, even the Confederate flag under which our beloved Southland fought so bravely and so hopelessly. The American flag is not yankee flag. Our ancestors, fathers and sons fought as valiantly and shed as much blood for this flag as our yankee countrymen. We have been taught to love and revere our American flag since we were old enough to go to school.

I love the South, but I also love my country, and I want to remain a part of the United States. Too much Southern blood has been shed in defending it and too much money has been taken from us in federal taxes not to feel this pride of owership. The *Stars & Stripes* is ours. And the Constitution of the United States is ours also, even though there are those who have twisted it, diluted it, and adulterated it with their own conceit and ignorance so that it is hardly resognizable to us. White Southern people are not a minority race (perhaps we would fare better if we were), and we are tired of being treated as if we have no country to call our home.

Montgomery. MRS. L. M. N.

◆

Integration Vote

Editor, The Advertiser:

Why must any state be forced into integration, as is being done in Arkansas, especially if a state does not want it?

Let the states manage their own affairs on such problems as integration. Why not put it to a vote of the people of each state?

As for equal rights and privileges for the Negro, they had both in their own schools.

ELMO MENETREE.
Oklahoma City, Okla.

★ Tell It ★
To Old Grandma

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

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Wed. 10-9-57

The South's Plight

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Seeing that in the United States of America, a democracy is a form of government run entirely by minorities, which dictate to the majority, it may be that the political solution of the South does rest in its becoming a persistent minority—a sectional party.

P. 4-A

It should have selfrespect enough to vote for its own interests and the preservation of the white race. It is still true that the Lord helps those who help themselves. We "illiberal" reactionaries would-be "economic royalists," and stand-patters of the South should form a third party to represent the South. At least it would have strong bargaining powers in the congressional and other political worlds. The Negro is at least intelligent enough and well enough led to vote for his own interests, unlike the dumb ox Anglo-Saxon of the South who is dictated to by a handful of contriving and me-first politicians. Has Dixie become a section in which everyone fears something or somebody?

With the storm troopers and the brown shirts and the gestapo here, with union army troops and the Freedman's Bureau in operation again, with their forces aided and abetted by local collaborationists and Quislings, the South had better begin defending itself by forming a third party. Going Republican occasionally is only a flash in the pan, and is discounted as a passing phenomenon by professional politicians. If we do not give this country to the Russians first, then this country will rule the world; and if the courted Negro rules this country, as well he may, the Negro will rule the world too..

Shall the Caucasian race be destroyed by miscegenation, amalgamation, mongrelization? White races that required thousands of years of applied genetics, eugenics, selective breeding to form? In talking of cultures and capacities, let us not forget that the Negro in his habitat had never discovered a single principle upon which civilization and industry are based; namely, the lever, the inclined plane, the screw, the wheel, the wedge, and pulley (block and tackle).

On the other hand, the American and Central American and South American Indian, and all Asiatic peoples had acquired enlightenment thousands of years ago.

We who wanted a change at Washington got one! But what price change! We sadly and without affection or warmth or enthusiasm, voted for the sacrosanct Ike. We knew Eisenhower was not fitted by any civil administrative experience to be President; no, not fitted, but we did think he was fit to be. And now a military despotism at Little Rock.

It is a pity that some of this ferocity cannot be meted out to Russia. Or is the invasion of Little Rock a warning to the Russians? J. L. BROWN.

Gadsden, Ala.

◆

Remember Little Rock

Editor, The Advertiser:

I want to commend a letter headed "The South As A Minority," written by J. L. Kimbro, which appeared in "Tell It To Old Grandma" of *The Advertiser* Sept. 26.

It was well written and should act as warning to all of the Southern states voters to vote as a bloc against our enemies, the communists, NAACP, ADA, anti-segregationists, etc., and let this be our battle cry: "Remember Bayoneted Little Rock."

The Southern states, God being our maker, are going to get together in the near future and work out just what will be done to preserve our way of life. We will not yield to Dictator Ike or any other dictator. The nine old hoot owls squatting on the Supreme Court cannot amend, add to, or take from our American Constitution, nor the United States Congress. For only we, the people, have that authority.

Montgomery.

W. F. TURNER,
Presidential Elector.

The Riot Training Order

The Washington Evening Star

Advertiser
Montgomery Ala.

ARMY Secretary Brucker's response to Sen. Byrd's request for information on the "stepped-up riot training" order is an exceptionally high-handed suppression of facts which should be made public.

In saying this, we assume that Sen. Byrd was not merely seeking information, but that he would also have used the facts to expose a situation which might be embarrassing to the Army. Even if this is true, however, it does not justify the arbitrary stand which Secretary Brucker has taken.

Wed. 10-10-57

The order for stepped-up riot training was issued to unspecified Southern troop commands by an unidentified Pentagon official. Sensitive to the political implications of the issuance of such an order, against the background of Little Rock, Mr. Brucker promptly countermanded it. Now, presumably still sensitive to the political implications, the Army secretary is trying to bottle up the whole business.

For our part, if federal troops are to be used to enforce school integration in the South, and this evidently is the case, we think special training to handle disorderly crowds would be useful. Presumably, however, since Mr. Brucker has canceled the order, he does not think this training is needed and the troops will not get it.

Sen. Byrd, as a member of the Armed Services Committee, asked for a copy of the order, the name of the person who authorized it and the name of its signer. He also wanted to know such things as what special training was involved, what areas were to be affected and whether any other such order had been issued since Reconstruction days. Secretary Brucker replied that "it would be incompatible with the public interest" to disclose the contents of the order, and said that the other information requested is so closely related to the order itself that it, too, could not be disclosed.

This is a transparent cover-up attempt, and what it really means, we think, is that disclosure of the order really would be embarrassing to the Army and to its author. But embarrassment of the Army, or of some individual, is not necessarily incompatible with the public interest. We suspect that Mr. Brucker, although he has bottled up this bit of information for the moment, is going to find it very difficult to keep the cork in the bottle

Little Rock

[The following is a sampling of editorial comment in Arkansas newspapers on the presence of federal troops in Little Rock.—Ed.]

Advertiser

Historical Date

Fort Smith Southwest American

SEPT. 24, 1957 may long be remembered . . . as the day state sovereignty was declared not to exist.

P. 2-B

◆

The Mob Must Be Quelled

Hot Springs Sentinel Record

THE sending of federal troops to Little Rock and the subsequent violent scenes of last Wednesday are deplorable but no more so than the riotous incidents which came before. . . . there is no denying the situation was out of hand. The federal troops came and they enforced orders bitter is the dose may have been for law-abiding Arkansas citizens. . . a lot of us don't agree with the 1954 United States Supreme Court decision but violence and mob rule will not nullify that ruling.

Montgomery Ala.

Ike Doesn't Understand

Texarkana Gazette

WE HAVE felt all day as if we were having a bad dream. It just couldn't be true that our President should be so ill-advised that he would send into a sovereign state federal troops armed with bayonets to force upon its people a situation which is so distasteful to them that they find it impossible to accept it with any semblance of good will. We do not doubt the sincerity of the President but what he does not seem to understand is that a great majority of the white people of the South are not willing at this time to accept a law made by nine men whom they had no opportunity to vote for or against.

Sun. 9-29-57

Faubus Asked For It

Arkansas Gazette

THE DAY Orval Faubus put armed and uniformed men around Central High under his personal order to nullify the order of a United States district court he invited a show of federal force. When he refused to accept the conciliatory gestures of a mild and patient President he made such a show certain. Now we have it.

◆

Bayonets For Integration

El Dorado News

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER based his decision to dispatch troops on violence, but the forces appear to be in Little Rock for another definite purpose —to see that there is no delay whatsoever in integration efforts. We believe the citizens of Little Rock, like all good Americans, are opposed to mob action and that they want the capital city to continue as a law-abiding community. . . . It would appear that possibly state power is being sidetracked entirely and that probably some federal provisions are being stretched somewhat.

NEWSMAN CITES PRESSURE BY U. S.

New York Times

Says Editor Was Prodded to Order His Return From Red China

Sat. 3-30-57

By C. P. TRUSSELL

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, March 29—A Baltimore News correspondent who entered Communist China in defiance of a United States ban, testified today that the State Department had put pressure on his editor to order him home.

William Worthy, foreign correspondent for The Baltimore Afro-American, asserted under further questioning that "a very reputable source" told him that the State Department had put similar pressure on the Columbia Broadcasting System to keep him off the air.

Mr. Worthy remained in Communist China for the duration of his thirty-day visa given by the Red Government. Columbia Broadcasting System, he added, carried his broadcasts. His United States passport has expired and has not been renewed, he said.

He told the Senate subcommittee on Constitutional Rights that he wanted his passport renewed. He added, "I want it now."

The episode of the Worthy passport has become a sharp issue between the State Department and a large segment of the nation's press.

Political Aspects Charged

Five spokesmen for newsgathering organizations testified today. They charged that freedom of the press had been violated. They noted that the Secretary of State was authorized by law to control he granting of passports. But political considerations have crept into the use of this authority, they said.

This broad grant, they contended, has been carried too far. Further, they said, a Secretary of State overburdened with the problems of peace and war cannot possibly give full personal attention as to who should get passports.

It was suggested that Secretary John Foster Dulles might welcome a narrowing of his broad authority to clear-cut regulations.

The testimony included recomendations that Congress draw up rules as to which applicant for travel privileges could go where. There have been court tests of State Department denials of passports, it was brought out, and the department has followed court rulings.

However, it was contended, the due process of law demanded by the Constitution has been granted thus far only in cases involving alleged Communists. Those not so accused, it was held, still lack this constitutional right under the authority given the Secretary of State.

The witnesses said that the State Department apparently had overlooked or bypassed the Constitution. In effect, they said, travel was beong controlled by caprice or at international political levels. It was a clear case of censorship, some witnesses held.

Witnesses included J. Russell Wiggins, executive editor of The Washington Post and Times Herald, speaking as secretary of the American Society of Newspaper Editors; Victor Lasky, chairman of the Freedom of the Press Committee of the Overseas Press Club; Joseph F. Collis, president of the American Newspaper Guild, and William D. Patterson, associate publisher of The Saturday Review. Edward J. Ennis appeared as general counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Democrat of Wyoming, said State Department spokesmen would be called in next Thursday to explain the ban against correspondents going to Red China on invitation.

One of the principal witnesses, it was indicated, will be Robert Murphy, Deputy Under Secretary of State for political affairs. Mr. Worthy said he had been told that Mr. Murphy guided the pressure put upon his editor, Cliff W. Mackay, and on C. B. S.

Editor Confirms Call

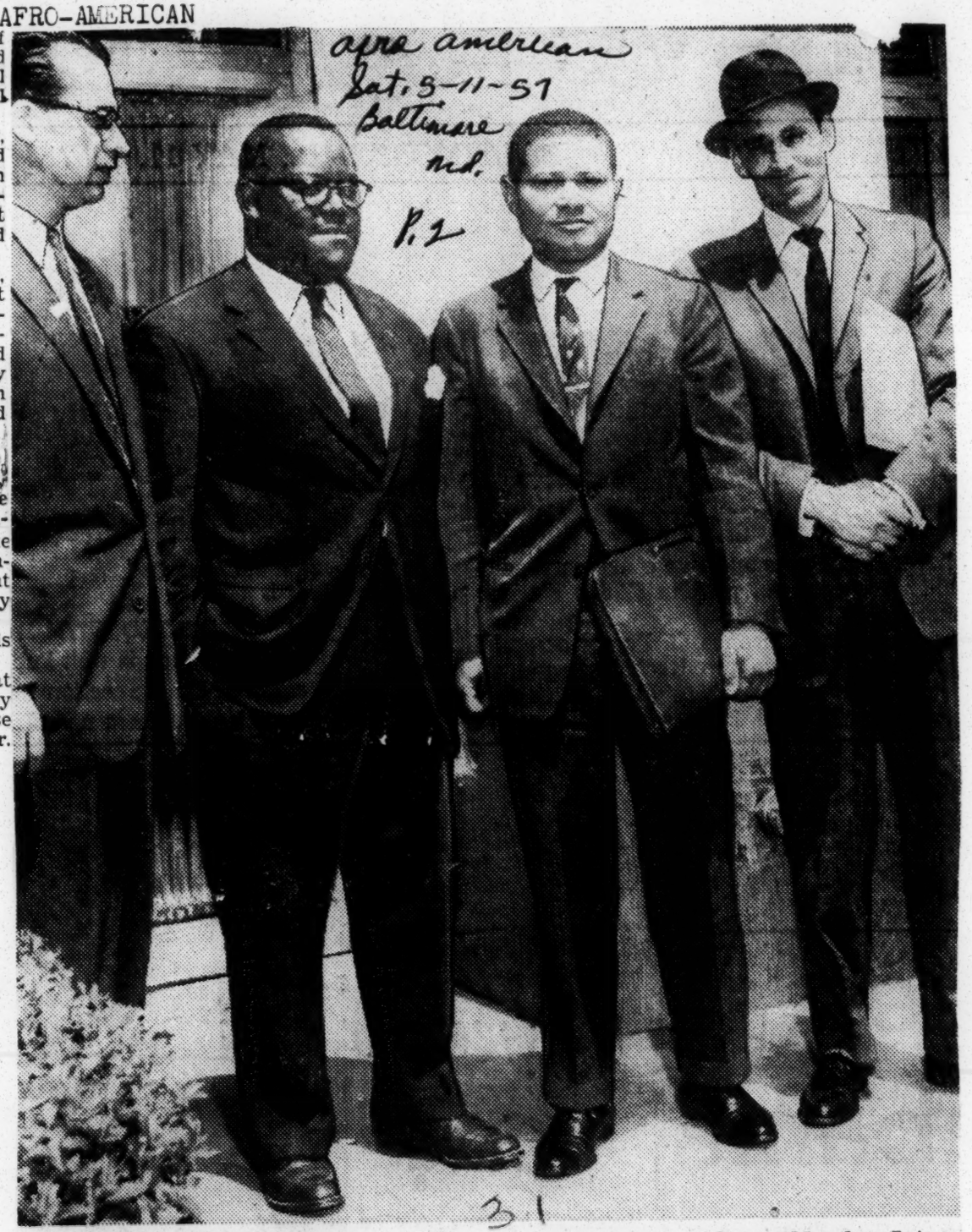
Mr. McKay, editor of The Baltimore Afro-American, confirmed last night by telephone that he had been called to Washington by the State Department and urged to recall Mr. Worthy from China.

He did not comply with this request.

Mr. McKay said, however, that no pressure was put on him by the State Department not to use any of the stories that Mr. Worthy filed from China.

Associated Press Wirephoto

DEMANDS PASSPORT: William Worthy, who defied a State Department ruling to visit Communist China, testifies at Senate subcommittee inquiry into State Department passport policies.



afro american Sat. 5-11-57 Baltimore Md. P. 2

PASSPORT FIGHT BEGINS — William Worthy, AFRO foreign correspondent, second from right, with lawyers and editor as he emerged from the Passport Bureau in Washington where the fight to get his passport renewed began Monday. L to r, Rowland Watts, American Civil Liberties Union counsel; Cliff W. Mackay, AFRO editor; Mr. Worthy, and William Kuntsler, attorney.

Worthy calls minority group custodian of U.S. democracy

afro american Sat. 5-11-57 P. 2

Baltimore, Md

WASHINGTON

Asks Apology To Worthy

Afro American

Newsman William Worthy, who last year went to China, in spite of a State Department ban, last week, paid tribute to colored Americans as the nation's only minority which has not been silent when its civil liberties have been restricted or denied.

The reporter for the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers, who is currently a Neiman fellow at Harvard University, spoke at the annual banquet of the College of Liberal Arts at Howard University.

During the program 60 students were honored for outstanding achievement during their stay at Howard.

* * *

MR. WORTHY was making his second appearance of the week in Washington. On Monday he had appealed to State Department officials to release his passport which had been lifted following his return from Red China.

He saw the government action as but one of many restrictions of civil liberties imposed by the United States in recent years.

In reference to the late Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.), whose death had been announced just minutes before Mr. Worthy's address, the reporter said:

"In this atmosphere of subdued McCarthyism, the colored American did not fall for the things for which McCarty stood. In fact, they have become the custodians of the things for which American democracy stands."

Mr. Worthy said that oppressed peoples all over the world are tired of being servile. The colored citizens of Montgomery are not afraid of being bombed; the nationalists of Algeria are not afraid of being strafed and the masses of Hungary are not afraid of Russian tanks, he added.

* * *

THE REPORTER also took the American white press to task for not taking a stronger stand in the defense of civil liberties.

"By bowing to the edict of the State Department the daily press has forfeited its right to call the Red press government - controlled," he said, "it's just another case of the pot calling the kettle black."

Mr. Worthy said that when a newspaper submits to censorship and restriction, even if voluntarily, the principle of the free press has been violated. He saw the colored press as a guardian of this basic right.

He told of his publisher's refusal to recall him from Red China following such a request from the State Department.

HE ALSO told of the refusal by colored papers in general to "play down" stories of discrimination and segregation during World War II, even after the Office of War Information had strongly urged that it be done.

"The fact that the FBI visited many of these papers in an effort to intimidate them did not frighten these editors," he said. "It only led to stronger stories."

As for his personal behavior in deciding on travel in Red China, Mr. Worthy declared, "Any individaul has the right to say 'no' to any government at some point, lest in the future all of his rights will be denied him."

Among those honored at the banquet were three juniors who will tour foreign countries this summer as recipients of Experiment in International Living Scholarships.

They are James W. Brown of Central Islip, L.I., N.Y., who will go to England; Miss June T. Mitchell of Gatesville, N.C., to Italy, and Donald Worden of Pittsburgh, to India.

Wed. 12-13-57

WASHINGTON — Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney (Dem., Wyo.), Friday, declared the U.S. State Department "owes an apology" to AFRO-AMERICAN reporter William Worthy for testimony "intended to show he had been jailed for refusing to go to a conscientious objectors camp" during World War II.

Reached in Chicago, where he went to speak at a meeting held by the American Civil Liberties Union, Worthy said he refused to go to a CO camp in 1943 on the grounds that there was racial discrimination in assigning men to such camps.

Baltimore, Md

He says there was no charge of draft dodging or evasion in relation to the matter and that the Department of Justice dropped prosecution "rather than face a court test on the racial discrimination issue" and "after it learned that I was eligible for a 4-F exemption for a duodenal ulcer."

* * *

SENATOR O'MAHONEY said Worthy's statement "completely disposes of the allegation" and that Worthy's reputation as a citizen is "unsullied."

The draft dodging charge was made the previous day by Robert Cartwright, acting director of the State Department's Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, in attempting to justify the department's denial of a renewal of a passport to the reporter, who has served the AFRO as a foreign correspondent.

Worthy covered the African-Asian Conference in Bandung, he has traveled extensively in Africa, the Far East and Russia; but he earned the ire of the State Department when he visited Communist China, last year, against a directive of that department ordering newsmen not to avail themselves of the invitation of Chinese officials to visit that country.

* * *

WHAT MR. CARTWRIGHT's charge of draft evasion had to do with the question of freedom of information and travel was not made clear by the security officer.

However, Sen. Roman L. Hruska (Rep., Neb.), a member of the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee holding hearings on the passport denial case, said he would ask the body to obtain a full report of the draft proceedings which took place in order to "set the record straight."

* * *

OBVIOUSLY INCENSED at the bringing up of the matter, Senator O'Mahoney further said:

"The charge against Worthy is a side issue, which was apparently brought up by the State Department for the purpose of diverting attention from the basic issue.

"That issue is whether the American press is entitled to send its accredited representatives to any area of the world in which the interests of the American people are at stake."

Sat 12-13-57

THE AMERICAN Civil Liberties Union, which is affording Worthy legal advice, said Friday that the statement by the State Department official in Washingon concerning the reporter was "an effort to befuddle the basic issue in the correspondent's test of the department's power to dictate where American newsmen may travel abroad."

Mr. Worthy, in a statement to AFRO Editor Cliff Mackay, said:

"At this late date, the State Department is trying to becloud the issue of freedom of movement and freedom of the press by raising an irrelevant matter on which I publically took a principled position.

"WITH EQUAL irrevelance to the issue of renewing my passport, State Department officials neglected to reveal what their curious minds would probably regard as the skeleton to beat all skeletons in a family's closet.

"In 1916, five years before I was born, my grandmother who has been dead since 1935, was arrested in Boston for picketing the motion picture, Birth of a Nation.'

"She was also charged with slapping a policeman's face while protesting this filmed glorification of white supremacy.

"This offense in the twisted logic of John Foster Dulles and Scott McLeod, which happened decades ago, no doubt makes me doubly ineligible for a passport."

Flash News In Brief

Afro-American 31

The Happiest News of The Week

Baltimore, Md. Apr 27-29-57

PHILADELPHIA—The Philadelphia Teachers' Association last week elected **Mrs. Edna Westbury Griffin** a teacher at Harrison Public School, as president of the association. Mrs. Griffin, the first of her race to hold the office, has been a member of the Philadelphia school system for the past 34 years. For the past three years she has served as second vice president of the group which has a membership of 7,500 teachers.

CLINTON, Tenn. — Bobby Cain, 17, the only senior among the 12 colored students admitted to Clinton High School following its integration last September, received his diploma at commencement exercises Friday night. Since admission of the pupils amid scenes of disorder last August, two have moved away, three have dropped out, one has been expelled and one has graduated.

WASHINGTON— The President's Committee on Government Contracts this week reported "initial progress" in the hiring of eight colored workers, three in skilled jobs, by the ERCO electronics plant at Riverdale, Md. The firm was cited to the committee in September, 1955, as holding government contracts while following racially discriminatory hiring policies.

OWENSBORO, Ky.— The Owensboro Board of Education last week took its second step toward integration of the city schools with announcement that junior high school grades 7 to 9 will be open to all next fall. The high schools were integrated in September.

WASHINGTON—The integrated Washington Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church (USA) voted recently to include in its organization the colored Presbytery of Southern Virginia, a unit with churches in eight Virginia counties. The vote was taken following an invitation to the Washington Presbytery to extend its boundaries made by the colored unit. The step must be approved, however, by the Baltimore Synod and the General Assembly of the denomination which meets next year.

Worthy Files Brief

Afro-American

NEW YORK, N.Y. — Secretary of State Dulles' refusal to permit American reporters to travel to unauthorized countries is "arbitrary, unreasonable, and unwise and violates two fundamental constitutional concepts, freedom of the press and the right to travel," newsman William Worthy Jr. argued Tuesday.

Baltimore Md. 4-8-57

Attorneys assigned by the American Civil Liberties Union submitted a memorandum of law and fact to the State Department's Passport Office urging reversal of the Department's refusal to renew Worthy's passport.

The AFRO-AMERICAN correspondent lost his passport following his travel to Communist China and Hungary last winter, despite the State Department's ban on visits to those countries.

He appealed the decision and was given an informal hearing on April 29.

* * *

THE MEMORANDUM, prepared by ACLU cooperating attorney William M. Kunstler and ACLU staff counsel Rowland Watts, supplements the argument at the hearing. The ACLU has pledged Worthy full legal assistance in challenging the State Department's decision.

Asserting that since 1865 the State Department considered the granting of passports a matter of absolute discretion within the executive branch of government, the memorandum notes that "without any expressed delegation of such authority, the State Department has become the supreme arbiter as to whether a person should be permitted to travel abroad for legitimate purposes."

However, Worthy's attorneys argued, since 1952 the federal courts have been curtailing the Department's power and "the net result of these cases has been to emphasize that the Federal courts are inclined to regard the right to travel abroad as a constitutional right rather than a privilege bestowed upon the citizen in the Department's discretion."

Afro-American

THE WORTHY memorandum contends that the State Department's action is an "administrative invasion of the freedom of press guarantees of the Constitution," denies the American public access to news developments about Communist China and improperly uses the press as an instrument of foreign policy.

Baltimore Md. 4-8-57

The memorandum rejects Secretary Dulles' statement that freedom of the press relates only to publication of news, not the gathering of information, expressed on April 30, in a letter to New York Times publisher Arthur Hayes Sulzberger.

"This statement, if true," the memorandum asserts, "would amount to a complete perversion of the freedom of the press guarantees of the Constitution."

* * *

ARGUING VIGOROUSLY against the press being used as an instrument of foreign policy, the memorandum said that to permit this is "to threaten a a decision that such action would be beneficial even to the most nebulous foreign policy.

"News coverage cannot be regulated by foreign policy fluctuations without laying the cornerstone for governmental press control, too tragically often in the recent past the first step on the road to tyranny."

On the positive side, the memorandum stated, there are many cogent arguments in favor of permitting newsmen to enter Communist China and other off-limit countries.

* * *

"UNDER THE present restrictions American news media must rely on Peking sources, which are usually propaganda relay stations, or dispatches from foreign reporters who are not particularly concerned with American interests.

"The only other alternative is to rely on State Department news releases unless the press is willing to ignore China completely. Whichever tack is taken, the American public must remain woefully ignorant as to a major area of foreign policy application."

Noting Secretary Dulles' statement that he was prepared to modify his absolute position to allow a reporters pool to enter Communist China as an experiment, the memorandum said that while this has been uniformly condemned by the news media it is an attempt to retreat from an untenable position.

"Perhaps Mr. Worthy's case, which presents a ready-made opportunity to remove the ban completely, will be so used by Mr. Dulles," the memorandum stated.

WHAT AFRO READERS SAY - - -

Afro-American Jul 6-15-57 P4 Baltimore Md.

"I wholly disapprove of what you say but will defend to the death your right to say it." — Voltaire on Helvetiu

RE: FATHER DIVINE

Philadelphia — Retribution is certain to overtake the AFRO for printing those vicious lies told about Father Divine by Bishop Grace.

Father has never said anything mean or bad about the bishop, so why should he stick verbal daggers into Divine, whose very life embodies, love, compassion, purity and forgiveness.

SISTER HARMONY

Newark — I never would have believed the AFRO would stoop to such a journalistic low as to print that story about Father Divine.

He is unquestionably the greatest leader of our time and has done more than any other single individual to bring about unity, understanding and peace between the races.

If America would only follow Father Divine's precepts there would be no more wars, there would be no bombings and terror in the South, there would be no more colonialism.

Father Divine's spirit is the spirit of God.

(Mrs.) MATILDA OWENS

New York — With so many more important things going on in the world, I am disappointed that my favorite newspaper wastes valuable time and space to detail the doings of such characters as Father Divine and Daddy Grace.

Neither may be dead, but they have had it and their day is over.

We are moving into a bright new integrated world and it behooves all of us to focus our attention on truth and reality, not fakery and humbug.

If newspapers would just stop giving these cult leaders to much publicity, their weakening hold on some of our people would soon crumble away.

WILLIAM TORRENCE

Baltimore — It looks like the showdown struggle between two religious leaders, Father Divine and Bishop Grace has come to the surface.

You can look for all sorts of charges and counter charges to fill the air. Many 'heavens' will probably change hands before peace comes.

But I'm betting my money that when the air is once again cleared, Bishop Grace will emerge from the affray the victor, stronger in mind, stronger in body and stronger in pocketbook than his aging rival.

JULIA CLAYTON

SEND ONE DOLLAR

New York — Now Texas has struck its blow at NAACP.

First it was Louisiana.

Then Alabama — and a $100,000 fine.

Then a Texas temporary injunction last fall, with a permanent injunction issued just two weeks ago.

Meanwhile, Virginia and seven other states passed special laws aimed at crippling or outlawing the NAACP.

The Southern States are making war on our Association. They want to keep segregation and inequality. They are using all weapons: injunctions, special laws, slander, mobs, bombs and other violence.

This war has cut off funds we would normally have received from the states where we are barred. We desperately need these funds (a) to carry forward the program and (b) to carry on the bare-knuckle fight for survival.

(We are appealing in Alabama, Louisiana and Texas; we are in court in Virginia and Georgia; other states are waiting to jump at us so that new cases will be coming up.)

As a minimum, the National Office would have received one dollar per member, from the "battle area." About 83,000 members have been cut off.

We know you are already a member and supporter of the NAACP and are doing your share, but in this emergency will you send an additional ONE DOLLAR (or as many more as you can spare) to help take up the slack?

ROY WILKINS
NAACP Executive Secretary

A DIVISIVE FORCE

New York — Racism is a most divisive force.

The struggle to eradicate its poison from the body politic strengthens the fight for adequate schools, housing, increased wages, decreased taxation and the battle to purify the moral fibre and steel the fighting spirit of the American people.

The fight to eradicate the poison of racism from foreign policy immeasurably strengthens the battle for coexistence and world peace.

Life demands of the American people an intensification of the struggle for civil rights, civil liberties and respect for human dignity.

spect for human dignity.

Failure to press forward in greater numbers and at an increased tempo will bring disastrous political defeats such as have been sustained from time to time in the struggle to pass remedial civil rights legislation.

The strength of Dixiecrats in Congress and the passivity of the Executive in the face of just demands for equality of citizenship support this conclusion.

All the prerequisites for eliminating racial restrictions through the establishment of broad unified cultural and political actions of the people exist.

Victory can be realized.

WILLIAM PATTERSON

HANDS WERE BLACK

Garden City, N.J. — After reading of the thrilling rescue of the little boy in the well, this poem seemed to come to my mind with no effort at all.

The Boy in the Well

God answered the prayers of a Nation
He spared the boy in the well
And in doing so taught us a lesson
We all should remember well
In this difficult era of tension of conflict, intolerance and strife
God sends us another message
Points the way to a richer life
Yes, He answered the prayers of a Nation
And brought the white boy back
But with Him there was no segregation
For the rescuer's hands were black.

FRANK B. SOHL

APPEAL FOR ACTION

Berea, Ky. — Integration is making progress, but far too slowly. The one agency which could do much to hasten progress, the church, is dragging its feet.

Something must be done about it.

I, as a Southern white man who has made a life's study of this problem, have undertaken to do something.

Such leaders as Dr. F. D. Patterson, formerly president of Tuskegee, now head of Phelps - Stokes Fund, and Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse College, think what I have done will help.

I have compiled the historic attitudes of eight of the larger denominations from their origin in America down to the Civil War, and then on through Reconstruction; and it appears that, bad as conditions were in that earlier period, they showed much more interest in the welfare of colored people than is shown by the present church.

On this basis I have made the stiffest appeal I could make for the present church to quit dragging its feet. Chapter ten of my book. "American Churches And the Negro" is an appeal for a new attitude and a new action.

The crisis is pressing, and some of us hope this book will help.

(Dr.) W. W. WEATHERFORD

SHE ANSWERS HARCLD

Chicago — In reference to Harold Woodhouse's letter in the June 1 issue, we have many decent colored women.

I don't know to which race he belongs. He didn't say. But I suspect he is white for he has such high respect for white women.

He surely can't be reading his daily newspaper. White women have done everything in the book except eat one another. That is why men like Harry Belafonte are getting their chance to marry them.

The colored husband is never accepted in the white family and their race. So what is there to gain? I am 100 per cent with Mrs. Elaine Campbell. Let's keep them jumping.

ALICE OATS

WANTS PEN PALS

Lagos, Nigeria — I shall be grateful if the AFRO would publish my name as one who is interested in having as many pen pals in America as possible.

I am 22 years old, of the Yoruba tribe and attended Ibadan Grammar School for five years. I am now with the Nigerian Port Authority.

My hobbies are football, photography, reading, dancing, and popular music.

TUNJI BALOGUN
37 Kakawa St., Lagos, Nigeria

'A GREAT PAPER'

Arlington, Mass. — The AFRO is a great newspaper. The June 1 issue had some guy with four wives on the front page and a real hero who saved a child on the last page.

Like I say, a great newspaper.

JAMES COOKE

SEEKS PASSPORT RENEWAL—William Worthy, second from right, special correspondent for the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers, turned in his passport to apply for its renewal from the U.S. Passport Agency in New York recently. Worthy was among three U.S. newsmen who defied the State Department by going to Red China. Worthy's attorney, William M. Kunstler. is at right.

State Department decides not to 'boil newsmen in oil'

Afro-American Sat. 3-2-57 Baltimore, Md. p.1

WASHINGTON

"We don't want to see anyone boiled in oil," a State Department official said here last week in discussing the current status of three newsmen who defied the department's ban on travel in Communist China.

The newsmen are William Worthy, special correspondent, AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers; Edward Stevens and Phillip Harrington, both of Look Magazine. Worthy and Harris are back in the States and Stevens, at his post in Moscow.

The department at one time indicated it would crack down on the newsmen with legal and administrative punishment, but the administration appears now to be ready to forget the whole matter.

Worthy applies for new passport

NEW YORK — William Worthy Jr., special AFRO correspondent recently returned from Red China, applied Monday for renewal of his passport, due to expire on March 4.

Mr. Worthy, a Neiman Fellow at Harvard University, who refused to surrender his passport to State Department officials in Budapest, turned it in here and was given a recipe for it.

He was informed it was necessary to send the passport to Washington for renewal, a process which normally takes several weeks.

Afro-American p.9

WORTHY WAS accompanied to the passport bureau by William M. Kunstler, a voluntary lawyer on the legal staff of the American Civil Liberties Union.

In addition to seeking a passport renewal, Worthy was in New York Monday evening to appear on a forum panel on "Reporting in China" at the Overseas Press Club.

Panelists besides Worthy were William B. Arthur, Look Magazine; Peggy Durdin, New York Times; Morris L. Ernest, attorney at law; Henry Lieberman, New York Times and James Wechsler, New York Post. Baltimore

David Shefrin of CBS served as moderator.

PEOPLE

F. A. THOMAS W. BROWN R. HAYDEN

C. WEAVER MRS. WILLIAMS C. CLARK

EARNS MASTER'S DEGREE

WILBERFORCE, O.—**Francis A. Thomas,** Central State College associate professor of philosophy and director of audio-visual aids, recently earned the master of education degree from Miami University.

Mr. Thomas already holds the AB degree from Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., and the B.D. degree from Yale University. Afro American

THERESA KEEPS MANAGER

NEW YORK—A contract has been signed with **William H. Brown** by the new bosses of the Hotel Theresa to be retained and again serve as general manager of Harlem's leading hotel. Sat. 2-23-57

Mr. Brown, who has an intensive background in housing and hotel management, was formerly general manager of the Hotel Theresa for eight years.

POEMS IN DUTCH

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — **Robert Hayden,** associate professor of English at Fisk University, here, will have a number of his poems published in Holland. One of the most published members of the Fisk faculty, Hayden's poems have been translated into eight languages, and are included in several anthologies. Baltimore, MD.

51 YEARS SERVICE

CHICAGO — **Samuel P. Jenkins,** 74, but still active, feels he should take it easy from here on in, so he has retired as parlor car attendant for the Chicago and Northwestern Railway. p.13

During his 51 years service he figures he has traveled some three million miles and worked aboard almost every through passenger train on the C and NW system.

RECREATION SUPERVISOR

GREENSBORE, N.C. — **Charles A. Weaver,** an all-time football "great" at A and T College, has recently been named supervisor of the recreation program for colored residents in Charlotte, N.C.

GIVEN FAMU PLAQUE

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — **Mrs. Gertrude Williams** was recently awarded a plaque by the Florida A. and M. University Clinical Association in "memory of 23 years of faithful service given to Florida A. and M. University Hospitals as evening and night supervisor" to her sister, the late **Mrs. Georgia B. Lincoln.**

TO SPEAK AT TSU

HOUSTON, Texas — **Dr. Jerome H. Holland,** former football great at Cornell University and now president of Delaware State College, will be the speaker at Men's Day, April 25, **Dr. J. T. Sprott,** dean of men, has announced. **Jesse Owens** was the speaker for 1956.

GETS DANFORTH GRANT

BATON ROUGE, La. — **Huel D. Perkins,** associate professor, division of music, Southern University, has received a Danforth Fellowship for advanced study.

Danforth teachers grants are made annually to approximately 60 men and women without bar of race or color, who give promise of becoming college teachers of unusual strength and competence, and are prepared to engage upon a 12-month program of graduate study.

NEW BUSINESS MANAGER

KNOXVILLE, Tenn.—**Allen L. Searcy,** 40, is the new Knoxville College business manager, President **James A. Colston** announced Feb. 12, when Mr. Searcy assumed his responsibilities.

He has just completed two years as business manager at Texas College at Tyler.

CANCER GRANT RENEWED

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—The National Cancer Institute has renewed the contract of **Dr. Horace Goldie,** Meharry College professor, for three additional years under a grant totaling $43,000.

It provides $13,800 for the 1956-57 period, and $14,800 for each succeeding year.

AMITY AIDE HONORED

NEW YORK — **Vernon Grist,** past president of the Industrial Home for the Blind IHB Fishing Club, recently presented the club's highest award to **Robert McKinley,** public relations executive for the F. and M. Schaefer Brewing Co., during the seventh annual Award Dinner.

GETS INTERNATIONAL POST

BATON ROUGE, La.—**Harold Sims,** an honor graduate of the past semester of Southern University, was recently called to fill a position in the International Affairs Office of the United States National Student Association.

Sims is a native of Memphis, Tenn., and a graduate of Booker T. Washington High School, there.

DEACON-EMERITUS

PROVIDENCE, R.I.—Named deacon-emeritus of the Pond Street Baptist Church after having served as a deacon for 59 years was **William H. Logan,** 86.

Hill Gets Passport Plea

Post & Times Herald Wed. 3-13-57 Washington D.C. P. 7-a

Sen. Thomas C. Hennings (D-Mo) yesterday introduced a resolution to put Congress on record as favoring the granting of a new passport to William Worthy.

Worthy, a reporter for the Baltimore Afro-American, defied a State Department ban and went to Red China last year.

His passport has since expired. He has an application for renewal pending. The Department says it has not yet acted on this.

Hennings said he understands Secretary of State John Foster Dulles "is retaliating against Worthy by refusing to grant a new passport to him."

"The resolution which I am introducing," Hennings said, "would make it the sense of Congress that Mr. Dulles should reverse himself—as he has done in so many matters—and grant the passport."

The Missourian said he considers the case one with wide ramifications. Hennings said he considers the ban on trips to Communist China by American newsmen a "narrow and illogical policy."

Aid for Worthy

Afro-American Baltimore Md. 3-23-57

WASHINGTON — A resolution has been introduced placing Congress on record as favoring the granting of a new passport to William Worthy, AFRO special correspondent, recently returned from China.

The resolution was introduced by Sen. Thomas Hennings (D., Mo.) before whose subcommittee on constitutional rights Mr. Worthy may appear during a proposed investigation of State Department passport policies.

Worthy before Senate on Friday

Afro-American Baltimore Md. Sat. 3-30-57

WASHINGTON

William Worthy, AFRO-AMERICAN special correspondent who entered China despite a State Department ban, will testify Friday morning at the opening of a Senate inquiry into the department's passport policy.

Sat. 3-30-57

Mr. Worthy, who will be accompanied by Judge James A. Cobb as counsel, will appear before the Senate Constitutional Rights subcommittee, headed by Senator Hennings, Missouri Democrat, at 10 a.m.

Charles H. Slayman Jr., chief counsel and staff director of the subcommittee, Friday issued the following statement:

"I have been authorized by Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D.-Mo.), chairman of the Senate Constitutional Rights subcommittee, to issue the following statement today.

* * *

"WILLIAM WORTHY has agreed to appear as a witness before the Senate Constitutional Rights subcommittee on Friday, March 29, 1957, at 10 a.m. in the Senate Office Building, in a hearing room to be announced a little later.

"Worthy, an accredited American journalist, recently went to Mainland China in defiance of restrictive travel orders by the State Department, which has failed—to date—to renew his passport which expired earlier this month.

"Senator Hennings introduced a resolution in the Senate last week calling for congressional support to urge the State Department to reverse its policy and grant Worthy a new passport.

Afro-American

"SENATOR HENNINGS said 'I have taken the position that if Mr. Dulles' narrow and illogical policy does not amount to the denial of the constitutional right to freedom of movement, it at least results in what amounts to serious censorship of U.S. news coverage.'

"'For a number of years now,' he went on to say, 'the American public has been forced to rely for its news about China upon foreign news sources. During part of this time, the Chinese Communists have forbidden the entry of American newsmen.

Sat. 3-30-57

"Now that China is willing to grant the entry to representatives of the United States press—and to publicly guarantee them safe treatment—our short-sighted State Department completely reverses its course and says they are forbidden to go.'

* * *

"OTHER WITNESSES besides Worthy outside of government may be heard but the committee will also wish to hear appropriate State Department officials to explain present passport practices, regulations, policies — and the very legal basis, under the Constitution and statutes, which may authorize their actions.

"For the past several weeks, the committee has been working on civil rights legislation which had been assigned to it at the start of this session.

"It is now turning to questions involved with freedom of information, secrecy in government and the right of the American people and the Congress to know what is going on.

"Mr. Worthy's case may illustrate a bad administrative practice which can be corrected through the knowledge gained at a public hearing.

"The committee will consider drafting whatever legislation is indicated following a full examination of current State Department passport practices."

Editors support Worthy

Afro American Sat. 4-13-57 Baltimore, Md.

The newspapers of the nation are rallying in support of William Worthy, Jr., AFRO-AMERICAN newsman, who defied the State Department's ban on reporters visiting Communist China.

P. 3

Typical of the editorial comment on the case, representing a test of freedom of the press, are the following articles:

* * *

LOUISVILLE COURIER JOURNAL:

A Punishment for Performing a Public Service

"The State Department has refused to renew the passport of William Worthy on the ground that his possession of it would be 'prejudicial to the interests of the United States.'

"The activities of such a man are far from prejudicial to the interest of the United States. They are valuable and to be encouraged and we hope the press of the nation will join efforts to discourage the State Department from disciplining newsmen in pursuit of their duty."

* * *

NEW YORK POST:

Rock Bottom at Foggy Bottom

"The State Dept. has hit new depts in its effort to punish William Worthy for challenging its oppressive ban on journalistic coverage of Red China and to muddle the grave issues created by the ban.

"The question is not whether Worthy is a war hero; it is how long the State Dept. will try to justify its own indefensible decree, and what new sewers of smear it will explore to defame the man who dared to fight back."

* * *

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

A Foolish Stand Adhered To

"Twice in one day the State Department makes clear that it is going to continue to bar the door so that American reporters may not go to Red China.

"Harassment and punsihment of Mr. Worthy in retaliation for his action is certainly out of place.

"The State Department ought to make up its mind that the ban on American press coverage of Red China some day er the better!"

28 AFRO employees honored; served total of 340 years

Afro-American Sat. 4-6-57 P.11

Baltimore Md.

BALTIMORE—Twenty-eight AFRO-AMERICAN Company employees, who have served a total of 340 years, received service pins and watches during the 50th annual meeting of the stockholders held at the Baltimore office on Friday morning.

AFRO President Carl Murphy, who read his 35th annual report, received a gold watch presented on behalf of the board of directors by D. Arnett Murphy, vice president.

He has served as president of the company since the death in 1922 of his father, John H. Murphy Sr., founder.

During the meeting, he was also presented flowers "as a small token of the high regard, respect and esteem in which you are held, and in acknowledgement of your courageous, successful and unfaltering leadership as president of our company for the past 35 years."

* * *

A 30-YEAR diamond-studded pin went to Miss Ora Culson, Business Department secretary.

John H. Murphy Jr., retired circulation chief, now a special assistant to the President, made the presentation.

He pointed out that Miss Culson had served for 20 years as his secretary before his retirement, and in all her 30 years had never been late.

"I guess it has become automatic with me to get up and come to the AFRO on time. I don't think I have had much to say in the 30 years I've been here, so I guess I shouldn't have much to say now.

"I do not expect to be around here for 30 more years, but I do expect to be here for a long, long time..." Miss Culson said.

* * *

A 25-YEAR diamond and ruby-studded pin went to William Thompson, a pressman who was praised as "a reliable and punctual worker."

Watches engraved 'in recognition of 20 years' service with the AFRO - AMERICAN Co.,' were presented the following persons:

Mrs. Pauline Caulk Blackwell, secretary to James Murphy, circulation director.

Frank W. Phillips, art director and photo-engraving superintendent.

Mahlon Oswell, credit manager.

Daniel Julius, mailer.

Simon Merritt, pressman.

* * *

IN ACCEPTING his watch, Mr. Oswell who was described as "a heck of a good credit manager," said: "To work for one association for 20 years means it must be a heck of a good company, and a heck of a good bunch of people to work with..."

Mr. Phillips, described as "a first-class department head," told of coming to the AFRO as a printer apprentice.

He said that when he first joined the engraving department they were handling 138,937 square inches. Today they are handling 823,680 square inches.

He told of training 10 other engravers and four photographers, one of whom is his brother, I. Henry Phillips, Baltimore AFRO photographer, who received his ten-year pin during the ceremony. The junior Mr. Phillips was also the first trainee under the GI Training Program.

* * *

OTHER TEN-YEAR pins went to the following:

Arthur Randall, night managing editor.

Mrs. Marion Jenkins (Miss Marion) Allmond, chief of the classified department.

Leon R. Brown, stereotype foreman.

Mrs. Ruth Gaines, bookkeeper.

William Reese, Richmond AFRO advertising salesman.

George Lottier, bookkeeper in charge.

William Jeffries, printer - compositor.

Mrs. Odessa W. Dyson, secretary to the President.

William F. Freeman, bookkeeper.

Hubert Moman, D. C. office, bookkeeper in charge.

Mr. Moman, who is ill was unable to be present to receive his pin.

* * *

FIVE-YEAR service pins went to the following:

John Quarles, photo-engraver.

Otha Mackay, multilith operator.

Mrs. Bertha Jordan, proofreader.

Mrs. Eva Barnes, proofreader.

Miss Margaret Robinson, Richmond office, clerk-typist.

C. Leslie Frazier, proofreader.

James Maddox, printer-compositor.

Theodore Patterson, compositor.

Herman Robinson, printer.

Robert Stanley, printer.

* * *

DURING THE stockholders' meeting, John H. Murphy Jr., only survivor of seven incorporators 50 years ago, was presented a gold - tinted atmospheric clock.

The eleven present directors of the company were reelected. They are:

Carl Murphy, president; D. Arnett Murphy, vice president and treasurer; Elizabeth M. Phillips and Mae M. Dyson, secretaries; Howard H., James H., and John Murphy 3rd., John H. Murphy Jr., John Oliver, Ida Smith and Arnetta Lottier.

Also in attendance at the stockholders' meeting in addition to those already named were: Mrs. George B. Murphy Sr., Mrs. Carl Muphy, Mrs. D. Arnett Murphy, Mrs. Lula Patterson, Dallas Nicholas, Miss Ora Culson, Mrs. Edna Rawlings. Mrs. John H. Murphy Jr., Frederick Howard and Mrs. Vashti Matthews—B.M.P.

WILLIAM WORTHY Jr.
'I want my passport now'

Passport plea made

Afro-American Sat. 4-6-57

Baltimore Md. P.1

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA)—"I want my passport—and I want it now."

That was the bold demand of William Worthy, AFRO special correspondent in his testimony before the Senate Judiciary Constitutional Rights subcommittee, Friday.

The committee heard testimony that the State Department has abused its discretion by denying passports to American newsmen to travel in Red China.

* * *

MR. WORTHY was the first American reporter to visit China, entering on Christmas Eve, in the face of a State Department ban on travel in that country.

After Worthy returned to the United States, he applied for renewal of his passport. Miss Frances Knight, head of the passport office, acknowledged receipt of his application, made Feb. 25, but Worthy has heard nothing further concerning his request.

The hearing Friday was wider than the Worthy case. Representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Society of Newspaper Editors, The Saturday Review, a literary journal, and the American Newspaper Guild appeared to protest the ban on travel in various areas.

Afro-American P.2

IN GENERAL, these representatives contended that restrictions on the right of newsmen to travel wherever news is being made is an infringement on freedom of the press.

Worthy read a prepared statement in which he outlined his efforts to get a visa to visit Red China and his unsuccessful efforts to obtain permission from the State Department for the trip.

"Do you know of any reason why the passport should be withheld?" Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming, who presided, asked.

"Quite obviously," Worthy replied, "I went to Communist China against the wishes of the State Department.

He added that he knew of no other reason.

* * *

REPLYING TO questions by O'Mahoney, he testified that there was nothing in his record to justify refusal to renew his passport.

Worthy gave his age as 35. Questioned by Sen. Sam J. Ervin (D., N.C.), he said he was not drafted for military service in the last war because he had ulcers and was classified 4-F.

He said he never had any difficulty before in getting a passport or getting one renewed. He said he had been given no reason for rejection of his application for renewal of his passport.

The other two newsmen who entered Red China about the time he did, he said, are having no passport troubles at present because their passports have not expired.

* * *

NEAR THE end of Worthy's testimony, O'Mahoney questioned him a second time as to possible reasons for failure of the State Department to renew his passport.

"I again ask you whether you are aware of any reason the State Department might cite for its delay in issuing you a passport?" O'Mahoney asked.

"No, sir," Worthy replied.

"You are an American citizen?"

"Yes, sir," Worthy replied.

"A loyal American citizen?"

"Yes, sir."

Worthy testified that he was not charged with any subversive activities and that there were no charges of any kind against him.

* * *

"IF YOU WANT to make it specific, if you want to ask me the $64 question," Worthy volunteered, "I will be glad to go into that."

O'Mahoney did not ask him whether he was a Communist or a member of any organization teaching or advocating the forcible overthrow of the Government.

In his prepared statement, Worthy said on Dec. 26, two days after he entered Red China, Cliff W. Mackay, editor of the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers, was called to the State Department.

He said Walter Robertson, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, and Lincoln White, State Department press officer, tried to prevail upon Mr. Mackay to recall him from China.

Mr. Mackay made it plain, Worthy testified, that he "regarded the pressure upon him as intolerable governmental interference in the affairs of the press."

* * *

ASKED BY Charles Slayman, subcommittee counsel, whether he knew of any other pressures exerted by the State Department, Worthy said he has not had time since his return to talk with the people at the Columbia Broadcasting System, but he had heard through the "grapevine" that there were "very strong and persistent pressures" on CBS not to use any broadcast, films or television tape he shipped back from China.

"Was there anything in the broadcasts used which was in any way contrary to the policy of the United States?" O'Mahoney asked.

"No, sir," replied Worthy. "I reported what I saw, what I observed, and what I picked

up, and that was all."

The first witness Friday was Edward J. Ennis, general counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Ennis testified that efforts of private organizations, like the ACLU, having failed, the time has come for Congress to give real attention to the matter of issuing passports.

* * *

WHOLE GROUPS of individuals, he asserted, are denied passports in the discretion of the Secretary of State in the conduct of foreign affairs. The Secretary should not have such "untrammeled" discretion, he said.

Ennis says he feels a statute is necessary because the State Department insists that the issuance of passports is a matter wholly within its discretion in the conduct of goreign affairs.

Actions of the State Department in passport cases, Ennis declared, not only affect newspapers and newsmen but also the right of the American people to have newsmen report on conditions in Red China.

* * *

J. RUSSELL WIGGINS, executive editor of the Washington Post and Times Herald and secretary of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, testified for that organization.

American prisoners are "unjustly held" by Red Chinese and "they ought to be released," Mr. Wiggins said, adding.

"American reporters are unjustly denied access to information to which the American people are entitled and they ought to be permitted to travel. Neither right action ought to be contingent upon the other."

* * *

WILLIAM D. PATTERSON, associate publisher, The Saturday Review, urged the committee to recommend action clarifying and safeguarding the freedom of "accredited, responsible newsmen to travel this troubled world without let or hindrance by our own Government in quest of the news and information the American people so urgently need to make up their minds about the vast and intricate problems confronting this nation in every corner of the globe."

Joseph F. Collis, president of the American Newspaper Guild (AFL-CIO), urged "revocation of the State Department's ban on entry by newsmen into Communist China and the public acceptance by the State Department of the right of newsmen in a democracy to follow the news—at their own risk, if necessary — wherever it may lead them."

The subcommittee will hear State Department officials Thursday on passport policies and procedures.

AFRO-AMERICAN'S 50th annual stockholders' meeting in Baltimore on Friday featured awards to 28 employees who have served a total of 340 years. In this photo, D. Arnett Murphy, vice president, left, presents engraved watch to Carl Murphy, president, who completed 35 years of service. In Center, Miss Ora Culson, 30 years as circulation and business department secretary who received diamond-studded service pin.

Worthy Loses His Passport Tentatively

WASHINGTON, — (INS) — The State Department announced Monday that it has "tentatively" turned down the passport application of newsman William Worthy because he violated a U. S. ban on travel to Communist China.

Department spokesman Lincoln White said the action was taken after the "most careful consideration."

He said that "the Department decided upon a tentative -- denial" of Worthy's passport application under sections of the law by which the Secretary of State is empowered to refuse a passport if he feels it would be "prejudicial to the orderly conduct of foreign relations" or otherwise hurt the interests of the U. S.

White said that Worthy was notified of the decision in a letter sent Friday by Mrs. Frances G. Knight, director of the passport office.

Worthy, a writer for the Baltimore Afro-American, ignored department warnings last year and travelled to Red China. He is presently in Boston as a Nieman Fellow.

Two other American newsmen, photographer Phillip Harrington and correspondent Edmund Stevens, both of Look Magazine ,also violated the Red China Travel band. White said that the passport of Harrington who was in New York has been picked up and that Steven's passport was stamped good only for return to the U. S. by the American embassy in Moscow.

Mrs. Knight's letter pointed out that Worthy is "entitled to present informally to this office any relevant information before this tentative refusal becomes final."

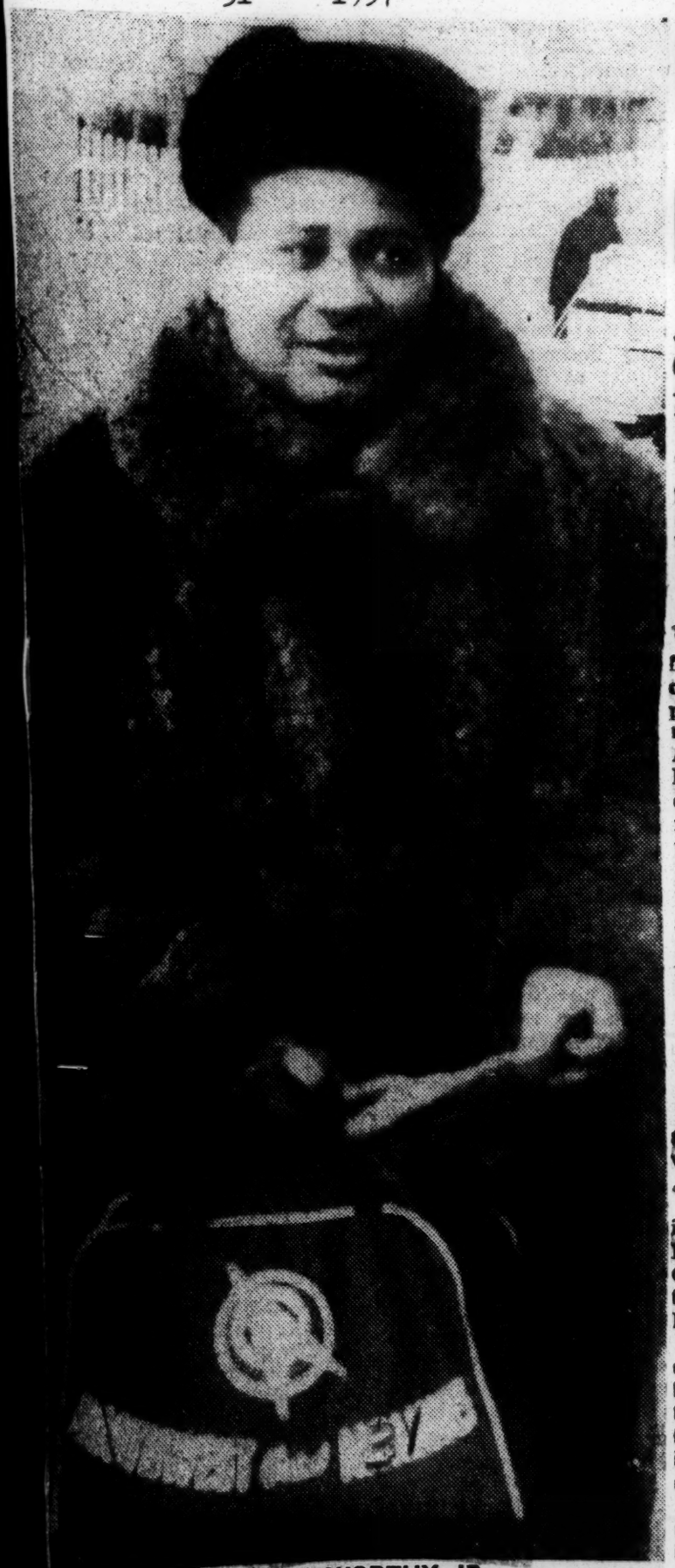
She also explained that the American newsman also has the right to appeal for a passport division hearing and then, if he is not satisfied, to the board of passport appeals, for a reversal of the decision.

Worthy also could take the case to the courts.

Worthy went to China on Dec. 24, and spent a month touring the country.

Worthy's passport expire da few weeks after his return to the U. S., via the Soviet Union and Hungary, and he applied for a new one an February 25.

WILLIAM WORTHY, news correspondent for the Baltimore Afro-American, testifies in Washington before the Senate subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, which is probing U.S. passport policies. He visited Communist China over State Department opposition. Worthy said that the State Department brought pressure to prevent the use of his dispatches on the air.



WILLIAM WORTHY JR.
Refused ... nder passport overseas

Bill Worthy faces passport battle

Afro-American
Sat. 2-16-57

BULLETIN

NEW YORK — William Worthy, still in possession of his passport, arrived via Pan American Airline from London Sunday at Boston and was immediately whisked here for a CBS Television appearance.

No effort was made to seize his passport at the Boston Airport. He indicated he will return to class as a eiman Fellow at Harvard University and await State Department developments.

Sat. 2-16-57

NEW YORK—After successfully evading attempts of U.S. consular officers to take his passport in Budapest and Vienna, William Worthy Jr., special AFRO correspondent, arrived here Sunday to face a showdown with the State Department in the worldwide battle of the passport.

Landing at Idlewild Airport, Worthy was whisked by limousine to the Columbia Broadcasting System downtown studios for an appearance on Eric Sevareid's "World News Roundup."

He returns to classes at Harvard University Monday where he's doing a year's study as a Neiman Fellow. But his respite in the campus cloister was not expected to last long.

Sat. 2-16-57

THE STATE Department is incensed because Worthy on Dec. 24 crossed over into Red China from Hong Kong against the expressed wishes of the Eisenhower administration.

After a month's stay in China during which he wrote five articles for the AFRO, four for the New York Post and made three broadcasts over CBS radio, Worthy landed in Moscow en route home Sunday.

After a broadcast from Moscow Monday and a cordial visit with U.S. Ambassador Charles Bohlen there, he left by plane for Budapest, Hungary.

* * *

MR. BOHLEN, who examined Worthy's passport, returned it to him unstamped, following what was at first believed to be a change in State Department plans to punish him for entering China.

But this belief was short-lived. Calling at the American legation where Cardinal Mindzenty is living as a refugee from communism, he faced a formal demand by Richard R. Selby Jr., vice consul, to surrender his passport.

Selby explained he wanted to stamp the passport "good only for return to the United States" in compliance with orders he received from Washington.

* * *

BUT WORTHY, on the cabled advice of Rowland Watts, counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union, refused to surrender the passport in the absence of an open court hearing. It was suggested that such a hearing be held in Hungary, but the fact that there were no American lawyers there to represent him, forstalled this move.

Earlier, the Hungarian Foreign Minstry, whose chief target these days is the United States, made it clear that Worthy's visa would be extended if the Americans desired to hold a passport hearing at the legation.

* * *

RATHER THAN allow such a hearing to embarass America in an obviously hostile country, Mr. Worthy decided to leave by train for Vienna after formally rejecting requests that he surrender his passport.

Journalist friends raced to the Austrian border from Budapest in case efforts would have been made by Austrian officials to take his passport on request of Americans.

But no such effort was made and Worthy was able to continue from Vienna to Berlin, where he boarded a flight for the United States.

* * *

THE AMERICAN Civil Liberties Union, which has consented to defend Worthy in any difficulties he may encounter with the State Department, said through its executive director, Patrick Murphy Malin:

"The State Department action is, in effect, a cancellation of Worthy's passport and violates the principles of freedom of travel and of the press.

"If the government seizes the passport, we will start an immediate legal suit to recover it without restriction as to place of travel and to prevent any other punishment."

Worthy's passport, which was obtained in the spring of 1954 when he was assigned to cover the Asian-African conference at Bandung for the AFRO, expires on March 4.

The real fireworks is expected to begin when he applies for its renewal on that date, providing the State Department abandons plans to seize it before then.

BIRMINGHAM — A new hate organization for the purpose of fighting the sale of real estate in the College Hills area to colored people, was formed here last week in Birmingham-Southern College auditorium.

Afro-American
Sat. 2-16-57

ANNAPOLIS, Md. — The Baltimore City Council — not the State Legislature—has the power to end racial discrimination in the city's hotels, under its home rule charter, the state attorney general ruled last week.

Baltimore, Md.

* * *

BIRMINGHAM — Feb. 22 has been set as the date for a hearing on a suit against the Jefferson County Personnel Board, brought by two colored men who sought to take examinations for police jobs.

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — A door-to-door "bucket brigade" was sent out last week to raise some $60,000 for an "Alabama Segregation Defense Fund" for white persons arrested on warrants signed by colored persons, including the seven held in connection with recent bombings.

Afro-American
Sat. 2-16-57

* * *

PHILADELPHIA — A "cell" of the White Citizens Council here, visited recently by John Kasper, now under $10,000 bond for interfering with integration at Clinton, Tenn., is under Justice Department investigation.

Afro-American
Sat. 2-16-57

* * *

JACKSON, N.C. — Alexander Faison, 24, sophomore at North Carolina College, Durham, noted an appeal after a Northampton County Court jury ruled that he could read and write but not to the satisfaction of the registrar, when he attempted to register for the Democratic primary last May.

Afro-American
Sat. 2-16-57

CHICAGO — The death of Willard W. Townsend here last week cut to one man—A. Philip Randolph — colored representation on the powerful AFL-CIO Union executive board, but George M. Weaver of Washington could get the post now vacant.

Afro-American
Sat. 2-16-57

Bill Worthy given World passport

Afro-American
Sat. 2-16-57

NEW YORK — Cited as a "citizen of the world," William Worthy Jr., special AFRO correspondent, has been issued a World Passport by World Service Authority with headquarters at 157 United Nations Plaza here.

The World Passport, it was explained, is to take the place of his U.S. passport, should it be invalidated or seized by State Department officials.

Baltimore, Md.

The passport bears the name of Dr. Isley Boone, who lists himself as American consul for World Citizens. Garry Davis is the organization's founder and president.

Back From Red China, Worthy Guards Passport

Evening Star P. 7-A Mon. 2-11-57 Washington, D.C.

NEW YORK, Feb. 11 (AP).—William Worthy, American newsman who visited Red China in defiance of a State Department ban, is holding fast against demands that he surrender his passport.

"I have it right here in my pocket and it's going to stay there," the 35-year-old reporter declared yesterday. He flew here from Boston on a flight from Europe.

His fight to maintain possession of his passport is being handled by the American Civil Liberties Union. "If they advise me to forfeit it, I will certainly conform to their request," he said.

The State Department has demanded that Mr. Worthy, a Negro, surrender the passport for violating a ban against Americans visiting Red China while American citizens still are being held prisoner by the Communists.

One of Three on Tour

Mr. Worthy, employed by the Baltimore Afro-American, was one of three American newsmen who recently visited the iron curtain country. The others were Edmund Stevens and Philip Harrington, both of Look Magazine.

Mr. Harrington since has returned to this country, but has not been approached by Government officials. Look Magazine, meanwhile, has asked a hearing on the State Department's move to revoke Mr. Stevens' passport. Mr. Stevens is in Moscow.

Mr. Worthy said he refused a demand made recently in Budapest by vice consul Richard R. Selby, jr. that he surrender his passport. Mr. Worthy later went to Vienna and then flew to Boston, arriving yesterday.

In New York, Mr. Worthy appeared on the CBS-TV "World News Roundup" program and said he thought the Government "would start climbing down from an untenable position" in the passport dispute.

"But now," he added, "in the last three or four days, the government seems to be taking a firmer stand and I don't know." He did not elaborate.

Ready for Consequences

Mr. Worthy said he knew that he had "challenged the United States Government" by going to China "and I am still prepared to take the consequences."

He plans to confer today, he said, with the Civil Liberties Union counsel, Rowland Watts, to map the next move in their fight.

WILLIAM WORTHY
Still Has Passport
—AP Wirephoto

Mr. Worthy's passport expires March 4. He said he doesn't know if he will press the issue immediately by asking for a renewal.

The case of the three American newsmen has been championed by the American Newspaper Publishers Association, and Editor & Publisher, newspaper trade weekly publication. They are protesting the State Department ban.

Mr. Worthy said Red Chinese Premier Chou En-lai told him in an interview that he didn't think President Eisenhower is a "man of peace."

Mr. Worthy quoted the premier as replying in answer to a question: "Eisenhower a man of peace? His Middle East doctrine seems to refute that."

Tells of Chinese Attitude

"The fact that the United States Government revoked the passports of three U. S. newsmen who visited (Red) China shows the United States has not taken into consideration the desire of the American people to improve relations with the Chinese people," Mr. Chou was quoted as saying.

Mr. Worthy said he found the attitude of the Red Chinese man-in-the-street to be "we like the American people, but we don't agree with their government."

Mr. Worthy toured the Chinese mainland for 41 days and said he was permitted to move about freely. But he was denied a travel permit, he said, when he expressed a desire to visit what was classified as a military area.

He said he didn't see many Russians in Red China, "but a visitor can't help but get the feeling that spokesmen for the Russian Government are working behind the scenes."

"All the heavy building equipment is of Russian make. Even the gasoline trucks that fuel the planes at the Red Chinese airports are of Russian make, he said.

Hits U. S. Ban On Newsmen As Illegal

Chicago Ill. Sat. 2-3-57

NEW YORK — (INS) — The Overseas Press Club of America made public Sunday a legal opinion holding it is unconstitutional for the State Department to lift the passports of three U. S. newsmen who went to Communist China.

The opinion was written by Morris L. Ernst, an expert on civil rights, at the request of Victor Lasky, chairman of the Press Club's Freedom of the Press committee.

The State Department has announced it will revoke the passports of Edmund Stevens and Phillip Harrington, of Look magazine, and William Worthy, of the Baltimore Afro-American, for entering Red China against the department's wishes.

This, Ernst said, "deprives the three correspondents of their rights of freedom of the press and freedom of movement without due process of law in violation of the First and Fifth Amendments of the Constitution."

Still Has His Passport

Herald Tribune Mon. 2-11-57 New York

Reporter Back in U. S. After Trip to Red China

William Worthy, an American reporter who visited China, Russia and Hungary without State Department consent, returned to New York yesterday—still in possession of his passport. He had refused to yield the document to American consular officials abroad.

Mr. Worthy, a reporter for "The Baltimore Afro-American," had visited China and Hungary in violation of a State Department ban on travel by Americans in these areas. He declined to surrender his passport when the American Legation in Budapest attempted to invalidate it.

Mr. Worthy said yesterday he deliberately violated the State Department rule because he considers it a violation of "the traditional American freedom of movement, which until a decade ago all of us took for granted."

Interviewed yesterday afternoon on a C. B. S. television news program, Mr. Worthy said: "I challenged the government, and I am prepared to take all the consequences."

Just what these consequences, if any, will be was not clear yesteray. Immigration officials made no attempt to relieve Mr. Worthy of his passport when he re-entered the United States at Logan International Airport in Boston yesterday.

Whether or not the government intends to penalize Mr. Worthy may soon become clear, however. Mr. Worthy's passport, No. 55863, expires March 4, and under normal circumstances it could be renewed for a two-year period.

Mr. Worthy said yesterday he had not yet decided whether to apply for such an extension. He said the American Civil Liberties Union had agreed to represent him in any legal action resulting from his trip to Communist China. He said he had no intentions of going abroad in the near future and therefore would apply for an extension of his passport only if advised to do so by the A. C. L. U.

Concerning Communist China, Mr. Worthy said he had seen some "undeniable achievements" of the Communists. On the other hand, he asserted, the Communists "show you just as much as they want you to see and no more."

He said a traveler finds himself "definitely" freer in China than in the Soviet Union where, he said, "neo-Stalinism in its worst forms" has again taken over. "The Chinese are far more intelligent than the Russians, and far more practical and more realistic," he asserted.

Associated Press

William Worthy at Idlewild Airport yesterday.

Herald Tribune Mon. 2-11-57 New York

Worthy Visits Prisoners In Red China

Afro-American P. 1

By WILLIAM WORTHY JR.
AFRO Special Correspondent

SHANGHAI (Via RCA Cable)—I have just discovered an old reader of the AFRO in the prisons of the People's Republic of China.

Sat. 1-26-57

He's the Rev. Paul Mackinsen, a Lutheran minister, of Baltimore, who told me among other things that before coming to China as a missionary he was a regular reader of the AFRO.

Baltimore, Md.

The Rev. Mr. Mackinsen is one of 10 American prisoners the Chinese have been holding on charges of espionage.

But under permission granted me for the interview, I was restricted from questioning him about his arrest, conviction and jail experience.

* * *

I WAS ESCORTED to an unheated cell, where the minister was bundled in heavy clothing. A deputy superintendent and an interpreter were with us.

The jail official made it clear that I was not to take any notes and the use of my tape recorder was prohibited.

I did learn that the Rev. Mr. Mackinsen is scheduled to be released on March 7. But he still has not made up his mind whether he should return home. He is debating whether or not he should stay in Communist China and attempt to resume his missionary work.

* * *

RELIGION is stronger in China today than ever, Mackinsen told me. He received this impression durng a guided tour throughout the country given American prisoners for propaganda purposes last spring.

My request to interview the six other American prisoners which I learned were being held here was not granted.

Apparently permission to see the Rev. Mr. Mackinsen came because he is from Baltimore, and the Chinese Minister of Information who arranged the interview reasoned that because I represented a Baltimore publication his story would have the greater interest to my readers.

I DID LEARN that the other American prisoners here are quartered at a house in a jail compound. They are not subject to jail discipline or routine, I was told.

They have even given the extraordinary privilege of listening to radio broadcasts from overseas stations, Chinese officials said.

My appointment to interview American prisoners was temporarily delayed Monday when one of the engines on the plane I took from Peiping conked out.

THE PLANE made a forced landing at Nanking, and never before in my life was I so glad to place my foot on good old Mother Earth.

But after a seven-hour delay in Nanking, I was back in the air again, headed for Shanahai.

I am hopeful that the Chinese Department of Information will grant my request not only to interview the other American prisoners, but to talk with the remaining American turncoats, three of whom I learned have married Chinese girls and are now raising families here.

Negro Newsman Visits Russia

Advertiser P. 5-A

MOSCOW, Feb. 4 (AP)—Reporter William Worthy of the Baltimore Afro-American, who defied a U. S. State Department ban on visiting Red China, arrived in Moscow last night from Peiping.

Sat. 2-5-57

Montgomery, Ala.

Worthy, who spent more than a month in China, declined comment on landing at a Moscow airport. He is expected to spend a few days here before heading home.

He is one of three American newsmen whose passports the State Department ordered revoked Dec. 28. The others are correspondent Edmund Stevens and photographer Phil Harrington of Look magazine.

Harrington passed through Moscow in late January on his way back to New York. Stevens had a talk here last Tuesday with U. S. Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen.

The embassy was reported under instructions then to question the newsmen, but not to take any action regarding the passports.

CHINESE PREMIER Chou En-Lai, right, smiles in this exclusive photo with AFRO Special Correspondent Willliam Worthy Jr., at Peiping airfield where Worthy interviewed the Red leader just before he left for Moscow. Mr. Worthy passed through Moscow Sunday en route home. He's due to reach New York Thursday, Jan. 31.

Afro-American P.1
Sat. 1-26-57
Baltimore, Md.

TOURING RED CHINA — William Worthy, AFRO-AMERICAN correspondent, is shown fur-coated in Hong Kong as he left for Red China recently in defiance of a U.S. State Department ban on travel to that country. Leaving his U.S. stamped visa in this international city, he was given a Red China visa at the border. His first interview with an American in this issue.

Publishers protest U.S. travel ban

afro american
Sat. 2-16-57

NEW YORK — A formal protest against the State Department ban on travel by U.S. newsmen in Red China or possible punishment of AFRO-AMERICAN correspondent William Worthy and two other newsmen who ignored the ban was filed this week by the American Newspaper Publishers Association.

Baltimore Md.

The protest, wired to President Eisenhower, Vice-President Nixon and Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn, formed the subject of a resolution adopted Wednesday by the ANPA board of directors. P.1

The wire, which bore the signature of William Dwight, president of the publishers association, carried the text of the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Board of Directors of the American Newspaper Publishers Association at its regular meeting held in New York City on February 5, 1957, authorize President Dwight of this Association to convey to the President of the United States and the Congress of the United States our views in respect of the right of newspapers to gather and disseminate information in all areas of the world in which the United States is not engaged in war.

1. Newspaper or magazine writers who are American citizens and employed by American publications and newsgathering services to gather and write news or express opinion on facts should be accorded by our government freedom to travel for that purpose in any country of the world with which the United States is not at war.

2. Passports issued to American citizens who are engaged in gathering and writing news or expressing opinion for American publications should not be restricted so as to ban travel in any country with which this nation is not at war.

3. Penalties of fine or imprisonment or revocation of the right to travel should not be imposed upon American newspaper or magazine writers, who, at their own risk, choose to pursue their profession in any country in the world with which this nation is not at war.

4. We respectfully recommend consideration by the President and the Congress of the foregoing principles in connection with the visit of American writers to Red China for the purpose of gathering and reporting facts for the information of the American people.

* * * P.2

EARLIER, the nation's press, the American Newspaper Guild and several civil rights organizations had spoken out strongly against proposed retaliatory action by the State Department against Mr. Worthy and the other two newsmen, Edmund Stevens and Phil Harrington of Look Magazine.

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa
Sat. 3-9-57
P.4

Seeks Passport Renewal—William Worthy, second from right, Baltimore newspaper reporter and special correspondent for New York daily, turns in his passport in New York to apply for its renewal, accompanied by his attorney, William M. Knutzler, right, who, with American Civil Liberties Union, threatens court battle if extension is denied. Worthy and a white reporter and photographer from Look magazine went to Red China for news despite State Department ban. White photographer was not asked for his passport. State Department officials say there is "no rush" to act.—World Wide Photo.

Why Bill Worthy is in Red China

Afro-American p. 1

Baltimore Md

William Worthy Jr., who has served as a special correspondent for the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers, entered China Monday afternoon for a month-long tour of the Communist country.

Sat. 1-5-57

The trip, the last phase of a project planned two years ago, has the sponsorship of the AFRO and a broadcasting system.

Purpose of the visit was described as two-fold.

He first intends to talk with American prisoners captured by the Chinese in the Korean war and still being held by that country.

* * *

HE ALSO will seek interviews with American turncoats who refused to return home after the Korean conflict.

He had also hoped to broadcast back to the United States from the Chinese capital on Christmas Day, but apparently he was unable to complete arrangements with the Chinese government.

He left New York Sunday morning via the Northwestern Airlines for Seattle. From Seattle, he flew to Tokyo, Japan and from there to Hong Kong, arriving in that city Monday morning.

* * *

HE BOARDED a train at Kong Kong for Canton, the principal city in South China. From there, he will fly to Peiping, the capital.

In Hong Kong, he donned a heavy fur coat, loaned him by a friend in New York, and carried his own luggage as he boarded the train.

A Neiman fellow at Harvard University, Mr. Worthy took advantage of the six-weeks' lull in his studies to make the trip to China.

He is due back at Harvard on Feb. 4.

* * *

HE RECEIVED a cablegram from Chu Lieh, secretary of the Information Department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry on Sunday, Dec. 16.

The wire advised him that he had been granted a month's visa to visit there.

It read:

"Your application to visit China granted. One month visa to be collected at Sumchon before December 31. Travel at own expenses. Contact Canton Branch, Chinese Intourists (travel agency) for travel and accommodations."

WHEN WORTHY'S Chinese trip was discussed two years ago, the question of "defying" or "complying" with State Department regulations was never raised.

Afro-American

The first phase of the project was a six-weeks' trip to Russia, which he completed with distinction in July.

p. 2

In addition to filing dispatches to the AFRO from the Russian capital, he made history by being the first American correspondent in 11 years, allowed to broadcast from Russia.

Sat. 1-5-57

HIS BROADCASTS were carried nationally over the Columbia Broadcasting System.

The second phase was an extended tour of Africa, which ended on Sept. 6 after visiting Algeria, Cairo, Nairobi in Kenya, Nigeria and the Gold Coast.

His attempts to enter the Union of South Africa were repulsed by the government, in maintenance of its policy of preventing contact between colored Americans and the colored people of South Africa.

* * *

THE THIRD phase was his current tour of China, which had been delayed because the Chinese government took several months before deciding to grant requested permission for the tour.

In addition to the Russian and African tour, Mr. Worthy has also represented the AFRO on other occasions.

He was present in Inchon, Korea and his dispatches to the AFRO on the exchange of prisoners were some of the most comprehensive and incisive of any published by an American newspaper.

He also attended the Asian-African conference at Bandung, Indonesia in April, 1955. His stories of this historic event, along with those of NNPA Correspondent Louis Lautier were carried in the AFRO.

MR. WORTHY is the son of the late Dr. and Mrs. William Worthy of Boston. A native of Boston, he attended public schools there and graduated from Bates College.

He has a sister, Ruth, who teaches history at McKinley High School in Washington.

American prisoners in China soon to be released—Worthy

NEW YORK — Making the first broadcast from Red China since 1949, William Worthy Jr., special AFRO correspondent, heard over CBS radio, said he had learned American prisoners held by the Chinese are due to be released in a few months.

A Lutheran minister in due out in March, a Franciscan priest in April and a Jesuit priest in June.

While allowed to broadcast, Worthy thus far has not been able to clear any cabled dispatches to the AFRO. Just when he would be allowed to do this was not made clear.

Meanwhile, the State Department has revoked his passport and threatens to prosecute him under the Trading with the Enemy Act.

RED CHINA VISITOR--Fur-coated American newsman, William Worthy of Baltimore, is shown in Hong Kong as he left for Red China on Christmas eve in defiance of a U. S. State Department ban on travel to that country. He was given a Red China visa at the border. As a result of the action by Worthy and two other newsmen, the State Department revoked their passports. (Newspress Photo)

Negro Newsman Visits Russia

Weekly newspapers Sat. 1-12-57 p. 3

Advertiser

MOSCOW, Feb. 4 (AP)—Reporter William Worthy of the Baltimore Afro-American, who defied a U. S. State Department ban on visiting Red China, arrived in Moscow last night from Peiping.

p. 3-A

Worthy, who spent more than a month in China, declined comment on landing at a Moscow airport. He is expected to spend a few days here before heading home.

Sun. 1-5-57

He is one of three American newsmen whose passports the State Department ordered revoked Dec. 28. The others are correspondent Edmund Stevens and photographer Phil Harrington of Look magazine.

Baltimore Md

Harrington passed through Moscow in late January on his way back to New York. Stevens had a talk here last Tuesday with U. S. Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen.

The embassy was reported under instructions then to question the newsmen, but not to take any action regarding the passports.

Worthy to be witness

Afro American

Sat. 1-23-57

BALTIMORE — William Worthy Jr., AFRO special correspondent, just back after spending 41 days in Red China, will be available to testify when the Senate begins hearings on the State Department's restrictions on travel of newsmen.

That was the pledge made Thursday by AFRO editor Cliff Mackay in a telegram to Sen. Thomas C. Hennings, chairman of the Senate Constitutional Rights Committee.

p. 1

Senator Hennings announced plans last week to schedule hearings on the issue as soon as his committee ends current hearings on civil rights legislation.

Baltimore MD

MR. WORTHY entered China on Dec. 24 from Hongkong and returned to Boston Feb. 10, after a widely-publicized State Department attempt to seize his passport in Budapest.

He refused to surrender it and it is still in his possession. Because it must be renewed on March 4, the dispute with the State Department is not expected to be joined until that date.

He has returned to Harvard University to resume his studies as a Neiman Fellow.

Any attempts to withhold a passport will be challenged by the American Civil Liberties Union through its legal counsel Rowland Watts, it was announced.

Sat. 2-23-57

THE POSSIBILITY of "vigorous" Senate action toward ending the State Department policy which had resulted in a four-year news blackout from Red China as far as American newsmen are concerned developed last Wednesday.

Chairman Hennings (D., Mo.) of the Senate Judiciary subcommittee on constitutional rights, said that his unit plans to pursue "vigorously" an investigation of the department's denial of passports to newsmen to enter China.

Afro American p. 6

Senator Hennings wrote Secretary of State John Foster Dulles that the subcommittee desired "a personal expression of your rather unusual views" on this issue.

"May I protest as strongly as I can," he continued, "what seems to be an unwarranted policy which is clearly contrary to our nation's best interests?"

* * *

INDICATIONS THAT Mr. Worthy would find strong support in the Senate against punitive action which has been threatened by the State Department were found in Senator Hennings' declaration that:

"The right to travel, not only within the country, but beyond its borders is one of the natural rights of a free man or woman.

"Any powers granted for the issuance of necessary travel documents, in a system like ours, would presuppose the duty of a public servant to serve the freedom of citizens, instead of their restriction on vague grounds of national policy."

Senator Monroney (D., Okla.) also said in a Senate speech that he would like to know what Secretary Dulles hopes to gain by trying to keep United States Press representatives

out of China.

Still earlier, Senator Humphrey (D., Minn.) declared that "Freedom of the press requires freedom of inquiry," and said that it is the right of American newsmen "to seek out the truth wherever they can find it."

He said also that he would seek a hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the passport issue.

* * *

ADDED PRESSURE for the ending of the State Department ban came Thursday from the board of directors of the American Society of Newspapers Editors.

Through its president, Jenkin Lloyd Jones of Tulsa, Okla., the organization wrote Secretary Dulles:

"We urge you to restore the right of a free people to have a free press that can freely travel wherever there is information that citizens must have if they are to enjoy the knowledge that intelligent self-government requires."

Mr. Jones pointed out that Red China had barred non-Communist newsmen from th country in 1949 and that the U.S. State Department had placed its ban on such travel in 1952.

This, he said, had placed American reporters under a double ban. Last August Red China invited some American reporters to visit the country, but the State Department refused to change its policy.

* * *

"RIGHTLY OR wrongly," Mr. Jones continued, "many believed that the continuation of the travel ban might help persuade the Red Chinese to release American prisoners wrongfully held.

"At your press conference on Feb. 5, you stated that there was 'no necessary connection whatsoever' between these two matters.

"In accord with sound principle, we believe there should be no such connection.

"We urge that you now proceed to take steps in conformity with your stated belief that the problem of the imprisoned Americans and that of free press travel are indeed separate problems.

"We hope that American reporters once again will be allowed to have passports free from the limitations on their travel in Red China that have been in effect since 1952. We think this can be done whether or not the ban on travel by civilians generally remains in effect."

In conclusion he added that the right of newsmen to travel "should not be given or withheld as an instrument of diplomatic negotiation or made contingent upon policies of other countries with reference to separate and different issues."

* * *

COMMENTING UPON a press conference statement by Secretary of State Dulles that permitting American reporters to go into Red China would amount to "paying blackmail" to the Red Chinese to secure the release of 10 American prisoners, Senator Hennings said:

"I doubt if these imprisoned Americans, and their families and friends will be grateful to you.

"Nor will they understand your curious claim that the rulers of Red China were trying to 'blackmail' the United States by making release of the prisoners conditional on your helping the American free press to exercise its constitutional responsibilities for the benefit of our country."

—Associated Press WIREPHOTO.
WILLIAM WORTHY

US Visitor to Red China Still Retains Passport

Times-Picayune New Orleans, La. Mon. 2-11-57

Reporter Refuses to Give It Back to Authorities

NEW YORK, Feb. 10 (AP) — William Worthy, one of three United States newsmen who went to Red China despite a State Department ban, said today he still has the passport U.S. authorities tried to take away from him.

The 35-year-old reporter, a Negro, discussed the passport after arriving here by plane from Boston.

"I have it right here in my pocket and it's going to stay there," Worthy said.

Will Take Advice

He added, however, that the American Civil Liberties Union is handling the legal aspects of his case "and if they advise me to forfeit it, I will certainly confirm with their request."

During his 41-day tour of Red China, he said, there was no censorship of his news stories.

Worthy is an employe of the Baltimore Afro-American who also served as a special correspondent for the New York Post and made some broadcasts for the Columbia Broadcasting System.

Worthy and Edmund Stevens and Philip Harrington, reporter and photographer respectively for Look magazine, traveled to China from Moscow.

Defy Government

The three men defied a U.S. government order that newsmen must remain away from Communist China as long as Americans were imprisoned there.

Look magazine has asked a hearing on the State Department's move to revoke Stevens' passport. Stevens is in Moscow.

Harrington returned to New York several days ago. No action has been taken against him.

In Budapest several days ago, Worthy said, his passport was formally demanded by Vice Consul Richard R. Selby Jr.

Goes to Vienna

Worthy refused. He later went to Vienna by train and arrived in Boston by plane earlier today.

The case of the three newsmen has been championed by the American Newspaper Publishers Assn., and Editor & Publisher, newspaper trade weekly.

Worthy said he first applied for permission to visit Red China in 1953, but got no response to his request from the Red Chinese government until just before his trip a few weeks ago.

During Vacation

Worthy left to go to Red China during the Christmas vacation from his studies at Harvard. He is studying there for one school year as a Nieman fellow.

He said he expects to stay at his Manhattan apartment for two or three days and then return to Harvard.

Passport in His Pocket, Worthy Says 'I'll Keep It'

Post + Times Herald Mon. 2-11-57 P. 4-a Washington, D.C.

NEW YORK, Feb. 10 (AP)—William Worthy, one of three United States newsmen who went to Red China despite a State Department ban, said today he still has the passport United States authorities tried to take away from him.

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Worthy and Edmund Stevens and Philip Harrington, reporter and photographer respectively for Look magazine, traveled to China from Moscow. The three men defied a United States Government order that newsmen must remain away from Communist China as long as Americans were imprisoned there.

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The case of the three has been championed by the American Newspaper Publishers Association, and Editor & Publisher, newspaper trade weekly.

Worthy left to go to Red China during the Christmas vacation from his studies at Harvard. He is studying there as a Nieman fellow. He said he expects to stay at his Manhattan apartment for two or three days and then return to Harvard.

In Boston, Worthy said Red Chinese Premier Chou En-lai told him in an interview he does not think President Eisenhower is a "man of peace." In answer to a question, Worthy said, the Premier replied: "Eisenhower a man of peace?

Associated Press
WILLIAM WORTHY
. . . keeps passport

His Middle East Doctrine seems to refute that."

Worthy also quoted Chou as saying:

"The fact that the United States Government revoked the passports of the three United States newsmen who visited (Red) China shows the United States has not taken into consideration the desire of the American people to improve relations with the Chinese people."

Worthy said he found the attitude of the man-in-the-street in Red China is: "We like the American people but we don't agree with their Government."

"I had no way of fathoming whether they believe, themselves, what they say," Worthy said.

He said there seemed to be a practice, from Chou En-lai down to the man-in-the-street, to give stock, non-committal answers to most questions.

Worthy said the American Legation in Budapest tried to invalidate his passport last week so it would be good only for his return to the United States. Before he left Budapest, Worthy said, the Civil Liberties Union cabled him that it was ready to take up the case for him, and the newsman agreed.

Hearing on Worthy Passport April 24

Afro-American Sat 4-20-57

Baltimore Mol,

WASHINGTON

An informal hearing on the State Department's refusal to renew the passport of AFRO foreign correspondent, William Worthy Jr., has been set for April 24.

The date was fixed by Miss Frances Knight, director of the Passport Office, upon demand of the American Civil Liberties Union, which has taken over the legal aspects of the Worthy case.

This is the first of the administrative steps which must be exhausted before resort to the courts.

* * *

THE REQUEST for a hearing was contained in a letter sent by William M. Kunstler of the American Civil Liberties Union on Thursday.

Miss Knight on March 29 denied Worthy's request for renewal of his passport following his visit to Red China on Christmas Eve.

The State Department has frowned on American citizens, including newsmen, visiting China, giving a number of reasons for the ban.

Sat 4-20-57

IN HIS letter asking for the informal hearing, Kuntsler stated that since "it might be necessary for Mr. Worthy, as a professional newsman, to leave the country in the near future, it is urgently requested that the hearing be scheduled promptly."

When Worthy filed his passport renewal application on Feb. 25, he submitted a letter from C. W. Mackay, editor of the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers, which said that because of changing news developments in many parts of the world he wanted Worthy to be ready at a moment's notice to go abroad and that a valid passport was essential for this purpose.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, concerned with the State Department's restrictions on travel, Thursday, heard several witnesses in opposition to the ban.

* * *

SIMON GERSON, executive editor of the Daily Worker, Communist party official organ appeared voluntarily as a witness.

He supported freedom of travel for newsmen and joined in criticism of the State Department for tentatively refusing to renew the passport of Mr. Worthy.

Mr. Gerson testified that the Daily Worker "has suffered acutely" at the hands of the State Department's Passport Office during the cold war period. He said a passport to go to China was denied Joseph North, a Daily Worker staff member, in 1951.

Gerson also struck at the State Department for denying passports to "such distinguished Americans as Paul Robeson and Dr. W. E. B. Du-Bois.

Expressing curiosity at his defense of constitutional right of American citizens to travel abroad, Senator J. William Fulbright (D., Ark.), asked Gerson whether there were "comparable rights" of ingress and egress in Soviet Russia.

* * *

GERSON REPLIED that he was interested because as executive editor of the Daily Worker he wants to send a reporter to China. "I do not regard the issue as to Russia as relevant," he added.

"Are you a Communist?" Fulbright asked.

Gerson replied that normally he would decline to answer such a question, but since he was appearing voluntarily he would say, "I have been and am a member of the Communist party."

"I wonder what the practice is in Russia," Fulbright said. "Do they accord their citizens the right to go abroad into other countries when they choose. Do their newspapermen have the right to travel abroad?"

Gerson replied that he was "no authority on the situation inside Russia. If they do not accord their reporters the rights we are seeking for American reporters, they should."

* * *

IRVING FERMAN, Washington director of the American Civil Liberties Union, told the committee that the refusal of passports to American newsmen to go to Red China to report on conditions there involves "a serious curtailment upon freedom of the press and the fight of the American public generally to obtain eyewitness reports.

The issue, he said, is "sharply focused" by the Worthy case.

The American Jewish Congress urged the committee to investigate the State Department's ban on travel to Israel, Egypt, Jordan and Syria, imposed last Nov. 8 and continued to last April 1.

* * *

WILL MASLOW, general counsel of the AJC, asked the committee to recommend legislation curtailing the discretion of the State Department and safeguarding the procedures under which passports are granted or denied.

J. R. Wiggins, executive editor of the Washington Post and Times Herald and secretary of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, told the committee that members of the society and the press generally were almost unanimous in the view that "travel by reporters engaged in gathering information ought to be as unrestricted as possible."

The society contends, he said, that the Secretary of State "has full authority . . . to grant exceptions to general restrictions that would allow reporters access to Red China."

"To use a ban on travel by American reporters to punish the Chinese Communists or to persuade them to release our prisoners seems to us an unwise use to travel restrictions," Mr. Wiggins said.

* * *

JULIUS FRANDSEN, Washington bureau manager of the United Press, read to the committee the statement of Frank H. Bartholomew, UP president, who was unable to be present.

"Free access to the news at its source outweighs all other considerations in the long run," the statement said.

UP is covering Peiping chiefly by monitoring the Communist radio but has no means of checking reports from Red China, Mr. Frandsen said.

On the question of the admission of a limited number of correspondents to Red China (reporters representing the three wire sevices), M. Frandsen said, conversations with several members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors are convinced that this would not be generally agreeable.

* * *

JOSEPH F. COLLIS, assistant managing editor of the Wilkes-Barre (Pa.) Record and president of the American Newspaper Guild (AFL-CIO), suggested revocation of the State Department's ban on entry of American newsmen into Red China and "the public acceptance by the State Department of the right of newsmen in a democracy to follow the news—at their own risk, if necessary — wherever it may lead them."

Worthy Denies Draft Dodging

World-Telegram & Sun

By The United Press

CHICAGO, April 5.—William Worthy, a reporter for the Baltimore Afro-American, has denied that he was sent to jail as a draft dodger or served in a conscientious objector's camp.

However, in a statement issued late yesterday, Worthy said he once was classified as a conscientious objector during World War II.

Sat 4-13-57

Worthy's statement was prompted by a Senate subcommittee's request to the State Department to determine if he was the same man who pleaded guilty to a charge of draft evasion and served one day in jail.

Worthy said he was classified as a conscientious objector in 1943, but "refused to enter a conscientious objector's camp because the government was assigning men geographically on the ground of race and color."

He said the Justice Department, rather than make a test case of the racial discrimination issue, dropped the case when it learned "I was eligible for a 4-F exemption because of a duodenal ulcer."

"There was no charge of 'draft dodging,'" he said.

PASSPORT DENIED TO U. S. NEWSMAN

Times

Baltimore Writer Who Defied Ban on Visit to Red China Plans Court Action

Tues. 4-2-57

WASHINGTON, April 1 (AP)—The State Department said today it had refused to renew the passport of William D. Worthy, newspaper reporter who defied the Government's ban on visits to Communist China.

The refusal, described as tentative, was based on the ground that Mr. Worthy's possession of a passport would be "prejudicial to the interests of the United States."

New York, N.Y.

Lincoln White, State Department press officer, made public a letter to the newsman from Frances G. Knight, director of the passport office. She told Mr. Worthy "there is reason to believe that you will not abide by geographical limitations of general applicability which may be placed on the passport."

He was informed that he could appeal the ruling to the department's board of passport appeals. Officials said if he lost there he could still go to the courts.

Mr. Worthy, 35-year-old staff member of The Baltimore Afro-American, toured China late last year at the invitation of the Peiping Government. Two other news men representing Look magazine also defied the department's ban the same time.

In rejecting Mr. Worthy's request for a renewal of his passport, Miss Knight wrote that "this action is predicated upon your recent travel to and within Communist China, which was contrary to known and existing United States foreign policy and was otherwise prejudicial to the interests of the United States."

The letter said the conclusion that Mr. Worthy would not abide by geographical restrictions on a new passport had been reached on the basis of statements by the reporter and Clifford W. Mackay, his editor.

Mr. Mackay, in a letter accompanying Mr. Worthy's application, had said he had no present plan for sending the reporter abroad. However, he added that he wanted Mr. Worthy to be ready to go to "any point outside the United States" where news might develop.

Having expected a rejection, Mr. Worthy has already announced he will appeal to the courts. He said the American Civil Liberties Union would join him in the legal action.

Organizations representing news media have protested repeatedly against the department's ban on travel in China. Some members of Congress also have criticized the policy.

Secretary of State Dulles said recently that he and President Eisenhower were considering some way of relaxing the restriction. One plan being studied, officials said, would permit three American reporters to accept the standing offer of the Peiping Government to visit its territory. The reporters would come from each of the three major wire services.

'Smear' Charged

BALTIMORE, April 1 (UP)—Clifford W. MacKay said today the State Department's refusal "had all the earmarks of a smear" against Mr. Worthy, who will resume estimony before a Senate subcommittee on Constitutional rights next Thursday.

He said the refusal implied that Mr. Worthy "is a subversive person."

Newsman Denied New Passport

World Telegram & Sun

Mon. 4-1-57

New York, N.Y.

By The Associated Press

WASHINGTON, April 1.—The State Department disclosed today that newsman William D. Worthy, who defied a ban on travel to Red China, has been refused a new passport on grounds that giving him one would be "prejudicial to the interests of the

United States."

Press Officer Lincoln White made public a letter to Mr. Worthy, dated Friday, from Passport Office Director Frances G. Knight.

The letter said Mr. Worthy's Feb. 25 request to renew his passport was tentatively turned down. It advised him he could appeal this ruling before it becomes final. It added:

"This action is predicated upon your recent travel to and within Communist China which was contrary to known and existing United States foreign policy.

Worthy case set

WASHINGTON—An informal hearing on the refusal to renew his passport has been set for AFRO foreign correspondent William Worthy for Monday morning, April 29.

Unexplained is why the State Department has not yet granted a hearing to Look Magazine correspondent, Edmund Stevens, whose passport was demanded in Moscow. Both Worthy and Stevens went to Red China against the department's wishes.

Worthy Loses Passport Bid

By DON DIXON

WASHINGTON — (INS) — The State Department announced Monday that it has "tentatively" turned down the passport application of newsman William Worthy because he violated a U. S. ban on travel to Communist China.

Department spokesman Lincoln White said the action was taken after the "most careful consideration."

He said "the department decided upon a tentative—and I emphasize the word tentative — denial" of Worthy's passport application under sections of the law by which the Secretary of State is empowered to refuse a passport if he feels it would be "prejudicial to the orderly conduct of foreign relations" or otherwise hurt the interests of the U. S.

LETTER SENT

White said that Worthy was notified of the decision in a letter sent Friday by Mrs. Frances G. Knight, director of the passport office.

Worthy, a writer for the Baltimore Afro-American, ignored department warnings last year and travelled to Red China. He is presently in Boston as a Nieman Fellow.

Two other American newsmen, photographer Phillip Harrington and correspondent Edmund Stevens, both of Look Magazine, also violated the Red China travel ban.

White said that the passport of Harrington, who was in New York, has been picked up and that Stevens' passport was stamped good only for return to the U. S. by the American Embassy in Moscow.

CAN PROTEST

Mrs. Knight's letter pointed out that Worthy is "entitled to present informally to this office any relevant information before this tentative refusal becomes final."

She also explained that the American newsman also has the right to appeal for a passport division hearing and then, if he is not satisfied, to the board of passport appeals, for a reversal of the decision.

Worthy also could take the case to the courts.

Worthy went to China on Dec. 24, and spent a month touring the country.

Same Mr. Cartwright

Robert Cartwright, acting director of the State Department's Security and Consular Affairs Bureau, stooped to a new official low in his foolish attempt to smear William Worthy Jr.

With all the records in the State Department available to him, Mr. Cartwright testified before the Senate Constitutional Rights subcommittee that Mr. Worthy had been convicted as a draft dodger and served a sentence of one day in jail.

The mud flung at Worthy boomeranged and soon Mr. Cartwright found himself wiping it out of his own eyes.

Court records in Philadelphia were quickly produced to show that draft-dodger charges against Mr. Worthy dating back to 1944 had been dropped by the government and that he had never served any time in prison.

We think it significant that Mr. Cartwright is the same State Department official who approved press release of moldy Communist charges which led to the shocking suicide of E. Herbert Norman, the Canadian diplomat.

U. S. Keeps Ban on Red China Travel

State Dept. Won't Yield to 'Form of Blackmail'; Senators Assail Stand

WASHINGTON, Apr. 2 (UP).—Deputy Under Secretary of State Robert D. Murphy said today the State Department has no intention of permitting United States newsmen to visit Red China as long as Americans are being held prisoner there.

"To do so might well destroy their last chance for freedom and would most certainly be giving in to a form of blackmail," he said.

If the United States yielded to such blackmail, he told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, its anti-Comunist leadership "would be seriously undermined."

"It would be most difficult for us to urge others, many of whom must depend in part on our strength, to stand unafraid and unflinching before the Communist threat," Mr. Murphy said.

Some members of the committee, which is considering the overall question of passport restrictions on travel abroad, disagreed sharply with Mr. Murphy's stand.

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, D., Minn., called it "A nonsensical argument that cannot be validated." Sen. J. William Fulbright, D., Ark., said: "It seems a little like biting our nose to spite our face."

Three American reporters recently defied the travel ban to visit Red China. One of them, William Worthy of "The Baltimore Afro-American," was denied a passport renewal yesterday.

Mr. Worthy said today he would appeal the decision. He accused the State Department of "pre-jjudging my intentions" in saying he might not observe geographical limitations placed on a new passport.

Sen. Humphrey suggested that Mr. Worthy and the other two newsmen be called to testify along with representatives of The United Press, The Associated Press and International News service. The committee will meet tomorrow to consider the proposal.

Mr. Murphy denied Mr. Worthy's charge that the State Department brought pressure on the Columbia Broadcasting System in an effort to keep it from using pictures and reports by Mr. Worthy on his Red China trip.

"There was no pressure put on the CBS," Mr. Murphy said. "We did make an inquiry . . . a simple inquiry; no pressure."

"Trading Bodies"

Mr. Murphy noted that Red China still was holding eight American prisoners in violation of the Geneva agreement to release them. He said the Communists now "apparently have the idea of trading bodies against concessions on our part."

However, he said, "if a formula can be found to permit coverage of conditions there without affecting American lives and indulging in a form of appeasement by yielding to blackmail, we would all be greatly relieved."

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles told a news conference today the matter still was under study. But he said he could not forecast any change of policy at this time.

Associated Press wirephoto

William Worthy in Evanston, Ill., yesterday.

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
WILLIAM WORTHY, JR.

Nation's Press Backs Worthy's China Trip

BALTIMORE

The newspaper world and civil liberties organizations this week quickly rallied to the support of AFRO special correspondent William Worthy Jr., and two other newsmen who braved U.S. State Department wrath to enter Communist China.

William Dwight, publisher of the Holyoke, Mass., Transcript-Telegram and president of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, declared:

"There has been no meeting of the officers and board of directors of ANPA on this issue. Speaking personally, not as ANPA president, I have always felt we made a mistake in banning reporters from going to Red China.

"Surely it's a good thing for experienced American reporters to find out what's going on in Red China. We've said so in the Transcript-Telegram, and I imagine there has been pressure on the State Department to reverse its ruling."

JOSEPH F. COLLIS of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., president of the 29,000-member Newspaper Guild, was equally outspoken.

Mr. Worthy entered Red China from Hong Kong on Christmas Eve. On the following day he was followed by Edmund Stevens and Phillip Hollington, a reporter-photographer team for Look Magazine who entered from Moscow.

The State Department countered immediately with announcement of the cancellation of the trio's passports and possible Treasury Department action under "relevant provisions of the Trading With the Enemy Act."

This was ridiculed by Mr. Collis who declared:

"Apparently the basis for prosecution would be that they spent some money for food and shelter to keep alive. I'd say that's going pretty far."

"American reporters have been risking their lives for years, covering everything from hurricanes to fires. This is just another instance of trying to get the truth.

"Why should these reporters be penalized by their own government?" the Guild president queried.

* * *

LEGAL AID for the three newsmen in the event of Treasury Department prosecution viewed as extremely unlikely in most quarters, was offered by two organizations.

Patrick Murphy Malin, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union. expressed his organization's offer in a wire to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.

The offer was made, he said, "in the hope that our courts will rule that the State Department may not interfere with the right of travel of American newsmen and the people's right to receive their stories."

State Department opposition to travel of U.S. nationals inside of Red China, according to department officials, is based, in part, upon inability to provide them with customary governmental protection as a result of non-recognition of Red China.

In the ACLU statement Mr. Malin pointed out that the three newsmen had shown themselves willing to forego such protection and that the matter "has wide significance for the free press in the United States."

* * *

CLARK FOREMAN, director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, termed the State Department action as being "against public policy, in defiance of court decisions and in disregard of the department's own previously announced policy."

Mr. Foreman then cited Federal Court decisions which hold that passports cannot be revoked without a hearing.

The ECLC spokesman also called attention to the State Department's announcement in 1952 that U.S. passports would not be valid on the Chinese mainland.

The announcement, Mr. Foreman said, contained the declaration that: "In making this announcement the department emphasized that this procedure in no way forbids Americans to travel to those areas."

Editorial comment supporting the position of the three newsmen and urging reversal of the State Department stand was contained in newspapers throughout the country as well as in Editor and Publisher, the leading publication of the newspaper industry.

A few of the editorials follow:

EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

We have questioned the right of the State Department to prohibit U.S. newsmen from entering Red China, or trying to prevent them from going any place in the world to cover a story. It has been our belief that this action has made U.S. newspapermen the pawns of our government's foreign policy.

Press associations have done their best to circumvent this ruling without violating it by distributing articles from non-U.S. citizens who have been in Red China.

* * *

NOW THERE'S a direct challenge to the State Department's policy by the entrance of three U.S. Newsmen into that country. One went in from Hong Kong and two from Moscow.

There is some doubt as to what action the State Department can or will take against these men aside from possibly cancelling their passports. The latter move would be a severe penalty in removing an essential working tool of a foreign correspondent.

These test cases, if the State Department chooses to make them so, should be watched carefully by all newsmen. The issue is fairly simple: Are the news gathering activities of the American press subject to control by our government according to what its foreign policy might be at any given moment?

We don't think they should be.

LOUISVILLE COURIER-JOURNAL

For eight years, the news Americans have received from Communist China has come from foreign sources. British and French newsmen are not barred by their governments from working in China, and we have had dispatches from some of them.

There have been other stories, some colored by the antagonism of Formosa or by propagandists of both sides in Hong Kong.

* * *

BUT THE valuable observations of objective and competent American reporters on one of the most important national revolutions of modern times have been lost to us for years.

This situation has come about because our State Department stamps American passports as not valid for use in China, and newsmen until now have respected the ban even though professionally they disapproved of it.

But last summer the Chinese Government suddenly offered visas to 18 American newsmen. Whatever the motives behind the offer, this meant an opening of the shutters behind which China has been hidden from our sight, a chance to know something of what has been going on among a people who once were our friends.

* * *

OUR STATE Department backed by President Eisenhower, urged all the invited correspondents to decline, and refused to validate any passports for China.

But the lost opportunity rankled, and last week three American newsmen ignored their passports and crossed into China.

* * *

THEY AND their employers understood that by doing so they removed themselves from the protection of the State Department, but this is a calculated risk and one that newsmen have taken for years whenever they enter troubled areas.

It is understandable that our Government, which still insists that pasports are a privilege rather than a right, might utter some warning; even that it should go to the length of revoking their passports.

But it has gone farther than this, invoking the "broad retaliatory powers" of the Trading With the Enemy Act. With some measure of prudence the State Department refrained from saying what the retaliation would be, other than mentioning the seizure of bank accounts.

* * *

SINCE MOST photographers and reporters aren't noted for their great wealth, this threat might seem more comic than awe-inspiring.

But is it one that makes the State Department look foolish as well as obstinate and one that should be fought vigorously by publishers and editors.

"It should be clearly understood," says the official statement, "that in taking this action the United States is not notivated by any desire to deny to the American public information about Communist China." Yet this is the ultimate, the only important effect, of its continued denial to newsmen of the right of free foreign travel.

* * *

THE THREE MEN who have decided to challenge the department's ban apparently did so with the considered support of their publishers and in full knowledge that there would be angry repercussions.

But they deserve credit for challenging a ruling that many newspapermen and many lawyers feel goes beyond the proper function of a State Department.

* * *

THE POWER to forbid free travel for a serious purpose is one that the department has invoked freely since World War II.

Whether it has done so legally is a matter still being argued in the courts. But its practical effect in the case of newspaper reporters and China has left the country and its officials at the mercy of hearsay and second-hand reporting on a huge area vital to the world's future peace, for eight long years.

It is time the ban was challenged.

NEW YORK POST
(Sunday, Dec. 30)

In flagrant, contemptuous challenge to the American press, the State Department has cancelled the passports of three American newspapermen who dared defy its ban on entry into Red China.

It has simultaneously announced that their cases are being submitted to the Treasury Department "in view of the relevant provisions of the Trading With the Enemy Act."

* * *

THIS IS an act of gross intimidation and vindictive reprisal rarely equalled by any U.S. administration in its dealings with the press.

The move is as capricious and dishonorable as the original ban. It is plainly designed to prevent other correspondents from emulating the three men —William Worthy of the AFRO-AMERICAN and two representatives of Look Magazine who risked the department's wrath to obtain one of the most fateful stories of our time.

It should hardly be necessary to refute anew the State Department's claim that a reporter's journey of inquiry into Peiping implies moral approval of Communist despotism.

The business of newspapermen is to get the truth, and the business of newspapers is to print it. These are ancient axioms of our profession, and of our democracy. In a free society reporters are not the pawns of diplomacy.

* * *

THE STATE Department disgraced America when—with the President's prompt blessing — it first imposed its ban. It has now hopelessly compounded that disgrace.

The only relevant question is whether the press—individually and through every agency such as the American Newspaper Publisher's Association, the American Society of Newspaper Editors and the American Newspaper Guild — will respond to the challenge with the passion and conviction that the occasion demands.

* * *

FOR THIS most arrogant form of censorship and punishment could only have been handed down by a government that had convinced itself that the deeds of a Republican administration are above reproach in most of this nation's newspapers.

On Thursday the Post undertook to find out what, if any. legal basis existed for the State Department's threat of reprisals against the inquisitive correspondents. For 48 hours we got nothing but evasive double-talk from Lincoln White and other State Department aides.

On Friday afternoon—about four hours before the latest State Department decree—we completed arrangements with William Worthy's New York representative for publication of a special series of dispatches.

We did so because we believe any independent first-hand report from Red China comes under the heading of important public information.

We eagerly await the arrival of Worthy's report, and if we

may say so, it will take some power higher than John Foster Dulles to prevent its publication.

(Thursday, Jan. 3)

In response to inquiries from the Post, both William Dwight, president of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, and Joseph Collis, head of the American Newspaper Guild, have condemned the State Department crackdown on three reporters who defied its ban on travel to Red China.

We welcome their words. We trust it will not be too long before the ANPA formally endorses the stand of its president and the American Society of Newspaper Editors finds its own voice on the subject.

* * *

LET US pray that it is only a matter of time before a lot of silent editorial pages are heard on the same point. Indeed, it is surely not inappropriate to suggest that Look magazine—two of whose representatives are the targets of the punitive action outlined by the State Department—ought to have spoken up many hours ago.

The original ban was indefensible; the proposed punishments are obscene. But the comparative quiet with which most of the press has so far greeted the recent news can only strengthen the delusions of bureaucratic grandeur which made these rulings possible.

BOSTON HERALD

. . . To deprive the public of the facts about Communist China is to adopt the weapons of the totalitarian state. We cannot ignore Communist China like a headache that will go away if we don't talk about it.

PITTSBURGH POST-GAZETTE

Approves the trip of newsman William Worthy to Red China, to find out what's going on there, despite the disapproval of the U.S. State Department.

Such disapproval "ill accords with the Department's repeated calls for world-wide freedom in gathering and disseminating news." Now "it ought to lift its news ban altogether."

WASHINGTON POST

The three American newsmen who have gone to Communist China to report about that forbidden land are affording a necessary challenge to a silly regulation.

Whether they were wise in violating State Department passport restrictions remains to be demonstrated; they have opened themselves to possible disciplinary action as well as to impounding of their funds in this country.

* * *

IT WOULD of course be preferable if the State Department would voluntarily change the policy which forbids American reporters to travel to an important area of the world.

But plainly the Administration was not going to budge.

There is no question that the Administration has general authority under the law to control passports and in certain circumstances to block funds.

The courts have ruled that this authority may not be used capriciously in the issuance or withholding of passports from individuals.

Whether the denial of access to a country for reporting purposes is capricious still must be tested.

In any event an injunction process probably would require several years.

* * *

ALTHOUGH THE newsmen may be technically wrong in taking matters into their own hands and in forfeiting governmental protection, they are abundantly right on ground of principle.

The State Department would be well-advised to consider the matter in its larger aspects if the United States is not to become a laughing stock.

This newspaper agrees fully with the administration that the remaining American prisoners in China must be released before there can be any accommodation with China. But that is not the point.

* * *

ADMINISTRATION policy has been denying to American readers news from American reporters about the most populous country in the world—news which Americans need to form intelligent judgements. This amounts to censorship.

If mere reporting from foreign countries constituted moral approval of the governments concerned, many of the areas of the world would be on the prohibited list.

American writers are no more likely to be seduced by Communist blandishments in Peiping than they have been in Moscow.

* * *

INDEED, SOME accounts from China by Canadian and British reporters have been highly critical. Chou En-Lai's comments over Edward R. Murrow's program on Sunday (recorded in Burma) demonstrated a continuing rigidity in Chinese policy.

The point is that Americans ought to know from their own sources what is going on; and the State Department, which acts as if it were afraid of the facts, could also do with some direct reporting. It is time to tear down this Great Wall of China.

N.Y. HERALD TRIBUNE

Despite the objections of the American press, the State Department has given no indication of any change in its announced purpose of taking punitive action against three American newspapermen, now in Red China.

It is perfectly obvious that this policy will do no harm to Mao's regime. The only sufferers will be the newspapermen themselves, the American public and the cause of a free press.

When the State Department announced its opposition to American correspondents entering Red China last August, this newspaper wrote that it protested "strongly against the unwisdom of using American law and the machinery of the American State Department to deprive the American people of facts which they are entitled to know."

* * *

NOW THAT an actual case has arisen involving a defiance of the department's ruling, we enter another protest—against the ruling itself and against the methods being taken to make it effective.

The State Department alleges, in its own defense, that it is unable to afford protection to newspaper men in Red China — which would have barred Henry Morton Stanley from finding Dr. Livingstone, and cut off virtually every report by every correspondent who ever covered a war or a riot.

The department also asserts that Red China is a special case, because it has "imprisoned American citizens and employed them as political hostages for bargaining purposes."

If this means that the State Department wants to show its disapproval of Red China, barring reporters who could give an accurate account (even if confined to a "guided tour") of conditions behind the Bamboo Curtain is a strange way of doing so.

* * *

IF IT MEANS that the department fears the newspaper men will be added to the number of hostages, it should realize that the Peiping government is shrewd enough to know that such action would have the worst possible effect on world opinion.

In sum, the arguments used in favor of the ban are not convincing, while, in this newspaper's opinion, the arguments against the ban are overwhelming.

As we commented on Aug. 22: "It is in the interest of the whole free world that every opportunity be seized to provide information about the peoples enslaved by Communism, to hold up a standard of alert, vigorous and unhampered pursuit of the truth."

Worthy broadcasts news from China mainland

Afro American p. 8

BALTIMORE

Some of the American prisoners held by the Red Chinese are to be released during the next few months, it was reported last week.

Baltimore Sun

The report was made by William Worthy, reporter for the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers in the first broadcast made by an American newsman from Communist China since the Korean War.

The broadcast was heard over the Columbia Broadcasting System's radio world news roundup on Saturday (Dec. 20).

The text of Mr. Worthy's report follows:

Feb 1-12-57

"A small Western diplomatic colony in Peiping is awaiting the expected arrival of Prime Minister Chou En Lai for possible further word on the fate and whereabouts of the 10 Americans still imprisoned by the Chinese government.

"While no date has been officially announced for Mr. Chou's return to Peiping, it's believed here that he will fly home about Jan. 4 in order to clear his desk before departing for talks in Moscow and Warsaw.

* * *

"FOR THE past six weeks of the Premier's travels through Asia, he has dropped hints that at least some of the 10 Americans prisoners would earn early parole for good behavior.

"Even without such time off, the sentences of three of the 10, a Lutheran missionary, a Franciscan priest and a Jesuit priest are due to be up in March, April and June of the New Year.

"So far as can be learned here, the general charge of all ten cases has been espionage."

WRITER REFUSES TO YIELD PASSPORT

Times Tue New York Feb 2-7-57

Newsman Who Visited Red China Defies U.S. Action to Compel Return Home

BUDAPEST, Hungary, Feb. 8 (AP)—William Worthy, correspondent of The Baltimore Afro-American, refused today to surrender his passport to United States authorities in Budapest. They had been ordered by Washington to amend it so that he would have had to return to the United States.

Mr. Worthy later left by train for Vienna.

The 35-year-old United States correspondent is in disfavor with the State Department because he went to Communist China on a news reporting mission. He thus defied the Government order that newsmen must remain away from Communist China as long as Americans were imprisoned there.

Mr. Worthy explained tonight that he refusal to give up the passport was a matter of principle. He maintains that the United States Government has no right to limit a reporter's travel in his search for news.

He said he wanted a court ruling on the State Department directive that his passport be invalidated for any travel except a trip home.

Made Some Broadcasts

Mr. Worthy seemed eager to get back to the United States after having been one of the first United States correspondents to visit Peiping in seven years. In addition to representing the Baltimore paper, he served as a special correspondent for The New York Post and made some broadcasts for the Columbia Broadcasting System.

He and Edmund Stevens and Philip Harrington, reporter and photographer for Look magazine, traveled to China from Moscow. The magazine has asked a hearing on the State Department's move to revoke Mr. Stevens' passport. Mr. Harrington has returned to New York, but no action against him has been reported.

According to Mr. Worthy, Vice Consul Richard R. Selby Jr. formally demanded in a twenty-minute interview at the United States legation here that the correspondent give up his passport or in effect say for the record: "I refuse to have anything to do with you."

Mr. Worthy told reporters: "I would not take those alternatives but I would not give him the passport, either." He added that his meeting with Mr. Selby had been a courteous one.

He said he was awaiting advice from the American Civil Liberties Union on whether to ask for a hearing in Budapest or in Washington.

Government's Stand Attacked

Editor & Publisher, newspaper trade weekly, accused the State Department in an editorial yesterday of "confusion" in its ban on American journalists visiting Communist China.

The magazine stated that the State Department had been forbidding reporters to go to Communist China because it did not recognize that regime and could not guarantee protection to United States citizens there.

However, Secretary of State Dulles gave a different reason last Tuesday, it noted. Mr. Dulles said that the Chinese Communist Government "has repeatedly tried to use the illegal detention of Americans in Communist China as a means of pressure" to get United States reporters to enter the country.

"If it is true that Red China has linked the entry of United States correspondents to the release of the prisoners, then our Government should have refused to recognize such a connection," the magazine said. "It should have stood on the principle, which has guided our Government up to now, that the travel of American newsmen has no relation to diplomatic negotiations.

"That principle always has been, and still is, the right one," the editorial stated.

Pulitzer Prize For Worthy?

Afro-American

BALTIMORE — Editorial expressions of approval of William Worthy Jr.'s defiance of the State Department ban on travel in Red China by U.S. nationals continued to mount this week.

Support for Mr. Worthy and two Look Magazine newsmen, now in Red China, came from all segments of the American press and included a suggestion for awarding of a Pulitzer prize in journalism to the AFRO and Mr. Worthy.

* * *

LEONARD B. BOUDIN, an attorney who has represented applicants denied passports in a number of Federal District Court cases, challenged the threatened passport seizure as contrary to law and public policy.

The American Committee for Cultural Freedom was no less sharply critical in a statement in which it declared:

"There is no question but that the ban is unwise.

"Reporters are not diplomatic representatives, nor is their presence in a country a gesture of approbation which should be granted or denied at the whim of a foreign office.

"We share the horror of Americans generally at the totalitarian persecution of innocent prisoners, but we submit that the free movement of journalists is not a proper diplomatic bargaining counter."

The State Department contended that the entry of the three newsmen into Red China "prejudiced release of Americans still held prisoner there."

The ACCF statement took issue with this, declaring:

"If the activities of reporters can be regulated according to the shifting strategies of the State Department, freedom of the press will suffer a grave impairment.

"The State Department should seek to expose totalitarian countries to the sharpest scrutiny of the American press, rather than reinforce the Iron Curtain by arbitrary restrictions of its own."

INDIVIDUAL commentators and columnists were no less outspoken in their condemnation of the State Department position.

Bill Costello, American Broadcasting Company commentator, declared on the 100th anniversary of Woodrow Wilson's birth:

"Right now the capital might be a better servant of the American people if the inspiration of Wilson's ideal of a fully informed public could be renewed and revitalized.

"Too many aspects of our national life are being masterminded by self-serving cliques operating behind a screen of anonymity. Take the matter of our news about Red China — or rather, our lack of news.

"In some misguided sense of 'Momism' the administration has chose to set itself up as the keeper of the nation's news conscience;

"It has rapped the knuckles of editors and publishers, individually and collectively, and tied them to the government's apron strings.

"It remained for the AFRO-AMERICAN newspaper chain this week to reclaim the custody of its conscience, and send a reporter into Red China to give us a first-hand account of what goes on behind the curtain.

"Now he is to be penalized. The administration has put up a fascinating piece of casuistry to cover up its invasion of press freedoms, but it has nevertheless been unable to rewrite the Constitution to exclude those guarantees of freedom.

"This process of tampering with the channels of communication has a dangerous tendency to proliferate. One department or agency tries it, and others are tempted to do likewise.

"Russell Wiggins of the Washington Post published a book this year in which he provided elaborate documentation of the bureaucratic trend toward censorship. Even without going very far below the surface of things, he showed pretty conclusively that the public is being systematically kept in ignorance about a lot of public business.

"The same lesson was hammered home at last year's atomic conference in Geneva: up to that time, the Atomic Energy Commission had made a fetish of its secrecy, but the scientific papers that came in from all parts of the world soon made it clear that most of our oh-so-secret secrets were almost universally known!...."

* * *

THE FALLACY that newsmen expect the U.S. Government to guarantee their safety was sharply scored by Roscoe Drummond, columnist for the New York Herald Tribune:

Secretary Dulles or, if necessary, President Eisenhower himself ought to extricate the administration from what seems to me the profoundly untenable, harmful, useless and contradictory policy to keep American newspapers from covering what's happening in Red China with American correspondents.

The official arguments for acting to block reporters' travel to Red China simply do not make sense and never did. What is more important is that the stated reasons for the policy do not go to the heart of the problem.

The State Department has paternistically explained that American newspapermen must not go to Red China because the United States, since it does not recognize Red China, cannot guarantee their safety.

Bosh. American reporters do not expect the Government to assure their safety. In war and peace they have covered the news to the riskful reaches of the world and are prepared to run all necessary dangers in the pursuit of an enterprising and free press.

The American press does not ask the Government to 'authorize' travel to Red China. It simply asks that the government not interpose itself between the press and its efforts to cover the news wherever it is.

* * *

THE NEWSPAPERS do ask this much: That the government at least refrain from trying to punish American reporters who are willing to take the risks of getting the news beyong frontiers where the State Department does not want the American passport to extend.

Already three American newsmen have reached Peiping. They are Edmund Stevens, Moscow correspondent for the Cowles publications, formerly with the Christian Science Monitor; Phillip Harrington, photographer for Look Magazine, and William Worthy, representing the weekly AFRO-AMERICAN, published in Baltimore.

Doesn't it seem a little fantastic, truly hasn't something gone awry, hasn't some official slipped a cog that these newspapermen should be threatened with the 1917 trading with the enemy act?

Is there any embargo on traffic in news? You'd think the State Department, which hasn't any sources of its own in Red China, would welcome, rather than hinder, objective American reporting.

If American reporters are to be prevented from going to Red China, the news will be written and handled by non-American reporters.

Does the State Department think that it is better to have the news from Red China written exclusively by non-Americans? I doubt it. It just hasn't thought through its policy.

The State Department's desire to prevent United States reporters from visiting Red China is evidently related to its negotiations with Peiping representatives over the release of American soldiers who have been held prisoners in Red China.

These negotiations have been on-and-off now for nearly two years, and very substantial headway has been made. Just 10 Americans, who are 10 too many, are now being held, and the outlook seems favorable for their release.

As far as I know, the State Department has offered no evidence to indicate that the travel or non-travel of American reporters to Red China, their presence or non-presence in Red China, has had, is having or will have any bearing upon the success or non-success of these diplomatic negotiations.

It seems to me that the reasons for trying to prevent or punish American correspondents going to Red China to report are inadequate and strained.

There are, however, positive reasons why the government should not interpose itself in this manner.

The value, prestige and credibility of the American press around the world is its independence of the government. It is not only a free press, it is a private press, not government-supervised or government-directed.

I suggest that, when the United States government assumes to tell American reporters where they can't travel to report, on the grounds that traveling there might have some bearing on diplomatic negotiations, then it is acting to deprive the United States press of one of its most valuable attributes — its independence of government — and is assuming to use the press as an instrument of government.

I can't believe that the President wants it that way. It is bad for the press, bad for the government and bad for the American people because it restricts the flow of news.

* * *

SEYMOUR FREIDIN, foreign correspondent for the New York Post, writes from Vienna:

For trying to do a job that is necessary, — namely, that of reporting Communist China - three American newsmen will soon face official penalties.

The State Department's displeasure and collective threats throw open the whole question of reporting from Communist countries.

Where the department, on one hand preaches about freedom of information and circulation, it seeks today to restrict movement and facilities for American reporters, not just in Communist China, but in other countries under similar regimes.

There are the legal arguments offered by the department: The U.S. has no dipolmatic relations with Communist China and can, therefore, offer no protection. By entering Peiping, the newspaper men prejudiced release of Americans still held prisoner there.

* * *

BOTH PROPOSITIONS are, I believe, as a reporter who has worked in many Communist countries, unfounded. No American diplomatic installation, with recognized relations with a Communist regime, has been able to protect nationals arrested by those governments in the past.

They have lingered in jails until a deal was made or it suited the cynical purposes of the Communist governments concerned to release them.

More than 18 months have elapsed since the U.S. entered into discussions with Communist China, at Geneva, for the release of Americans held prisoner by the Peiping government.

We say that we do not recognize Communist China; yet we talk to her representatives on official business.

If we commit ourselves to de facto negotiations with a regime we say we abhor, we obviously want something from it. That regime will give only so long as it is profitable. Unless it can obtain something tangible in return, it will not yield in return.

* * *

WHAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT, in effect, demands is that newspapermen be bound by official policy. It is asking that reporters tacitly accept the government line, whatever it may be.

Not only does this premise infringe on freedom of journalistic action, it tends towards making combined mouthpieces of government policy those reporters trying to carry out their function, trying to report.

In other words, are we to accept, like TASS or PRAVDA, government policy on all external and internal affairs?

By its recent action the department has served to confirm traditional Communist suspicions that working western newspapermen only carry out the strict orders of their respective governments.

As the world's leading exponents of free enterprise and competition, we have already restricted competition and initiative against foreign journalists.

There are restrictions for American newspapermen, as with other nationals, to enter various countries because we do not approve of the regimes.

Yet West Germany, for example, which has no diplomatic relations with these countries in question permits its journalists to circulate wherever they can get visas.

If American newspapermen had been expressly forbidden to enter Hungary, how would the public have been served during these tragic days of the revolution? Certainly not by the State Department, whose own reporting facilities are inadequate and confined to official scrutiny only.

American reporters, working abroad have a mission to fulfill, which in most respects is far more important than the desk-bound bureaucrat or diplomat analyzing scraps of information for the benefit of his immediate superior.

* * *

BY THE NATURE of their work, reporters are impelled to disseminate all information they believe to be accurate and to eyewitness events where they can. You don't hear about American diplomats exposing themselves to fire these days to get information.

There is no hideous implication, fortunately, that the three Americans in China are dupes. Two of the three, - Bill Worthy and Ed Stevnns - I have known for some time. They are able and experienced reporters who have been well seasoned to the operations of Communist-ruled countries.

Their reports can only en-

hance American public knowledge of what is going on in Communist China. It is unfortunate that many more Americans are not there.

Before these three American newspapermen, who carried on in the old journalistic tradition of trying to get into a place first, return from their trip, the threats against them must be rescinded. It must be replaced with a more knowledgable attitude toward reporters working abroad.

If we are the reflections of free American enterprise, how then can we compete against West Germans, British, French Canadians, Swiss, Italian and other news agencies and reporters? There are no restrictions on them. A State Department bureaucracy is hardly the place to resolve newspaper problems.

* * *

THE SUGGESTION that Mr. Worthy be considered for this year's Pulitzer prize in journalism was made by George Lavan, writing for the Militant, a New York Socialist publication.

Mr. Lavan wrote:

The Pulitzer prize for journalism this year should go to William Worthy and the AFRO-AMERICAN, the paper for which he is foreign correspondent.

Worthy has done what none of the big press association or big newspaper reporters dared do. He has defied the State Department's ban on U.S. newsmen going to China and writing the news from there as they find it.

The State Department, after years of propaganda deploring the iron curtain which kept American newsmen out of China, now finds it to its advantage to forbid U.S. reporters to go there.

Of course the State Department's action and its threats of reprisal against Worthy are unconstitutional. But respect for the liberties of the American people do not weigh much in Washington.

The Big Business press, which loves to contrast its "free" status with that of government-controlled papers in other countries, has docilely submitted to the State Department's ukase with only a few editorial mutterings.

It is quite in keeping with the mentality of the lords of the press in this country that Frank H. Barthomew, president of the United Press, can make a speech (Dec. 26) praising "the free and unfettered U.S. reporter prying into all sorts of things which are 'none of his business' and 'not in the public interest'" for keeping the American public informed, without referring to Worthy and the State Department ban.

The colored press is to be complimented on the courage displayed by Worthy and the AFRO-AMERICAN, especially since it is acting in the face of great government pressure.

* * *

THE FOLLOWING are excerpts from the nation's press:

EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

The Administation's policy with respect to correspondents entering Red China was ill-conceived and unwarranted. Neither the United States government nor any other government gains anything by attempting to black out news of a foriegn nation, or, in effect, tell its citizenry that it has no right to read reports from that nation written by its own press representatives.

* * *

THE HERALD (Boston, Mass.)

An American newspaperman has crossed the great wall of censorship the State Department has thrown around Red China.

In defying the department's ban on reporters in the Chinese mainland, the Roxbury - born correspondent of the Baltimore AFRO-AMERICAN, William Worthy, takes the only course open to the representative of a free press: the illegal one.

Last August when the Peiping government invited 15 U.S. correspondents behind the Bamboo Curtain there was considerable criticism of the State Department, which clamped a ban on the whole idea.

Despite a chorus of protest, the department held fast to its policy: No return of prisoners, no news from Red China.

Now that Worthy has crossed the border the issue is again in the open. It is all right to station newspapermen in Moscow, the heartland of Communism, but contact with Red China apparently implies some curious form of recognition.

The policy of the State Department has invited a move such as Worthy's. However deplorable it may officially seem as an act against the state, it may also be considered the correspondent is acting for a more vital principle, the free flow of information.

For nearly eight years the American people have been deprived of firsthand accounts of Red China. Scores of British, French and Japanese journalists have toured the mainland and all three governments have been permitted resident reporters.

* * *

AMERICAN JOURNALISTS, representing a vaster reading public, are forced to cover the news via Peiping Radio and the dispatches of returned travelers.

A five year prison term and a fine of two thousand dollars is the penalty for violating passport conditions. But before the State Department invokes the law it may be remembered that correspondents recently visited North Vietnam and Bulgaria, both unrecognized, and that American newsmen were stationed in Moscow during the quarter-century the Communists had no diplomatic recognition here.

To deprive the public of the facts about Communism is to adopt the weapons of the totalitarian state. We cannot ignore Communist China like a headache that will go away if we don't talk about it.

ST. LOUIS POST - DISPATCH

In threatening to revoke the passports of three newsmen who entered Communist China, the State Department has called attention to the indefensibility of its ban on American correspondents' travel there.

So long as the ban exists most news organizations will prefer to observe it. There is a serious question, however, of the State Department's legal right to impose such a ban for the obvious diplomatic purpose of pressuring Red China to release American prisoners.

There is also a serious question of the government's authority to withhold passports from anybody, the individual's right to travel being one of the things a democracy is supposed to protect.

Even if the department can establish its power to forbid newsmen to enter China, it cannot by any means establish the wisdom of doing so.

In threatening reprisals against the three correspondents who have defied the ban-one from a Baltimore newspaper and two from Look magazine - the department says travel is banned in China because the Peiping government holds imprisoned Americans as 'political hostages.'

But what of the banned correspondents? In effect the State Department is holding them as political hostages by denying them the riight to gather and report facts as it is their job to do.

Of course it is wrong for Red China to use American prisoners for diplomatic bargaining. But so is it wrong for the United States to bargain with the rights of newsmen to practice their profession. The department would be within bounds if it chose to announce that correspondents must travel in China at their own risk.

But if Peiping is willing to admit them, the United States government places itself in a bad position by imposing a ban of its own.

* * *

THE BIRMINGHAM NEWS

Two American magazine staff members and a reporter for a weekly newspaper entered Red China despite the U.S. State Department's warning that any American trying to do so would find his passport cancelled.

This paper strongly believes that the State Department's policy in this matter is weak. It is easy enough to understand official reasoning.

The basis for such approbation is, simply expressed, a fear that the Communist Chinese would permit American newsmen to see only what they wanted them to see.

It is presumed that this would be only that which would be favorable to the Peiping regime.

But in our view this contention is weak because it presumes that an American news man would simply report what he saw, much as if a Red newsman were doing the writing.

This is, of course, an absurd assumption. Experienced American newsmen can pick out fact from fantasy.

Newspapers of this country ought to be making more of a protest to the State Department. Our correspondents ought to be able freely to go anywhere in the world, if foreign countries do not themselves set up barriers.

* * *

TOLEDO BLADE

An enterprising American reporter, acting in the tradition of free journalism, has gone into Red China for a look-see, despite our State Department's ban on such a trip.

The ban was imposed last summer, after the Peiping government invited several American newsmen to visit Red China for a month.

The ban is both silly and censorial. It is prompted by the Department's just anger at the failure of Peiping to release nearly a dozen Americans whom it holds captive.

But it's one thing for the department to condemn Peiping and quite another for it to constrain American newsmen. The latter ill accords with the Department's repeated calls for worldwide freedom in gathering and disseminating news.

What of the safety of American newsmen in Red China?

The department is duty-bound to raise that question, especially when it believes that, in cases of harm, there is little, if anything, it can do to aid them.

But the department's duty, we think, is discharged in this matter when it warned the reporters and their editors of peril and tells them it cannot be responsible for the consequences. If, after having been so appraised, a reporter and his editor want to take the risk, then that is their business.

The reporter and editor in this case have acted thus. Before entering Red China, William Worthy, a correspondent for the Baltimore AFRO - AMERICAN waived any claim against the U.S. government that might arise if he, an American citizen holding a lawful passport, were abused by the Red China Government. He entered with the prior knowledge and consent of his editor.

There is a danger in the trip, though probably not to Mr. Worthy's person or property. The danger is that he may be so lionized and circumscribed by his Red Chinese hosts as to see only that aspect of the "new" China that they want him to see.

But the best proof against this danger is to permit other duly-accredited American reporters to go in, for in consensus of trained newsmen lies the best chance of certainity.

The department "deplores Mr. Worthy's trip as being "against the expressed policy of the United States."

There are legal reprisals it might initiate against him when he returns. But the department would compound its silliness were it to do so. Far from considering any action against Mr. Worthy, it ought now to lift its news ban altogether.

* * *

LOS ANGELES SENTINEL

AMERICAN JOURNALISTS are particularly touchy about being told what they can cover and what they cannot cover. Freedom of the press, they argue, must be upheld. We are a subscriber to that theory, too.

But in dishing out assignments there are occasions when it is possible to breach the bounds of propriety, if not common sense.

This seems apparent in the case of a colored newsman who recently entered Red China, in the face of a State Department ban, to interview three colored turncoat GI's.

Some months ago newspaper editors raised Ned with the State Department because 18 newsmen invited to visit Communist China were refused permission to travel there.

State Department officials said that since the United States has no relations with Red China, their personal safety could not be guaranteed.

Editors indignantly screamed "the freedom of the press" was being curtailed and argued that if someone was out to get him, a newsman was in jeopardy anywhere.

This seems a valid argument in view of the manhandling mobs have gifen reporters and photographers in covering the racial segregation battles in the South.

* * *

FINALLY, EDITORS decided to respect the State Department order and held their reporters in check.

In view of this, it seems that the colored publication that sent its reporter to Hong Kong on a U.S. passport, where he picked up a Chinese visa and entered that country, has done what colored Americans have often been accused of doing—seeking social privilege.

It is no more fair for a colored reporter to have access to coverage than it is for white reporters. His coverage is no more important than anyone else's.

Objectivity of the State Department ban is evidenced in the fact that passports of the reporter under discussion and two Caucasians have been revoked for violating the order.

Another State Department argument against the reporter covering Red China or at least their relations with turncoat GI's is that his stories may jeopardize efforts to win the release of American captives held by Peiping. This, we cannot buy.

The State Department order, to our mind, was ill considered in the first place. However, if anything should happen to the adventurous reporter (whose ingenuity we cannot help admiring) there should be no cries of racial prejudice if he is written off.

WHAT AFRO READERS SAY - - -

I wholly disapprove of what you say but will defend to the death your right to say it. — Voltaire on Helvetius.

MIGHTY ARMY MARCHING

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — The bishops of the AME Church, according to the financial secretary's report, give nearly to certain councils of churches nearly $15,000 (and without law too) but they have never given one dime to the NAACP or the southern bus fights in Montgomery or Tallahassee.

Montgomery is just a few miles from Selma, in the Fourth Congressional District of Alabama where Jerry Haralson was the last colored congressman from the South.

That is also where M. E. Bryant, an AME presiding elder, was editor of a newspaper, "The Independent." Later he edited the "Southern Christian Recorder," a paper that was taken over by the General Conference of the AME Church.

As editor of the two papers, the Rev. Mr. Bryant made a strenuous fight for better educational opportunities for colored children, with or without the Supreme Court decision.

He fought also the jim crow car, and even more fiercely be fought to destroy a peculiar, but general, "integration" between white men and colored women, and eventually with the aid of the white woman this deviltry was driven out.

And there was one hard-headed individual by the name of John H. Murphy who established the AFRO-AMERICAN at Baltimore.

He was the "Mr. AME Laymen" of his day and time. Despite the differing attitudes of brave leaders like the W. W. H. Hart, and others of that ilk, Mr. Murphy kept the AFRO at the masthead of his paper in the battle for complete freedom.

AFRO is still at the masthead of the newspaper founded by John H. Murphy.

And with Liberia and Ghana and Ethiopa mixed up with so many off-color setups in the Suez Canal mess, and with Eisenhower mixed up with Liberia, and seemingly pulling away (temporarily) from Britain and France—

And Nixon running all over the world, kissing black babies, who knows but that in the distant future there may be a mighty army marching under one distinct banner of Afro Americanism?

IRA T. BRYANT

NOW HEAR THIS

PITTSBURGH—I write this letter to Americans everywhere.

I write out of a sense of instant urgency and from a deep faith in the ability of Americans to protect and defend their inalienable rights against all threats, whether they be internal or external.

In many of the states, cities and rural communities, the klans and councils are organizing with powerful and bold supporters to destroy the very foundation stones of individual freedom.

Their appeal is not to brotherly love but to hate and scorn.

They spread fear; feed on hostility; use violence as a weapon to create and maintain tenor; intimidate the helpless with bombs; and reached into some state legislatures and administrative offices in an attempt to destroy their most feared enemy, the NAACP.

They who use the klans and the councils know that if they can seriously weaken the NAACP they will have blunted the most powerful weapon that freedom loving Americans have.

They also know that unless they can stop the progress of the NAACP their hope of returning America to the dark days of prejudice and discrimination is done.

I am therefore appealing to all Americans to rally and support the one organization which consistently fought to bring the blessing of individual freedom to millions of Americans.

To win this battle the NAACP has included in its million dollar goal for the 1957 Fight for Freedom Fund campaign the raising of $500,000 in memberships through its branches.

Many larger branches have adopted small southern branches and are including the total of the joint memberships in their goals.

The year 1957 is crucial for the NAACP. We are appealing to you — Americans of all creeds, all colors, all races — to support the NAACP campaign in your community.

(Mrs.) DAISY LAMPKIN,
National Chairman,
NAACP Membership Division

ANSWER TO KKK

AKRON, Ohio — I say to the person who addressed his comments to William Worthy in the "What AFRO Readers Say" column (May 18) last week, and signed his name KKK—

Mr. Worthy has as much right as you, or more, to live in America. The Ku Klux Klan isn't doing America any good in its relationship with other countries.

From all points of view, it seems as if Russia would be the logical place for you and the klan, rather than Mr. Worthy.

The United States is the home of the colored American. People of your ilk, however, don't seem to acknowledge the fact until time of war and time to pay taxes.

But it's about time for you to change your way of thinking. Colored Americans no longer accept the doctrine of inferiority, nor are they easy prey for brainwashers.

I can readily understand why the colored leaders are consistently urging non-violence in the fight for equality. You have proved your inferiority by boasting of superiority.

I pity the likes of you.

HARRY ZANDER

A FINE SELECTION

WASHINGTON — I am gratified at the AFRO's selection of Mrs. Lillie Jackson of Baltimore as the "Ideal Mother of 1957."

Mrs. Jackson exemplifies by her life those many fine qualities necessary for ideal motherhood.

It is inspirational to put before the public the continuing fine work of this stalwalt servant of God.

(Mrs.) BERTHA H. COLLINS

WHY IS WORLD SILENT?

NEW YORK — Why is the white world, the American white world in particular, so silent about the revolting execution of 25 Africans (accused of killing five policemen) in Pretoria, South Africa, Central Prison?

Is the white world, including the United States, aware of the fact that it is merely an island just off the coast of the world's mainland—Africa and Asia and homeland of the decisive part of the human race?

* * *

IS THE white world so blind and so mad as to court disaster? Is it so sure of itself? Is it so reckless?

I think colored America should also ponder these questions because "colored America" may yet have to save "white America" from itself.

How is it that intelligent Americans don't see the doom of an imperialist policy by which the "colored world" has been enslaved, murdered, lynched, impoverished and exploited for centuries? That policy is gone forever?

* * *

WHY NOT face it? That great slab of humanity known as the "colored" world is approaching the cross roads, and it's obvious for all to see, it will not choose the capitalist path, but the social path.

Along this path will be no more imperialism, murders, based on racialism, lynchings, exploitation or no more Pretoria, South Africas.

FATHER OWEN

FLORIDA DEFIES U.S.

NEW YORK — The State of Florida has raised the issue in momentus debate raging around the status of the colored man in American life to the highest possible political level.

It has challenged the power of the Supreme Court to interpret the Constitution in a manner disturbing to Florida's segregation policies and practices.

Heretofore the states of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi have resorted to delaying tactics to evade the U.S. Supreme Court's desegregation decisions.

* * *

THOUGH THE constitutional fall, the "rights" of the white supremacists must prevail. The "clear and present danger" theory thus runs its logical course.

Not since the state of South Carolina fired on Fort Sumter and precipitated the Civil War has a challenge to Federal authority been so clear and had such far-flung implications.

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

SUGGESTIONS OFFERED

Chicago—The United Brotherhood of America offers these suggestions to clubs and organizations throughout the country, and if accepted, the colored race will take a new look.

First, the colored ministers should cease their activities in politics at once. It is alright for them to advise their membership, but none of the ministers in other races take an active part in politics.

It is the duty of the church to create a bureau in the Ministerial Council for the purpose of collecting a yearly tax of $2 from the members of all churches in the council.

A third of such funds should be contributed to hospitals; a third to Old Folk Home and a third to establish an orphanage.

The money spent by many churches to broadcast should be invested in property, bonds, or banks in the church's name. We are too poor as a race to spend money foolishly. Other races seem to think that we are of the opinion that money is going out of style.

GEORGE W. STROTHER,
President

THOUGHTS OF THE FOUNDER

Times have changed and if we would be wise, we will change with it.

JOHN H. MURPHY SR.
May 5, 1906

Women's editor attends Columbia

NEW YORK—Mrs. Lula Garrett, womens' editor of the AFRO AMERICAN Newspapers, is one of 28 editors of women's pages of newspapers in 17 states, the District of Columbia and Hawaii, attending a two-week seminar at Columbia University, which opened Monday.

Mrs. Garrett is the 12th AFRO staff member who has attended the American Press Institute during the past 11 years.

The current seminar's program includes discussions of the organization and operation of women's departments, reader interests; food, fashion, society and club news, and promotion of the women's page.

* * *

THE SESSIONS will be addressed by a number of nationally known experts in the field.

Previous seminars have been attended by AFRO Editor, Cliff W. Mackay, Managing Editor Arthur M. Carter, Mrs. Elizabeth Phillips, assistant to the president;

Also Miss Ruth Jenkins, managing editor, Philadelphia AFRO; James H. Murphy, circulation director; John J. Oliver, production superintendent; John H. Murphy III, assistant business manager;

Also Mrs. Ida M. Smith, advertising saleswoman; Ralph D. Matthews, Washington AFRO; William I. Gibson and Mrs. Dorothy C. Gibson.

Things You Should Know

Call Kansas City, Mo.

Mrs. IDA B. WELLS-BARNETT

Pub. 2-12-57

p. 18

BORN IN MISSISSIPPI IN 1869, SHE TAUGHT SCHOOL IN MEMPHIS, LATER BECAME A NEWSPAPER EDITOR-OWNER! A LEADER IN THE CRUSADE TO OUTLAW LYNCHING, SHE COMPILED THE FIRST STATISTICAL REPORT ON THE SUBJECT IN 1895! AS CHAIRMAN OF THE ANTI-LYNCHING BUREAU OF THE NATIONAL AFRO-AMERICAN COUNCIL, SHE TOURED THE WORLD SPEAKING FOR CIVIL RIGHTS!

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Worthy's passport plea is appealed

Afro-American p. 1

Sat. 6-22-57

WASHINGTON — Tentatively refused after a hearing, William Worthy, AFRO foreign correspondent, laid plans Saturday to carry his fight for a passport renewal to a special State Department appeals board.

Ashley J. Nicholas, legal officer for the department's Passport Division, who sat as hearing officer on April 29, announced that he was rejecting Mr. Worthy's bid for a renewal of his passport on June 13.

The next step, under the department's procedures is for Nicholas' decision to be reviewed by the passport appeals' board.

IF THAT BOARD upholds Nicholas, the tentative refusal becomes permanent and Mr. Worthy is then free to take his case into the Federal court.

Refusal to grant Mr. Worthy a renewal of his passport is the way the State Department seeks to punish the AFRO correspondent for having visited Red China last Christmas against the department's wishes.

Oddly enough, the State Department has not seen fit to take any action against two other correspondents who also traveled in communist China for Look Magazine. They happen to be white.

Afro-American

Baltimore Md

Sat. 6-22-57

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CONTINENTAL FEATURES

EVENTS U. S. A.

September 25

WASHINGTON — A world wide religious program based upon the "progressive Pentecostal approach" to be launched at the Bible Way Church continues through Sept. 29. The Rev. Smallwood E. Williams is pastor.

September 28

SPRINGFIELD, Ill. — Gov. William G. Stratton of Illinois is to be the principal speaker at the Chicago Civil War Round Table. The Round Table is composed of Illinois Civil War Veterans.

NEW YORK — The Branford Model Awards testimonial at which contestants for the best display poster ads will win prizes, will be held here in the Waldorf Astoria Hotel.

September 30

ORANGEBURG, S.C. — A six-day program featuring football games, amusements and a carnival will be held here until Oct. 5 at the Orangeburg County Colored Fair.

October 1

LOS ANGELES — The 16th annual Gold Key Breakfast of the Women's Committee of the Community Chest here will be held at the Palladium. Reservations are limited to the first 900 persons.

ALBANY, N.Y. — The Ellicott-Masten Small Business Workshop will hold a program centering around the needs of the neighborhood merchant and service business operator at its Oct. 1 and 2 meetings in the Michigan Ave. YMCA here.

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — The Methodist Church will launch a new program here called "Church School at Home." The purpose is not to discourage church attendance but to attempt to reach hundreds of families who cannot attend church.

* * *

THE FIRST group of contemporary prints, selected by the members of the Print Council's board of directors will be on view and for sale continuously at the sales desk of the following museums:

The Baltimore Museum of Art in Baltimore, Md.; the Brooklyn Museum in Brooklyn, N.Y.; the Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati, Ohio; the Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts, Columbus, Ohio; the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn.;

9-28-57

Brooks Memorial Art Gallery, Memphis, Tenn.; the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis, Minn.; Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pa.; the San Francisco Museum of Art, San Francisco, Calif.; and the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

NEW YORK — An exhibition entitled "African art for the Collectors — 100 Sculptures from 30 Tribes," will open here in Segy Gallery extending through Nov. 15. Admission will be free to the public.

October 2

ATLANTA, Ga. — The New Farmers of America will hold their 23rd annual convention in the Municipal Auditorium here. The three-day convention is expected to attract some 1,200 new farmers and their advisors.

WASHINGTON — Robert D. McMillen, assistant secretary of the Department of Agriculture, will address the 23rd annual convention of New Farmers of America in Municipal Auditorium, Atlanta, Ga.

October 3

MEMPHIS, Tenn. — A large array of exhibits will be shown at the 44th annual session of the Tri-State Fair here at the Mid-South Fair Grounds. Exhibits will include livestock, poultry, agricultural products and other displays.

October 4

SUFFOLK, Va. — The Virginia State conference of NAACP branches will be in annual convention here to Oct. to take up such matters as church relations, voting and fund-raising techniques.

October 15

NEW YORK — The three-day session of the 37th annual convention of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America will meet at the Hotel Roosevelt here.

October 25

CHICAGO — The 23rd annual meeting and the 30th annual sessions of the American Heart Association will be held here in the Hotel Sherman to Oct. 29. Panel discussions and scientific talks will be part of the sessions.

November 9

COLUMBUS, Ga. — Plans were discussed here last week for the annual Peach Blossom Classic football game between Fort Valley College to be held here.

December 9

WASHINGTON — State and local officials will meet here on Dec. 9 and 10 to assess the status of their traffic accident prevention efforts and to set priorities for measures necessary to reduce deaths and injuries on the streets and highways.

WHAT AFRO READERS SAY:

I wholly disapprove of what you say but will defend to the death your right to say it—Voleive on Helvetive.

SEGREGATIONISTS IN MD.

ANNAPOLIS, Md. — Thanks to Maryland's Governor Theodore McKeldin who has pledged Dr. Harry N. Jones of Deale, Md., police protection if he will send his first-grade child back to school.

Breaking of school windows and parade of 12 carloads of segregationists with rifles doesn't bother a governor like McKeldin.

MARY LEE OWENS

EDITOR NOTE — The governor has stationed police at the school and at the house of Dr. Jones around the block.

CAMP PAROLE, Md. — Sixty percent of Dr. Jones' practice is white, and he has given his white neighbors a lot of free medical service. Decent people will stand by him if he sends his six-year-old kid back to school.

FLETCHER SMITH

BALTIMORE, MD. — Dr. Jones's family and his beautiful home are a credit to any Maryland town, large or small

MRS. AMANDA ORTEGUE

UPPER MARLBORO, Md. — Dr. Harry N. Jones says he is not a member of the NAACP. He might want to join at once and be proud to associate himself with those who fight within the law for freedom and first-class citizenship.

MRS. HARRIETT T. TAYLOR

ANNAPOLIS, Md. — Our trouble in Deale is among tobacco growers, who live to themselves. This is the seat of the Maryland Petition Committee — (the group that vainly petitioned the legislature to pass a school segregation law this year).

Another drawback is a superintendent of schools not wholly in favor of integration.

R. C. L.

'SATCHMO' SPEAKS

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. — When mild-mannered Louis (Satchmo) Armstrong says "The government can go to hell," it's plain that President Eisenhower's handling of Governor Faubus has worn many persons' patience thin.

E. S. WILLIAMS

NORFOLK, VA. — "Satchmo" is intemperate. I'd rather hear him stick to his jazz language and say, "That Presidential cat is nowhere, he's a real drag."

Ridicule is stronger than temper.

ERNEST THOMAS

CHARLESTON, S.C. — When Louis Armstrong gets riled up, the country is really going to hell.

PERCY L. TEMPLE.

CHARLOTTE, N.C.— Usually performers like "Satchmo," and Lena Horne do not comment on racial disturbances. Eartha Kitt and Jackie Robinson do frequently. Now if Nat "King" Cole would join the colored race and the NAACP, we can make it unanimous.

ARTHUR SNEAD

ON GOVERNOR FAUBUS

MONTREAL — Once more demonstrations of hate and wanton brutality raise their ugly heads in the "Land of the Stars and Stripes." The refusal to comply with the Supreme Court on integration stands out as a hideous monster.

The utter disregard shown by certain elements within the country in defiance of the law demonstrates chaos in its truest form.

This is all the more revolting when it is realized that this country is the headquarters of the United Nations.

HENRY J. LANGDON

HOLLYWOOD, Calif. — A bouqet, however small, goes to AFRO newsman Moses Newsom in Little Rock, Ark., whose deportment under ignorant racial prejudice showed a high degree of judgment.

J. D. GLASS

NEW YORK — The school segregation issue in the South has become the focus of intense attention not only in America, but also in most parts of the world. The racial problem in this country has become an international issue.

It must be surprising for all citizens of the United States that President Eisenhower has not spoken a single word condemning the action of Gov. Orval Faubus of Arkansas.

EDWARD HILL

MOVED TO TEARS

PITTSBURGH — I was moved to tears as I read the AFRO editorial on the late John Cotton. From February, 1937 through June, 1939, Mr. Cotton was my able bodied leader.

I can honestly say that he, unknowlingly, led me into becoming a teacher. He will be missed.

MRS. AGNES ENGLISH JONES

DECOSTA IS RIGHT

ABINGTON, Pa. — Chief St. Julian DeCosta, the Christian Indian, is right when he says that God is not interested in "race, color, creed, looks, shape, and hair.

May I add, neither is God interested in man's ability to make things.

There will never be racial happiness in this country as long as some of us teach our children to hate.

JOHNNY KINKADE

GET YOUR POLIO SHOTS

NEW YORK — Some 72 million people under 40 have started their vaccinations, but 37 million have not as yet done so.

The U.S. Public Health Service has revealed increased attacks rates in several parts of the country.

If you are under 40, start getting your polio shots today.

CHARLES H. BYNUM,
National Foundation
For Infantile Paralysis

SILENCE

WASHINGTON — I am shocked at the silence of our leaders who are not speaking out about the Arkansas outrage. The AFRO should do something about this.

It is shameful that children, the ministers and the NAACP should bear the brunt of this struggle.

If 'Satchmo" can speak out, why not put fire under others, who are acting like elephants, unaware of their power.

G. B. M. Jr.

SUGAR RAY

RICHMOND — I disagree with Sugar Ray Robinson who says Ike has no guts. He has convictions, as for example in military matters. On racial questions he is timid because he lacks deep and abiding convictions as to the brotherhood of men.

REV. JEREMIAH H. STONE.

NEWARK — Sugar Ray should get a chance in the ring against Governor Faubus. After all, isn't the Arkansas Governor battling school children?

RALPH J. FINES

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — Like Sugar Ray, I'd like to punch Governor Faubus on the nose.

MRS. SARA ACQUILLA

WHAT THE HELL

CAMBRIDGE, Md. — According to the Constitution, the Supreme Court and the Department of Justice, Arkansas Governor Faubus hasn't a leg to stand on.

What the hell is he standing on, President Eisenhower?

MIKE SOWELL

IKE AND ABE

BOSTON — Now we all know how colored people felt when President Abraham Lincoln received the Confederate announcement that the rebels would take no colored soldiers as prisoners and instead would shoot them in the field.

Abe did not speak up either. He let the rifles of the colored troops do the talking.

My father was in the 54th Massachusetts Regiment.

CONRAD SAMPSON

EPISCOPAL BISHOPS

SEWANEE, Tenn. — P. E. Bishops in Council here had a whole day of quiet, concentrated prayer and meditation before their three-day business sessions. Maybe they'll pray for Gov. Faubus.

VERY MUCH UNWANTED

Spartanburg, S.C. — I have read the AFRO article on the way we citizens voted down here. I think the AFRO just comes down here to see just how much dirt you can write about us and our way of life.

It seems to me that you have enough dirt around your own door to see and write about without having to come all the way down here and nose around where you know you are very much unwanted.

We and the colored people in South Carolina get along very well just as we are, and without any help from the AFRO and its bright remarks, or the NAACP.

* * *

UNDERSTAND THIS, we shall not surrender our whole way of life to you or the Federal Government, but shall defend it by all means.

I therefore believe it my duty as a true southerner to my state and my God, to defend it against all its enemies at any, and, all costs.

PHILIP MABRY

31 1957

ALABAMA

Three Huntsville, Ala. Negro Newspapers-1877 To 1900

Negro World Birmingham, Ala. p. 1

By CHARLES W. ORR

EDITOR'S NOTE: This is the third and final of a three-part feature story on three Negro Newspapers which once circulated in Huntsville, Ala. In the first article, Dr. Charles W. Orr, dean of instruction at Alabama A. & M. College, discussed The Huntsville Herald. The second installment treated The Huntsville Gazette. Today's article tells about the Huntsville Star. The feature was conceived as a contribution in connection with the 130th anniversary of the Negro-produced press in America. Alabama with 15 or more Negro-directed newspapers leads the Nation in Negro-owned publications. The Huntsville, edited by L. C. Jarar, is currently appearing in that city.

In all but one of the nine Alabama Congressional Districts there are appearing Negro interest newspaper. There is no Negro publication in the Seventh Congressional District-which embraces Blont Cullman, Fayette, Franklin, Lamar Marion, Pickens, Walker and Winston counties.)

THE HUNTSVILLE STAR

On January 26, 1900, the first issue of THE HUNTSVILLE STAR was published. Richard C. Hancock was publisher and editor. The editor stated the purpose of the Star thus- "The weekly Star is edited and owned by a colored man. We enter the field of journalism with fears, but with one good purpose of furnishing the colored race a medium and guide whose sole object is elevation ." He continued, "In politics we will do our best to lead the colored people in the right direction. We will of course support Republican teachings, but do not say anything to bring about race prejudice."

The paper was a four page of six columns. It contained advertisements from leading local firms, and a few state and national ads. There was a personal column, news concerning Huntsville, and copies from other papers of happenings throughout the nation Other information of interest to farmers and housewives was included. True to its stated purpose, the editorial was strongly Republican.

How long this paper survived is not known to the writer, since only one copy is to be found in the Library of Congress. Some of the older residents of the county recall having seen the paper, but none has taken out a subscription.

These three papers reported activities among Negroes in and around Huntsville for a show of 23 years. They all had some things in common. They proposed to keep the Negroes informed; they proposed to continue his relation with a political party; and they proposed make of the Negro an important factor in the life of his community. Why none grew into full manhood and is not in existence today, is a question that needs the careful attention of a scholar interested in the rise and fall of the Negro press in towns and small cities.

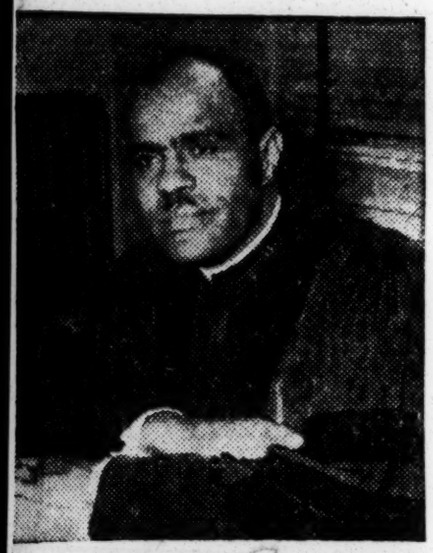
Notables In Spotlight At Capital Press Dinner

CAPITAL PRESS CLUB of Washington, D. C., draws a star-studded cast of notables for the club dinner at the Willard hotel, Washington. Dinner theme was "How Many Miles to Freedom?" with highlights from the Ghana independence ceremonies and the African tour of Vice President Nixon. From left (photo at left) Ernest E. Goodman, vice president of the club and toastmaster; Mrs. Richard M. Nixon, Vice President Nixon and Harry Wisner, co-owner of the Washington Redskins. In center photo Cong. Frances P. Bolton receives a plaque for distinguished service in international relations in health and education from Ethel L. Payne, Chicago Defender Washington correspondent, who introduced her as principal speaker of the evening. At right, Cong. and Mrs. James Roosevelt enter the grand ballroom. Roosevelt presented the awards in photography.

31 1957

BAHARATH SOCIAL AND CULTURAL TRUST PUBLISHERS (SOUTH INDIA)

Former Nashville Pastor



APPOINTER EDITOR—The Rev. Dr. Thomas E. Huntley, St. Louis, who has been named Chief Editor of the staff of foreign (English) publications of the Baharath Social and Cultural Trust Publishers, South India. The appointment followed the translation of the Central Baptist Church pastor's book, "As I Saw It," into foreign languages. He will work with a staff of distinguished clergymen and literary critics of the Eastern and Western world.

Defender
Chicago, Ill
Sat. 3-9-57

BILL ALEXANDER (left) producer of Byline Newsreel firm, and cameraman Ernest Woods survey the mountain of equipment at Idlewild Airport, N. Y., that they took to Ghana to film Independence Day ceremonies of the new African nation. Insured for $50,000 most of the equipment had to be specially packed for the 36-hour trip. Byline is shown in theatres in 45 cities.

'Cool' Film Used To Make African Pic

Journal & Guide
Sat. 3-16-57

NEW YORK—Special preparations were required to be taken before $50,000 worth of cameras, film and other equipment could be shipped to Ghana by Bill Alexander, producer of the Byline newsreel company.

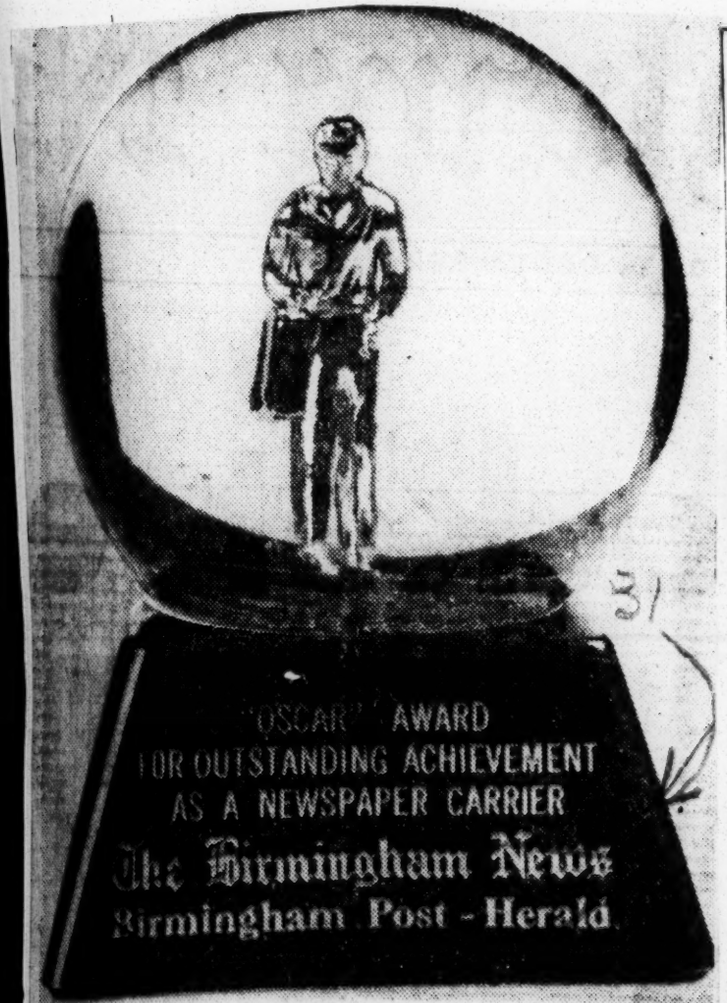
Norfolk, Va.

The film to be used in the cameras had to be packed in dry ice before they were put aboard a Pan American plane for Accra, the capitol of the new African nation. Unless this was done a fungus would have grown on the film, rendering it useless.

* * *

ON A SPECIAL assignment for a private American firm, Alexander headed a crew of four that filmed the inauguration ceremonies that made Ghana an independent nation and a member of the British commonwealth. In addition to this he will go into the interior and film the agricultural and economic life of the country.

All cameras he took on the trip were treated in a special liquid to prevent them from becoming overheated when used in the intense heat.



Not Present For Pictures:

POSEY
BLACK
PERRY
FARLEY

WEBB

LONG

HALL

CHAPMAN

SHEPHERD

MONTGOMERY

JACKSON

They're the tops—

News cites 11 Negro carriers

A constant reminder of a job well done will be awarded to Negro carrier boys for The Birmingham News and Post-Herald.

"The Oscar" is a handsome trophy for outstanding achievement as a newspaper carrier.

And as has often been the case in the past, a boy's success on his paper route determines what the future holds for him.

The "Oscar" is a transparent globe encircling a golden statuette of a newspaper carrier boy. Gold flecks swirl inside the globe, which is mounted on a base with an inscription telling why the award was given.

The "Oscars" were awarded recently by E. O. Allen, city circulation manager of The Birmingham News.

Boys were judged on all phases of newspaper work—selling, delivery, collecting on time, honesty, politeness, courtesy, fellowship, achievement and dependability.

Those honored, and the area they serve, are: Ralph Posey, East Lake; Joseph Black, Ensley; R. L. Webb, Bessemer; Major Long, East Birmingham; Edward Perry, Graymont; Robert H. Chapman, Graymont; Franklin Montgomery, Fairfield; Roosevelt Hall, Titusville; John Shepherd, Southside; Gayland Jackson, Pratt City; McArthur Farley, East Birmingham.

Notice To Our Readers

Call Fri. 4-5-57

During the past few years the costs of publishing your CALL have tremendously increased. Newsprint is now about 3½ times its cost of several years ago. Labor costs, material and machinery costs, and the many other services necessary to produce the CALL are correspondingly higher. Kansas City, Mo. p. 1

31

During the past several years we have attempted to absorb these added expenses without additional charge to our readers, in spite of the fact that most other publications in the meanwhile have advanced in price. We find that this is no longer possible if we are to be able to provide the service to which our readers are entitled.

At the time when the civil and human rights of the Negro in the United States are receiving maximum attention from both the supporters and the opponents of a democratic way of life, the role of the Negro press is more than ever indispensable. It is vital both to the preservation of the ideals of our democracy and to peace in the world. It is, thus, necessary that the Negro newspaper remain strong and able to serve. This is possible only if it is able to meet today's tremendously increased production costs.

In an effort to insure adequate service in these trying times The CALL finds it necessary to increase its price per copy from 15 cents to 20 cents with the issue of April 12, 1957. Subscription rates as of that date will be: for six months, $4.50 and for one year, $7.50.

We extend our thanks to our loyal readers for the unfailing support they have always given and assure them that the full resources and efforts of The CALL will always be devoted to the elimination of second class citizenship in America wherever it exists.

CALIFORNIA

31 1957

Bakersfield has new Negro paper

BAKERSFIELD – The News, new Negro newspaper published here by [redacted], is in its third week of publication.

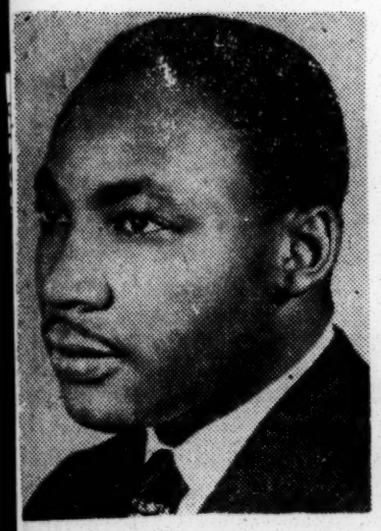
Publisher Owens announced the News now has 403 paid subscribers. Five thousand copies are being distributed in Kern county communities, such as Wasco, Delano, Ridgecrest, Arvin, as well as San Bernardino.

Tribune
Los Angeles, Calif
Wed. 6-15-57
P. 15

FUTURE PRESS MAN MEETS VICE PRESIDENT — Alan Kendrix, who attended the recent annual dinner of the Capital Press Club in Washington with his dad, meets Vice President Richard M. Nixon. Mrs. Nixon received the club's "International Relations Award," while Nixon was one of the speakers. Alan is the younger son of Moss H. Kendrix, public relations counsel.

FEATURED IN MAGAZINE.—Miss Ann Tanneyhill, vocational guidance director for the National Urban League is pictured above as seen in the May '57 issue of Charm magazine. Miss Tanneyhill is the current subject of Charm's "How Did She Get There" series spotlighting outstanding American businesswomen. In documenting her achievements beyond obvious success as a business woman, Charm notes that Miss Tanneyhill has done a great deal to see that the great American dream is more than a pipedream to American minority youth. For 27 constructive years, Ann Tanneyhill has fought to get Negro boys and girls to give themselves their own breaks. In her job as vocational guidance director for the National Urban League she helps push job doors open, pushes through them young people with the right qualifications.

Cited By Defender For Outstanding Accomplishments In 1956

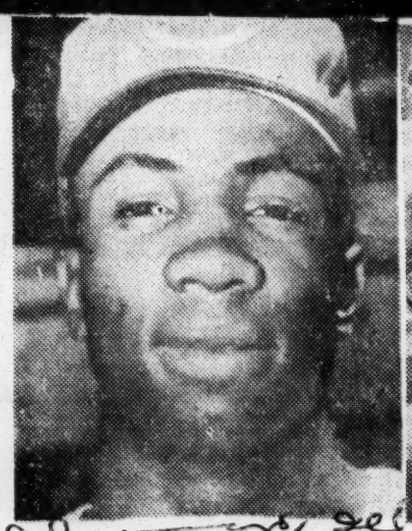


KING

SPRAGGS

PARKS

SATCH



ROBINSON

ALLEN

LUCY FOSTER

BRITTAIN

Six Whites, Eight Negroes Are On Honor Roll

Chicago, Jan. 21.—Fourteen individuals and two groups have been named to the Chicago Defender Honor Roll for 1956.

The six whites and eight Negroes honored in the annual selections include Rev. Martin Luther King and Mrs. Rosa Parks, principals in the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott; Dr. Omer N. Carmichael, superintendent of recently-integrated schools in Louisville Ky.; Mrs. Arthurine Lucy Foster, first Negro student at the University of Alabama; and the Rev. Paul Turner and John D. Brittain, prominent figures in the Clinton, Tenn., school desegregation crisis.

Also honored were state and TV shows, Louis "Satchmo" Armstrong, Dave Garroway and Steve Allen; Mrs. Ruby Hurley and Mrs. Venice Spraggs (posthumously) two noted Negro women leaders; Mrs. James Gordon, who fought for integrated school at Clay; Frank Robinson, star outfielder with the Cincinnati Redlegs; and Dr. Deborah Coggins, a Florida County medical officer who was fired from her job for eating with a Negro nurse.

The two organizations cited are the student body of Florida A & M College, Tallahassee, Fla., and the NAACP.

The Honor Roll was created by the Defender to give recognition to those individuals and groups who did most in the preceding years to strengthen democracy at home, and peace in the world. Past Honor Rolls have cited President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Dr. Ralph Bunche, Jackie Robinson and Mme. V. L. Pandit.

A New Defender Makes Its Bow

You are holding in your hands the new Defender.

It is 33 1-3 per cent larger, has more news, more features, more cartoons.

It adds up to being one of the largest nationally circulated weekly papers in its field. This means more enjoyment, entertainment, information, education, inspiration and plain good interesting, beneficial reading each and every week.

The new Defender which now has a minimum of 24 pages as compared to 18 in the past is being offered despite a general tendency on the part of most publishers to condense news and features into fewer pages.

PUBLISHER EXPLAINS

John H. Sengstacke, editor and publisher of the Chicago Defender, explains in this way:

"There is a greater hunger today for news than ever before. But the public wants more than the snatches and bits of information that are provided by radio, TV just and the so-called news digest type of publications.

"They tell you what's happening—that's all. We believe that intelligent readers require more. They want the full details, and when possible, illustrations. They want the news interpreted. We shall endeavor to not only answer the "what" of the news, but the "why," "when," "where" and "who" as well.

MORE NEWS

"This takes more words than the other forms of media can afford—thus our largest paper. A person reading the Defender will be not only informed, but will be intelligently informed; he will have the third dimension of the news: it's background its significance and its application to his own circumstances."

But the modern newspaper is more than a newspaper. In that it brings to its readers more than news. There are sections for women—devoted to social events, household hints, style predictions and commentaries, information about personal care and improvement and a special women's slant on news of general interest.

Then there's sports. The Defender is constantly expanding its coverage of athletics, both amateur

and professional. This is a field in which the Defender pioneered, and the dean of Negro sports writers, the Great Fay Young, still brings to his column a knowledge and experience unmatched in the field.

The Defender was also the first Negro paper to have a regular theatrical section and today its coverage of the entertainment field is unparalleled. There is hardly a performer of any note who is not known to the Defender and its writers. And, as important, hundreds struggling for recognition—the star of tomorrow—are not overlooked.

The children's section of the Defender — The Bud Billiken page—is the best known in the world. No publication of any kind can boast a larger, livier, more active kiddies club than the Defender has. Many of our noted leaders got some of their basic education and experience in group activity in tthe Bud Billiken clubs that are found in every one of the 48 states and in many foreign lands as well.

The Defender is unsurpassed for its picture coverage and art. One of its strips—Bungleton Green—is 30 years old and a pioneer in the field, and a more amusing character doesn't exist. Prof. Doodle, who is concerned with our conduct and behavior, is like a conscience keeping us aware of our mistakes. Our editorial cartoons are widely reprinted.

And as for pictures: Well, open up the paper and look for yourself.

Our columns and editorials rate with the best, surpass most, A weekly visit with Langston Hughes and Simple is worth the price of the paper alone. The National Grapevine has many imitations—even to name—but none bring you the insight and little known background of national affairs and of the persons involved in them, as found in the Defender.

As for news coverage, le's put it this way. Wherever there's news, the Defender is there to cover it. Our writer's have traipsed around the world to cover a story—like the Bandung conference.

In addition to our own reporters and correspondents who don't even miss the birth of a baby in a small Mississippi hamlet (see hometown news), the Defender has access to the leading news services, Associated Negro Press and International News Service.

It costs more to produce a paper today. The cost of the paper alone was recently increased by $4 per ton making it more than double what it was 10 years ago. Other costs have increased correspondingly.

Producing a bigger, better paper in spite of mounting costs is possible because of the wider circulation anticipated. Otherwise it would be impossible to offer so much more for only five cents.

Defender Offers $1,000 In Prizes

Defender Sat. 2-16-57 Chicago Ill.

This is the amount in prizes offered by the Chicago Defender to readers who submit the best names for our brand new cartoon, which makes its bow in the Feb. 23 edition of the Chicago Defender.

Beginning with that edition, weekly, prizes of $50 and $25 will be awarded for the best names submitted that week. In addition, the agent from whom the paper was purchased will receive $5.

Identical prizes will be awarded each week for the ten week duration of the contest. Each of the winners will be eligible for the Grand Prize of $200. (See illustration and rules on another page of this paper).

The contest is open to any person anywhere in the United States. There is nothing to buy or sell. Just fill in the coupon appearing in this issue and mail it to the Contest Editor, Chicago Defender, 3435 South Indiana Ave. Chicago, Illinois.

The names of the week prize winners and the names of their entries will be published weekly in your Defender.

MRS. LORINE TURNER

not alter their choice and two lucky winners will each receive $50 this week.

This week's winners are Mrs. Lorine Turner of Water Valley, Miss. and Norman E. Little, Decatur, Ill.

Also, two Chicago Defender agents who sold copies of the Defender to the winners will receive

Another cartoon appears this week. Try your luck, send in a name for this cartoon which is growing in popularity each week.

Fifty dollars will be given each week for 10 weeks for the best name submitted. See contest page for additional weekly prizes.

Three Named To Defender Posts

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 3-16-57

The election of three new officials in the enterprises of the Chicago Defender was announced this week by John H. Sengstacke, president of the Robert S. Abbott Publishing company, M. S. Joyner following a special meeting of the board of directors of the corporation.

Whittier Sengstacke, classified advertising manager, who has been associated with the Defender for over 15 years, was elected to the Robert S. Abbott Board of Directors. The board elected him treasurer of the corporation to suceed the late Dr. Charles M. Thompson.

Frederick Sengstacke, who has been associated with the Defender for over 15 years, was elected to the Robert S. Abbott Trust to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Dr. Thompson.

Mrs. Marjorie Stewart Joyner, who has worked with the Chicago Defender charities as executive director for several years, was elected to succeed Dr. Thompson as president of the charities.

Daily Defender Rated With Best In Nation

Defender Chicago Ill. Sat. 6-8-57

An indication of the high standards maintained by the Chicago Daily Defender came this week with the announcement that it ranked among the top six in competition with 824 daily newspapers from the United States, Alaska and Hawaii in the 27th annual newspaper contest sponsored by the N. W. Ayer and Son, Inc. of Philadelphia.

All the papers were judged on their edition of March 5, a date picked at random by the judges who included Carlos P. Romulo, Philippine ambassador to the United States and 1942 winner of the Pulitzer prize in journalism; Ladislav Sutnar, internationally known poster designer and John Anderson, typographic consultant.

The winner in the competition was the Goshen (Indiana) News which was awarded the Ayer Cup.

The publications were screened for excellence in typography, make-up and printing.

The Daily Defender was among six tabloids that reached the finals in the judging for the top award.

The front page headline of the March 5 Daily Defender read:

IKE GOING WEST FOR COUGH CURE

The sub line read:

Lewis Bronze Mayor Winner

The caption on the front page picture showing Sammy Davis, jr., congratulating the new mayor of Bronzeville read:

Sammy Keys Up The Mayor

The contest entries are subdivided into four categories; over 50,000 daily circulation; 10,000 to 50,000 circulation; less than 10,000 circulation, and tabloids, regardless of circulation.

First, second and third honorable mention awards were made in each circulation category, with one honorable mention going to the tabloid division.

Of the 824 English-language dailies entered this year, there were 19 in the tabloid classification. The Midletown (N.Y.) Daily Record received honorable mention in this group.

The Daily Defender newspaper is currently on exhibition with the winners and finalists in the gallery of the Ayer building in Philadelphia.

Two Win $50 In Cartoon Contest

Defender Chicago Ill. Sat. 3-9-57

Judges plowed through thousands of names this week sent in by entries in the popular "Name the Cartoon" contest now running in the Chicago Defender before making the final selection of "Windy" as the most appropriate name sent in this week.

However, upon rechecking thru the many names submitted, they found that two entries had sent in the name of "Windy". This did bonus checks of $5 each; their names are Charles Daniels, Water Valley and Solom Robbins of Decatur.

Defender Honor Roll For 1956

Fourteen persons and two groups were placed on the Chicago Defender honor roll for having made outstanding contributions to the expansion of democracy during the past year.

The honor roll is compiled annually by the editors of the Defender and is designed as a tribute to those who during the year have made the most significant efforts to broaden the horizon of democracy in this country.

The tremendous concern of American Negroes over desegregation of public schools and intra-state transportation is reflected in the 16 awards. Defender

Six of those cited are white and eight are Negroes. The organizations include the student body of Florida A&M university at Tallahassee and the NAACP. p. 1

Six of the individual awards went to women, one of which is posthumous. Chicago Tel

The citations cover efforts to secure voting rights and outstanding achievement in the fields of athletics and entertainment. Sat. 1-12-57

John H. Sengstacke, editor and publisher of the Defender, in announcing the selections declared:

"We have moved so rapidly toward full realization of democracy in 1956, that the full significance of many events in the sequence of judicial orders and individual acts is not grasped by many people.

"No doubt some of the individuals and organizations named to the Honor Roll did not themselves realize the far reaching effects of their efforts. But in their achievements, in their individual resistance to oppression, and in their dedication to compliance with the law, they have demonstrated the highest expression of democracy," Sengstacke declared.

The citations are as follows:

The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

—for distinguished leadership of the successful effort by the Negro citizens of Montgomery, Ala., to integrate the bus system of their community.

Mrs. Ruby Hurley

—for her courageous work as southern regional director of the NAACP in the face of open hostility and threatening violence.

Mrs. Venice Spraggs

—for her dedication and accomplishment in encouraging Negroes of the deep South to register and vote despite intimidation (posthumous Award).

Mrs. Rosa Parks

—for her steadfast courage and her great faith in democracy which led her to resist the humiliating demands of the Jim Crow System thereby inspiring the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

Dr. Omer N. Carmichael

—for his successful leadership in complying with the Supreme Court order as superintendent of the public schools of Louisville, Ky.

Mrs. James Gordon

—for courage which marks her as a symbol of all the parents of Negro children who fought so nobly to open the doors of public schools to their children as she did in Clay, Ky.

Louis 'Satchmo' Armstrong

—for rising above and beyond the color line in pursuit of his profession as a gifted exponent of native American musical expression, and for strengthening the bonds of international goodwill.

Dr. Deborah Coggins

—for refusing to be intimidated by those who fired her as a county medical officer, for dining with a Negro nurse.

Dave Garroway

—for impartial and objective reporting of the national scene on his morning program "Today" over NBC.

Steve Allen Defender

—for the democratic and unbiased presentation of artists of all creeds and colors on his program "Tonight" on NBC.

D. J. Brittain Sat. 1-12-57

—for subordinating his own misgivings about integration in the greater and higher duty of encouraging compliance with the law in his capacity as principal of the integrated high school at Clinton, Tenn.

Frank Robinson

—for great skill and sportsmanship in winning the rookie-of-the-year award of the National League as a member of the Cincinnati Redlegs.

Mrs. Autherine Lucy Foster

—for her courage and determination in pursuing her democratic right to enroll and study in the graduate school of the University of Alabama.

The Rev. Paul Turner

—for his brave and dramatic defiance of mob violence in escorting the Negro students of Clinton, Tenn., High School to class in the face of physical attack.

The Student Body, Florida A&M University

—for inspiring the Negro citizenry to boycott the Jim Crow bus system of Tallahassee, Florida.

The NAACP

—for strengthening American democracy by continuing its fight against racist bigotry despite oppressive and violent retaliation by white supremacy extremists, and despite repressive legislation.

LEE BLACKWELL

AUDREY WEAVER

Defender p. 3 Chicago Tel. 1-12-57

PROMOTIONS were announced this week by John H. Sengstacke, editor and publisher, for two members of the editorial staff of the Defender. Lee Blackwell, who has been on the editorial staff since 1951, has been named city editor. Audrey Weaver, who has been on rewrite, has been advanced to assistant city editor. Blackwell, a graduate of the journalism school of Lincoln university (Mo) was an Abbott scholar and authors the popular daily column "Off The Record." Mrs. Weaver has had extensive journalistic experience and is a journalisim graduate of the University of Wisconsin. She has been with the Defender since 1955.

Defender Chicago, Ill. p. 16
Sat 11-30-8
31 Chicago Defender

DEFENDER PLATFORM

1. "American race prejudice must be destroyed."
2. The opening up of all trade Unions to blacks as well as whites.
3. Representation in the President's Cabinet.
4. Engineers, firemen and conductors on all American railroads, and all jobs in government controlled industries.
5. Representation in all departments of police forces over the entire United States.
6. Government schools open to all American citizens in preference to foreigners.
7. Motormen and conductors on surface, elevated and motor bus lines through America.
8. Federal legislation to abolish lynching.
9. Full enfranchisement of all American citizens.

—ROBERT S. ABBOTT
May 5, 190!

31 1957

THE COLORED CITIZEN
published-1863-69

Rare Paper Found

Sunday Star

CINCINNATI, April 20 (AP).—A complete copy of the first issue of "The Colored Citizen," a weekly newspaper published from 1863 to 1869 by Cincinnati Negroes has been found at the University of Cincinnati. It is believed to be the only copy in existence.

Negro Newspaper Of Civil War Days Found in Cincinnati

Courier p. 4
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 3-11-57

CINCINNATI, Ohio—A complete copy of the first issue of The Colored Citizen, weekly newspaper edited by Cincinnati Negroes during the Civil War, has turned up on the University of Cincinnati campus.

• **Dr. Reginald C. McGrane, head of the university's history department and authority on American history, describes the find as a "rare historical treasure." The copy is dated Nov. 7, 1863.**

This is the only known copy of this issue in existence, according to Arthur T. Hamlin, Cincinatti University librarian.

■

BELIEVED TO have been published from 1863 to 1869, only one other copy is known to survive — a March 19, 1866, issue prized by the Worcester (Mass.) American Antiquarian Society.

The treasured Cincinnati copy was discovered by two geology graduate students at the bottom of a box of local fossils long stored in the campus museum.

• **"This interesting historic document reminds one of the fact that of all the races which have come to America, none has interwoven its story more closely into the warp and woof of our national life than the Africans," Dr. McGrane commented.**

The Colored Citizen was published by the Cincinnati Young Men's Literary and Publishing Company. Single copies of the 20-by-13-inch paper sold for five cents. A year's subscription was two dollars.

INTENDED AS the medium of communication of Cincinnati's Negroes, the paper also aimed "to be straightforward, modest, and respectable, cooperating in every good work, especially that of ameliorating the condition of a proscribed class who have been so shamefully wronged by our fellow-countrymen."

• **"Nothing that concerns mankind is foreign to me," the Citizen announced in this first four-page issue and proceeded to reprint an address in Finland of Czar Alexander II of Russia concerning the quelling of the Polish revolution, and and article on the Monroe Doctrine, undoubtedly prompted by French intervention in Mexico.**

News of direct interest to the city's Negro population received most space. The Citizen told how, through Abraham Lincoln, the Negroes' "modern Moses," the United States had advanced further in the path of emancipation of the colored race from slavery from 1861 to 1863 than in the preceding 80 years since the country's founding.

■

THE CITIZEN noted that the slave trade had been abolished in the North; the Federal Capitol was no longer slave ground; further extension of slavery in the territories had formally indicted.

• **The Civil War had already raised the social position of the degraded Negro race. The Republic of Liberia had been recognized and a black ambassador had, for the first time, been received in Washington and allowed to reside there unmolested.**

Recent "wanton and brutal attacks" upon Cincinnati's large Negro population by "bands of ruffians" were deprecated. The Citizen urged the city's colored people and those of Ohio to volunteer in the armed forces in defense of the Union.

This notable copy of Volume 1, No. 1, of The Colored Citizen has been put on display in the library of the University of Cincinnati.

"Passing" On Downgrade, Magazine Story Reveals

Daily World Fri. 3-15-57, Atlanta, Ga. p. 2

PHILADELPHIA — "Passing" is on the down-grade in America, a poll taken by COLOR MAGAZINE has disclosed.

Some years ago sociologists and population experts startled the nation by revealing that an estimated 7 1-2 million Negroes had crossed the color line to "pass" for white.

They made the move to secure the greater economic opportunities, social prestige and other privileges accorded to white persons.

Today, however according to results of the poll taken by COLOR there has been a marked decrease in the number of "passings" by American Negroes.

The COLOR article in its March issue points out that many Negroes are gaining new inspiration and pride in being a Negro as a result of gains and progress made by many dark-skinned Negroes who could not pass if they wished to.

The broadening of economic and social visits and the subsequent added recognition of merit and ability, together with the increased impetus toward full integration are making it less and less desirable to pass for white except it be solely for the thrill the COLOR article indicates.

The searching and penetrating article by COLOR's Magazine Editor L. Masco Young carries with it several pictures of whites and Negroes whose true racial indentities will both confuse and amaze you.

Basic causes underlying the "passing" fad come in for a keen appraisal and the analysis shows that passing is no longer necessary to secure high-paying jobs in private industry and business. The object lessons of the success of persons such as Eartha Kitt, Pearl Bailey Sammie Davis, Jackie Robinson and others have also lessened the urge and desire to "pass" for many American Negroes.

BOYCOTTS COST MONEY

The tremendous Negro population in the city of Memphis of a right ought to get fair treatmnt from its powerful daily newspapers—the morning Commercial Appeal and the evening Press Scimitar. The evidently large circulation Negroes furnish undoubtedly, is a great commercial asset to the papers.

It is recalled that here in Nashville one daily once became, for a while, a very bad example of a newspaper, as far as Negroes were concerned. Constantly the **Globe** challenged the special attacks one of the papers carried on against Negroes. The **Globe** didn't launch any crusade against the paper, but one was launched by the subscribers, themselves. Many of the subscribers out of their love for the Negro newsboys the paper employed found a way to make their boycott succeed. They found out just how much of the weekly sum they paid for their newspaper went to the newsboys as his commission and they would have that sum ready to pay the youngster when he came to collect at the end of the week, but not to deliver the paper.

The newsboy collected both for the daily the subscribers were taking and reading and his commission only on the other paper which he was not delivering. In a short time the circulation manager for the harsh newspaper capitulated. He got his boys together and asked them what the newspaper must do to be saved. The boys told the circulation manager just what printed matter was riling the colored subscribers and what improvements in the news about colored people was needed.

The newsboys told "the man" the truth and he went the limit in getting his paper to become as fair a publication as its rival daily.

From that time on insults to the Negro community ceased and the offending daily came over on the Lord's side in a big way.

In assessing what is needed to make a boycott of an unreasonable newspaper succeed, thought must be taken both of the circulation the daily needs and also of the income that the struggling newspaper boys are getting.

In other words it costs some money to conduct a boycott.

Memphis Negroes Boycott Daily Paper

Memphis, Tenn. - (Speical)- Negroes, long the victims of subtle boycotts, have once again turned that economic weapon against the people that have used it so effectively and for so long.

Following the pace set by such places as Tallahasse, Tuskegee and Montgomery, Negro citizens of Memphis are currently engaged in the boycott of a white Memphis newspaper, the Commercial Appeal.

The boycott, launched Aug. 3 by the Citizens Improvement committee of Memphis, is aimed against the paper's "anti-Negro policy." The Interdenominal Minister's Alliance of Jackson - Madison county, Tenn., also voted unanimously to support the boycott.

The latest development in the situation, was a mass meeting, held to get support, at the Mt. Pisgah C.M.E. church in the Orange Mound area.

Some 400 persons attending the rally heard Rev. R. W. Norsworthy, main speaker, denounce the policy of the paper. The crowd applauded when he said: The Commercial Appeal is anti-Negro and through its columns and editorials has done as much to damage human relations as any Citizens Council in America."

Rev. Norsworthy lashed out against the policy of calling only professionals, teachers and minister's wives "Mrs." The reference was to a reported offer by the editor of the paper to extend the titles to those mentioned.

He told the people gathered, at the conclusion of his speech, that any Negro with "decency and pride could at least leave off the reading of this newspaper."

About three years ago a similar situation existed here and many Negroes registered their resentment by stopping their subscriptions to the local morning paper when the paper came out openly for segregation. Though not an organized effort, the fact that the paper hired solicitors to see what caused the cancellations, would indicate that the owners of the paper were concerned.

Prominent Daily News paper In Memphis Faces Boycott Over Alleged "Insults"

According to the Tri-State Defender, leading weekly newspaper of Memphis, the "Citizens Improvement Commmitttee" of that city has begun a crusade among the city's large colored population to get them to cease subscribing for or buying the Commercial Appeal the morning daily newspaper of that city.

The improvement committee has distributed leaflets throughout the city according to the Tri-Statte Defender, containing the following charge against the daily newspaper:

"We take this means of calling upon all Negroes who desire respect and justice to join us in an all-out effort to gain these objectives. For a number of years, we have been subjected to unfair and insulting treatment from one of our daily papers, namely the Commercial Appeal. These have ranged from degrading editorals against organizations and persons seeking to improve the statue of the Negro to a flat refusal to use the proper title of 'Mrs.' where married Negro women figured in the news.

"On a number of occasions committees have visited the editor and asked that these actitons be corrected; in each instance, the committee's request was rejected with statements that added insult to injury.

"We now urge and solicit the support of every Negro who desires respect and justice to discontinue subscription of the Commercial Appeal and refuse to buy it in any name.

"The leaflet is signed; The Citizens Improvement Committee, 139 Doris Ave."

The Tri State Defender's editor and general manger wrote to Mr. Frank R. Ahlgrn, editor of the Commercial Appeal and got an answer which was published under a six-column headline saying: C. A. EDITOR GIVES VIEWS ON LOCAL CRUSADE AGAINST HIS NEWSPAPER. . . and a sub-head saying "DESCRIBES GROUP AS 'MISGUIDED.'

Mr. Ahlgren, editor of the Commerical Appeal wrote to Editor Wilson of the Tri-State Defender as follows:

Dear Mr. Wilson:

Thou have asked me for comment on the efforts of a group to contrive a boycott against the Commercial Appeal

" I am reluctant to dignify the incident (crusade) with comment but out of professional courtesy to you, I do so.

"I firmly believe that repsonsible l aders of the Negro community, aware of the Commercial Appeals dedication to improvement of all regardless of color or creed, will set the record and thinking straight.

"It tis a little ironical that this thing should happen even as I am engaged in preparations to enlarge faciliti s at Collins Chapel hospital, of which I am chairman of the executive board. And also at a time when the Commercial Appeal through stories and editorials, is trying to make it abundantly clear to all the need for more and better housing facilities for Negroes.

"I think the many projects in which we have interested ourselves for the benefit of Negroes currently and in the past will amply refute the misguided group some of whom in all probability are interested in publicity"

It is stated that Frank Kilpatrick, Sr., heads the Improvement Committee which launched the crusade against the daily Newspaper, the Commercial Appeal, and Dr. I. A. Watson, Jr., is co-chairman.

Under another banner headline the Tri-State Defender carries an article saying "Leading Minister Hits Daily." The minister it is

shown is the Rev. D. W. Browning, minister of the Mt. Pisgah CME Church. The CME minister describes the daily paper as publishing "insults for sale on a weekly installment plan. The Tri-State Defender has opened its columns to the public, promising to publish the views of both sides to the controversy over the daily paper boycott.

It seems that race relations in Memphis are in a very bad shape. In the past, however the colored population have not enjoyed anything like the freedom and good treatment from their white neighbors that prevail in Nashville. It is probably because Memphis is undoubtedly a Deep South city in all the term implies, while Nashville is just as fine and enlightened a city as is Louisville, Ky. and cities farther "Up North."

SIX NEGRO CARRIERS GOING TO ST. LOUIS

Commercial Appeal P. 8

Super Salesmen To Attend Baseball Game Tonight

Tue. 8-6-57

Super-salesmanship will pay off today for six young Negro businessmen.

Memphis Tenn.

They are Negro carriers leaving early today for a two-day trip to St. Louis—and grandstand seats at tonight's ball game between the Cardinals and Chicago Cubs — earned by topping scores of other carriers in newspaper subscription sales.

Outstanding carrier-salesmen for The Commercial Appeal are Tom Scott of 1338 Nicholas, Lawrence Johnson of 1460 Madison and Frank Myles of 802 Saxon. Heading the Memphis Press-Scimitar carrier-salesmen are James Rush, Wesley Sanford and Tillman Dobbs Jr.

William T. Malone, The Commercial Appeal's circulation district manager, will accompany the sextet on the trip. They will check in at St. Louis' new air conditioned New Midland Hotel and tomorrow will make a tour of the city. They will leave for home at 9:45 p.m. tomorrow.

Atlanta paper suspended by union dispute

ATLANTA, Nov. 11—(AP)—The Atlanta Constitution suspended all its morning editions today and the companion Atlanta Journal missed its first edition schedule when pressmen refused to cross picket lines set up by the independent international mailers union.

Managing Editor William I. Ray Jr. said that except for these two all other departments of the Journal functioned as usual and only absence of the pressmen prevented publication. Although the pressmen at the time were an hour over-due, he and other executives of Atlanta Newspapers Inc. were still hopeful they would return to their posts.

Vice President and Gen. Manager Jack Tarver said there were no bargaining disputes and that the mailers and pressmen were out "in violation of their contract." He said editions during the day hinged on whether "members of the Atlanta Web Pressman's Union No. 10 abide by their contract and return to work."

TARVER SAID that Saturday night Atlanta Mailers Union No. 34 engaged "in a sitdown strike in the guise of a prolonged union meeting during working hours. This action was in clear violation of the contract. The mailers refused to return to their duties in the mailing room and were asked to leave the premises if they would not work."

The mailers then picketed The Journal-Constitution plant. Last night, management said, the pressmen refused to report work on grounds they did not wish to cross the mailers' picket line. Printers, engravers, sterotypers and all mechanical department personnel reported for work, however, management said.

Tarver said the mailers union demanded additional people to man the mailing room ove above the level agreed t them in a contract signed June.

Courier's Izzy Rowe Among Honorees

Courier Sat. 3-2-57 P.20

Press Awards Set in NY

Pittsburgh, Pa.

NEW YORK—The Independent Press Service, serving 178 publications from Coast to Coast, will honor the Courier's Izzy Rowe and 11 other persons at its sixth annual Newspaper Awards presentations.

Honors in the entertainment field will go to Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, Sammy Davis Jr., Ella Fitzgerald, Dorothy Donegan and the Parakeets.

In addition to Izzy Rowe journalism awards will be presented to E. Washington Rhodes, Philadelphia Tribune; Allan Morrison, Johnson Publications; Sam Lacy, Afro-American, and Al Monroe, Chicago Defender.

The Grapevine

Courier Sat. 4-20-57

By MASCO YOUNG

Pittsburgh, Pa. P.4

THEY'RE TALKING ABOUT: How Congressman Adam Clayton Powell and bandleader Illinois Jacquet spent almost an entire night trying to convince Harry Belafonte to make up with his ex-wife, Marguerite, not knowing that Harry and Julie Robinson were already married.

■

Marguerite Bill Doggett Frankie Lymon Li'l Richard

The real reasons why that prominent West Virginia physician sold his palatial mansion and moved his family to California. He once caught his wife in the home with a lover, whom he chased out of place minus all clothing, and the small-town gossipers haven't stopped talking about it.

■

That wealthy Denver, Col. socialite, who was "taken" for a bundle of loot by a former East Coast playboy in his mid-50s, after he had promised her "loads of national publicity" and "plenty of affection." Her close associates are saying that the only place the publicity-seeking society matron can find her name in print is in the telephone directory.

■

The way Frankie Lymon and the teen-agers have been feuding among themselves since they went on their tour abroad. A couple of the guys feel that Frankie's letting all the attention he gets from the press and fans "go straight to his head."

■

The Philadelphia magistrate who has Father Divine for help in seeing him through the coming elections, so that he'll be re-elected for a six-year term in November.

■

How a prominent Detroit physician's family hushed up the fact that he tried to end it all in his garage with carbon monoxide fumes from his auto, after he learned that his spouse had been spending the past two years entertaining a college boy at least 20 years her junior.

■

That voluptuous blonde dancer in Philadelphia who has announced that she'll marry Little Richard as soon as he arrives there for an engagement at a local night spot.

■

The reports going around that certain rock and roll performers and promoters have been "hiring" young teen-age hoodlums to stage fights and riots at their shows in order to gain publicity in the newspapers.

■

How Virginia's Governor Thomas B. Stanley "goofed" and sent an invitation to New York Amsterdam News publisher C. B. Powell to attend a homecoming reception and dinner at historic Jamestown for distinguished Virginians on May 17. After findng out that Powell is a Negro, the Governor cancelled the invite. But C. B. insists that he'll attend anyway.

■

PEOPLE AND PLACES: **Billy Eckstine's** due for some heavy recording dates and plenty of the big-build-up treatment, now that he's the property of Mercury and their subsidiary jazz label, Emarcy. Before he quit RCA to go to Mercury **Billy** did his waxing for MGM.

A large, best-selling white publication killed its cover story on **Harry Belafonte** several weeks ago, after it found out about **Harry** and **Julie Robinson** . . . When **Bill Doggett** heard about the Phillies' two Negro ballplayers, the organist was so pleased, that he ordered tickets for all of the team's home games, even though he may not be able to attend because of one-nighter engagements . . . The initial organizational meeting of the new Elks group will be in Philadelphia's Independence Hall on July 4, and efforts are being made to get Philadelphia's **Mayor Dilworth** as guest speaker.

Voice of the People . . . What Courier Readers Think

Kendrix Explains Error in Olympic Story

To the Editor: Courier Sat. 3-2-57 P.10

I have just read the letter to the editor having been addressed to The Pittsburgh Courier by Miss Nell Jackson, coach, U. S. A. Olympics Women's Track and Field Team, Tuskegee, and carried in your columns on Jan. 19. Pittsburgh, Pa.

Miss Jackson rightfully takes exception to The Courier's having listed Miss Mae Faggs as captain of the 1956 women's track and field team which represented the U. S. A. at Melbourne. I feel, however, that this organization owes an apology to The Courier, Miss Jackson, Miss Faggs, the U. S. Olympic Committee and others who may have interest, since the story in question was released by us. This story was likewise distributed among many other newspapers, news agencies and other media of communications.

Somewhere in our research of the many fine young athletes who were honored in Atlanta on the occasion of concern, we obtained the information which led to the particular misrepresentation. We are terribly sorry over this matter.

With cordial good wishes.

MOSS H. KENDRIX (Director)

The Moss H. Kendrix Organization, Public Relations Counselors and Market Consultants, Washington, D. C.

■

Izzy Rowe's Boycott Idea OK

To the Editor. Courier Sat. 3-2-57 P.10

With reference to Izzy Rowe's column of the Jan. 19 Courier issue, I think her plan to boycott the products of those firms which do not give Negro stars a chance on TV is a good one. Many qualified entertainers never get a chance simply because they are Negroes. It is up to Negro buying power and potential strength to make these things possible. It is certainly time that Negroes in America realize the power in the dollar that they spend. Pittsburgh, Pa.

HENRY HAYES, New Orleans, La.

Another Poke at Stan Kenton

To the Editor: Courier Sat. 3-2-57 P.10

In reference to recent issues of The Courier containing articles pertinent to Stan Kenton and his conception of the Negro's contribution to American music, as criticized by the greatest jazz drummer, Max Roach, we are all aware of the meaningless statements that Mr. Kenton made abroad a year or two back. It is very unfortunate when he has been accepted as a contemporary. As far as innovators are concerned there are precious few. Mr. Kenton cannot be classified as such. I wonder if he ever heard of a fellow named Charlie Parker. I'm almost sure he never listened to any of Parker's creations. And, will someone please tell me what happens with Brubeck and that horn-holder? Pittsburgh, Pa.

—CHARLES ALRED, Denver, Colo.

■

She Agrees With Nunn

To the Editor: Courier Sat. 3-2-57 P.10

I agree wholeheartedly with William G. Nunn's column, "Did Jackie Beat Campanella in Battle of Words?" I have been a Dodgers' fan a good many years and I have always loved Jackie Robinson. To me he has always personified the durability of a man who knowing that he is right will fight every inch of the way to prove it. Let me say here and with all sincerity, Roy Campanella, that great catcher with his boundless ability, must understand certain things of this day and time and knowing this, I am certain he would rather think twice before retorting once. Robinson was the first, and those who followed should stop and think with reverence of the man who, under all duress—the kind that would have stopped any human—is a man whose determination is an aspect rather than a species to be studied, criticized, pulled apart and placed under a microscope. Godspeed Jackie in his new field of work, with all joining to wish him the very best. Pittsburgh, Pa.

—MRS. IDA LILLARD, Buffalo, N. Y.

No Contestants ... No Contest!

Courier Sat. 1-19-57 Pittsburgh, Pa. P. 11

The Ghana Essay Contest, directed to high school and college students, has been called off! The reason? No entries!

While scores of adults have contacted The Courier's Travel Editor, seeking detailed information relative to the $1,200 round-trip plane pilgrimage, evidently Negro high school and college students just are not interested.

The Courier feels badly about this. The contest was launched because The Courier felt that Negro high school and college students would welcome the opportunity to participate in an essay contest; with three all-exepense paid round-trip airplane tours as the final goal.

The Courier felt that high school and college students (both boys and girls) would enjoy the privilege of having "box-seats" when a black nation was born, to take its place as a member of the British family of nations.

■

THE COURIER was certain that high school and college students would welcome the opportunity to visit a nation, and a continent, which is destined to become a focal point in world affairs within the next decade.

Evidently, the Courier and its editorial board were wrong.

The Courier is sorely disappointed.

We have only one conclusion to draw.

Not only are Negro students of high school and college age not interested in their ancestry; they are apparently ashamed of the roots from which they sprung!

The Courier realizes now . . . that it should have beamed this contest to those people who have rallied to its support in other contests.

These people are the adults of Negro America . . . the men and women who read the Courier, and believe in it.

The men and women who have supported every worthwhile Courier movement . . . including Sally Nixon, Rosa Lee Ingram, the NAACP "EE" campaign, the "849" girl.

These are the people who have written, wired and called by phone, asking how they could make the trip to Ghana.

These are the people, who, knowing that the three-week trip would cost $1,200, have let it be known that they intend to be present.

Apparently, our high school and college youths are more interested in rock 'n' roll, in lurid reading, in youthful jazz names, in the light and the frivolous, than they are in the things that count.

■

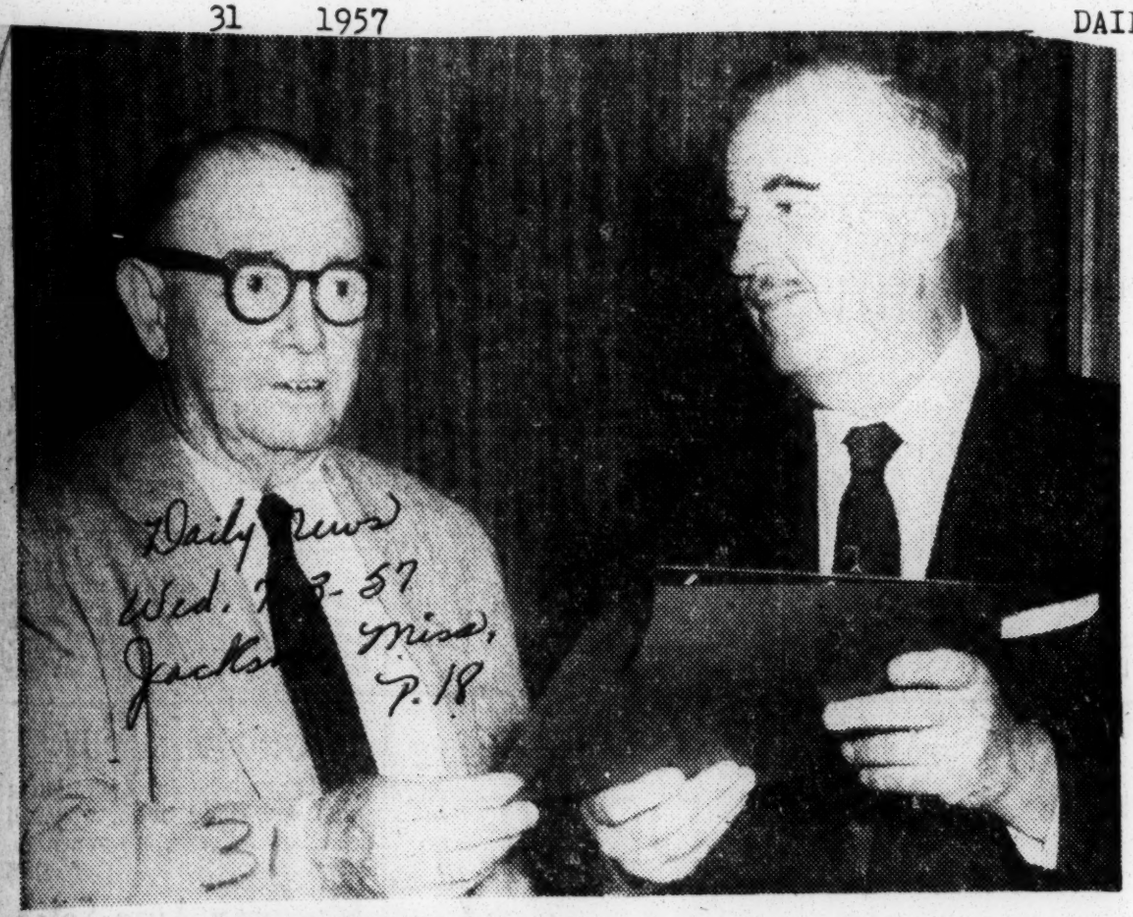
WE FEEL that this points up a serious problem. What are we training our young folks for?

Ghana is a new nation, young and virile, with unlimited opportunity for growth. Young Africans are attending U. S. colleges with dedicated purpose. Negro youngsters in our country are still studying liberal arts, athletics and kindred subjects, while the entire world today is crying for scientists, mathematicians, engineers.

Where lies the fault?

We don't know the answer ... but it's one that must be answered.

Because young Negro America is not interested in Ghana . . . we have taken the only course possible. We have called the contest off!



MAJOR SULLENS RECEIVES CITATION—Major Frederick Sullens, (left) Daily News editor is presented a citation from the Boswell Institute by Russeau van Voorhies of the Educational Department of Encyclopedia Brittanica. The citation commends Sullens for general excellence of work in journalism.

GENERAL EXCELLENCE

Daily News P. 18

Sullens Awarded Citation For Work In Journalism

Wed. 7-3-57 Jackson, Miss.

Major Frederick Sullens, Daily News editor, has been awarded a citation by Boswell Institute for general excellence of work in journalism.

Presentation of the award was made Monday by Russeau van Voorhies of the Educational Department of Encyclopedia Brittanica in New Orleans.

Voorhies is a promoter of the movement to have Congress designate a National Teachers' Day, work in which the Boswell Institute is much interested.

The citation in Latin presented to Major Sullens reads:

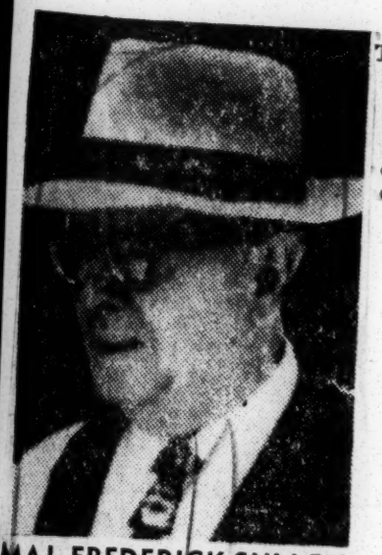
"Cancellarius, Doctores, et Scholares Institutionis Boswellianae, omnibus ad quos praentes Literae pervenerint, Salutem in Domino Sempiternam Sciatis, verum illustrem, Frederick Sullens in omni humaniorum literum genere eruditum, omniumque scientiarum comprehensione feliciss i m u m. scriptis suis, ad popularium mores formandos summa verborum elegantia ac sententiarum gravitate compositis, eodem modo inclarusisse quo olim Samuel Johnson et Jacobus Boswell, et Balthasar Gracian, et dignum videri cui ab Institutione Boswelliana examia quaddam laudis praemia deferrentur, quique in venerabilem Doctorum Ordinem summa cum dignitate cooptaretur:"

"Cum autem idem clarissimus vir, ita ut praedicti Johnson et Boswell, et Gracian, sapientiam mundanam egregiam optime et sibi et amicis suis notam, adeptus sit:"

"Nos Cancellarius, Doctores et Scholares Institutionis Boswellianae, eum Sapientiae Mundanae Doctorem, renunciavimus et constituimus, eumque virtute praesentis Diplomatis singulis juribus, privilegiis, et honoribus, ad istum gradum quaqua pertinentibus, frui et guadere jussimus. In cujus rei testimonium commune Institutionis Boswellianae sigillum praesentibus apponi fecimus."

31 1957

JACKSON, MISS. DAILY NEWS



MAJ. FREDERICK SULLENS
. . . South defender dies

Maj. Sullens, colorful editor, dies in Jackson

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 20 —(AP)— Maj. Frederick Sullens, 80, editor of The Jackson Daily News and one of the nation's last great personal journalists, died at 9:05 a.m. today in University Hospital.

Sullens, 80 Nov. 12, had been ill several weeks. He had been confined to University Hospital since Oct. 20 with a few weeks at home for recuperation. He returned to the hospital last night.

A vituperative foe of any breakdown in the South's traditional racial patterns, Sullens had until recently kept his daily column and editorial page filled with pungent words on the subject.

His front-page column, "The Lowdown on the Higher Ups," which he started in 1935, was his trademark.

SULLENS' death meant editorial control of The Daily News passed into the hands of the Hederman family. Sullens and Walter G. Johnson Jr. sold The Daily News in 1954 to the Hedermans, who published The Clarion-Ledger, a morning daily. A condition of the sale was that Sullens retained editorial control of The Daily News while he lived.

Even his final illness did not stifle Sullens. He called for his typewriter and sent packages of column and editorial copy to his office by messenger.

'Daily Worker' Making 'Drastic' Cuts to Live

New York Herald Tribune

"The Daily Worker," official organ of the Communists party of the United States since 1924, has, by its own admission, "reached bottom" and yesterday announced "drastic changes" in its fight for survival.

S II P1

A front-page editorial in the eight-page ten-cent tabloid announced that around Oct. 1 the newspaper will be reduced to a four-page publication to come out four days instead of five, Mondays through Thursdays, with the twelve-page ten-cent week end edition, known as "The Worker," to be published on Fridays.

9-19-57

"Constantly falling circulation and a virtual ban on advertising" and "mounting publication costs" were cited as major reasons for the cutback.

"Crisis on Left"

Further, the editorial explained, "the sharp harassment of the Left in the cold war decade cut our circulation by about 80 per cent" while "the crisis on the Left," a reference to disaffection within the ranks of the world Communist movement, "further aggravated the situation."

"In round figures," the editorial continued, "our income is running $50,000 below last year's and our deficit is approaching the quarter-million mark. And our annual $100,000 spring drive has, at this late date, yielded only $45,000."

Only a week ago the party acknowledged that its membership was down to 10,000, a loss of 7,000 in the past year and the lowest it has been since 1931. Yesterday a spokesman said the "Worker's" circulation was down to "slightly under" 10,000 daily and "silgthly over" 13,000 on week ends, a far cry from its all-time high of 100,000 in the 1930s.

The bulk of the newspapers circulation is in New York City, although there are special Illinois, Michigan and New Jersey editions of the week-end paper. Whether these will be curtailed for economy has not yet been decided. The editorial staff now consists of about twenty-five full and part-time employees.

To Cut Budget

The reduction of "The Daily Worker's" size and fewer publication days, the editorial said, would reduce the newspaper's present budget of $370,000 to $240,000 and cut its deficit from $250,000 to $125,000. But even the four-page paper will not be able to survive, the editorial warned, "unless there is a rapid reader response to our $100,000 appeal and some increase in circulation."

The editorial asked for contributions for the fund and assistance in getting "at least" 1,000 subscribers for "The Daily Worker" and 1,000 for "The Worker."

Yesterday's eight-page newspaper showed "The Daily Worker's" plight as far as advertising goes. The tabloid carried a five-inch one-column ad from the Peoples Rights party urging the candidacy of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Communist leader, for the City Council; a one-inch one-column ad for a Soviet movie and one and a half inches of classified ads for a discount house, a music school and a mover.

Daily World's Silver Anniversary

From The Atlanta Daily World

"How fleet the tale of destiny flies."

It seems as but yesterday when "an idea" took off across the field of journalism, to become an institution and a service as well as the only Negro daily newspaper in the land.

For those who have followed the record through and have already given an appraisal of the contribution the Atlanta Daily World has striven to make, the above excerpt would be sufficient for this effort.

On March 13th., 1932, young William A. Scott, II, with his brothers — all having sniffed the scent of printer's ink from their clergy-editor father, launched out from an early venture which was first a weekly and next a semi and tri-weekly, to find themselves getting out a daily which has withstood the rigors of time!

Beginning on "Sweet Auburn," that center of business, the Daily World was quick to emerge into the lives and activities of the community as a disseminator of the news, and opinion.

In launching the paper, the main purpose was to provide a means for expression of the aspirations and ideals of the Atlanta Negro community regarding the various phases of life. Our chief aim has been and still is to serve in as constructive manner as possible.

From the first issue which appeared on August 5, 1928 as a weekly, the paper has met the approval and support of the public, making possible an advance in frequency of publication to a semi-weekly and later a tri-weekly. Finally in 1932, in the midst of the depression, it became a daily newspaper.

From the Atlanta paper there have been established sister publications which appear in Memphis and Birmingham as semi-weeklies. In addition, from our plant each week go several weekly newspapers for communities which probably would have no race paper were not for our mass production co-operative system.

We have not contented ourselves with protesting against discrimination, segregation and injustice, but we have tried to inspire confidence and hope in the capabilities and possibilities of our racial group.

We pledge to our readers and advertisers a continuation of these policies in the future. And with their continued support, we hope to be able to more effectively serve to the end of a better Atlanta and Georgia all the people.

In this contribution alone we take pride, and sincerity in the thanks we extend to those who have had a part in making this mile-stone with us.

Surely there lies ahead of us years of active service. We shall resolve here and now to carry on non-partisan in politics and non sectarian in religion in order that a general service might be extended to all —— alike.

W. A. FOWLKES

W. A. Fowlkes Rejoins Daily World's Staff

W. A. Fowlkes veteran newspapesman, has rejoined the staff of the Atlanta Daily World in the capacity of managing editor, it has been announced by C. A. Scott, editor-general manager.

William Gordon, who has acted as managing editor, will take over the duties of city editor. George Coleman will continue as assistant city editor.

Mr. Fowlkes was formerly a member of the World editorial staff during the period 1936-40, during which he served as reporter, city editor and managing editor. Since leaving the World he was connected with a national newspaper and magazines. A native of Union City, Tenn., he is a graduate of public schools of Union City and Dyersburg, Tenn. and an honor graduate of Tennessee State A. and I. University. He is married to the former Miss Marjorie Rolfe and the father of two children, Loretta and Wilhelmina. Mrs. Fowlkes will write a social column feature for the World.

World Staff Member Takes High Honor

It is gratifying to the readers of the Atlanta Daily World as well as those many cultural interest throughout the country to note that a member of our staff took first prize in Atlanta University's recent Art Show.

Coincidently, this honor came on his birthday, when Thomas Jefferson Flanagan was receiving congratulations from over the country upon his winning first prize in the John Hope Purchase Award Landscape for his oil painting — "Fishing on the Quarters."

While the prize was $250.00 that is of little moment in the broader and more significant fact that one in these times of technical and rigid requirements would win such a coveted honor.

Thomas Jefferson Flanagan, who is a presiding elder in the AME Church has been before the public for over a generation in more than the role of a clergyman. Beginning back in his teens he was writing verse of much merit for the old Atlanta Independent.

For many years he contributed verse to other publications. Being a favorite of Frank L. Stanton, he possibly won his spurs through the tutelage of Georgia's first Poet laureate in the field of verse who wrote poems of worldwide recognition.

Flanagan is on the editorial staff of the Atlanta Daily World. Beginning with the paper soon after its founding, he is among the oldest staff members.

As an editorial writer and contributor of verse he has maintained his wide audience across the years.

Painting he says is his "side hobby". He says the hills of southwest Georgia, her long winding lanes and wooded streams have been his art teachers.

His paintings like his poems, are the flavor of rural Georgia and the Southland. He paints rural scenes — and sings the hymns of nature on canvas as he has striven to do in his columns.

In him we have the wedlock of the brush and the pen, kindred tribes — both bespeaking his technique and thoroughness in the same vein that his painting "Fishing on the Quarters" won first prize in Atlanta University's Art Show.

At the Trevor Arnett Library over at Atlanta University, Flanagan's Alma Mater, is pleased to chronicle and exhibit the artistic works of one of her sons.

31 1957

JOHNSON PUBLISHING COMPANY
EBONY, JET, TAN AND HUE MAGAZINES

Promotion Mgr. Named For Four Johnson "Mags"

CHICAGO, Ill.—

Mr. John H. Johnson, president of the Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., announced the appointment of Mr. Clarke Gibson as Promotion Manager.

He will be responsible for the promotion of the company's magazines, EBONY, JET, TAN and HUE, as well as other promotional assignments.

Mr. Gibson's background includes work as an Air Force public relations specialist during the Korean War, public relations consultant, and advertising salesman.

Following his discharge he helped to establish Laws-Gibson Associates in Philadelphia, a national public relations firm. He then joined the sales staff of Interstate United Newspapers, publishers representative for a number of Negro newspapers.

In May of 1956 Mr. Gibson joined the advertising sales staff of the Johnson Publishing Company. He has been working in the New York office, and is being transferred to the home office in Chicago.

Mr. Gibson is married to Mary Elizabeth Vroman, the award-winning author. Her short story, "See How They Run" became the M-G-M movie, "Bright Road" and won for her a Christopher Award.

2 N.Y. Negro Journalists Are Jailed in Africa

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Wed. 10-23-57

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa, Oct. 22 (AP)—Immigration authorities jailed two New York Negro journalists on their arrival in a South African Airways plane tonight from Nairobi, Kenya Colony.

They were Miss Era Belle Thompson, an editor of the magazine Ebony, and Marshall Wilson, a staff photographer of the magazine. They said they were bound for the village of Moshe, Tanganyika, on a story assignment.

Immigration authorities, after lodging them in Johannesburg's Central Prison, said they will be put on a north-bound plane tomorrow. U. S. Consul General Arthur Beach located the two at the prison after extensive inquiries.

Prison officials said Miss Thompson and Wilson were not being treated as prisoners, but were lodged there for the night because there were no hotel accommodations for them in Johannesburg. Under South African laws, no Negroes are permitted in white hotels.

U.S. Negroes Get Africa Jail As Substitute for Hotel

By the United Press.

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa, Oct. 23.—Two American Negro journalists spent last night in jail here because Johannesburg hotels are for whites only.

They were Miss Era Thompson, Chicago, managing editor of the magazine Ebony, and Marshal Wilson, an Ebony photographer.

Both flew on to Nigeria today.

Apparently authorities treated them courteously. The two Americans were simply "put up" in the jail for the night after arriving yesterday.

A United States consular spokesman reported they had "no hard feelings. Thesy were treated courteously." Vice Consul Dan Moser visited them at the city prison.

Both U.S. officials and South African immigration authorities said the journalists would not have had to stay in the jail if there had been advance knowledge of their coming.

Herald Tribune
Wed. 10-23-57

Our Oldest Voice of Freedom

Courier
Sat. 3-16-57
Pittsburgh, Pa.
P. 10
31

THIS is the date on which, 130 years ago, the FIRST Negro-owned and edited newspaper, FREEDOM'S JOURNAL, was born. Courier

We should all REMEMBER this date on which the Rev. Samuel E. Cornish and John B. Russwurm launched their journal because it was the FIRST American newspaper which called for freedom for ALL the people of the United States.

Sat. 3-16-57 Pittsburgh, Pa.

There were other American newspapers BEFORE FREEDOM'S JOURNAL, of course, which voiced the sentiments of the Founding Fathers and urged obedience to the SPIRIT of the Declaration and the WORDS of the Constitution; but they did NOT speak for and about the rights of BLACK Americans who at best had only second-class citizenship and at worst were in chains.

P. 10

The BEST promise held out to the black disinherited by the press in those days was for EMIGRATION of freemen to some inhospitable alien shore where their presence would no longer be embarrassing to American citizens of conscience or dangerous to U. S. owners of slaves.

FREEDOM'S JOURNAL (like the dozens of Negro newspapers that followed it), was the oldest voice of freedom for EVERYBODY regardless of race, religion, color or previous nationality.

It ENCOURAGED the disheartened freedmen, FIRED the minds of the hopeful, encouraged the ambitious, disseminated news and OUTLINED strategy, created the FIRST resistance movement against the slave system which 36 years later was virtually ended by Lincoln's signature.

Many white newspapers since have swelled the chorus of condemnation of servitude, racial discrimination, segregation and proscription, but let us remember that the NEGRO press is the OLDEST voice on this continent championing for ALL the freedoms guaranteed by our Constitution.

3/

U. S. Information Official Speaks At NCC

Lemuel E. Graves Jr., of the United States Information Agency, entertains questions after a recent address at North Carolina College commemorating the 130th anniversary of "Freedom's Journal", first Negro newspaper in the United States. From left to right are: Joseph W. Cecton, sports editor of the Campus Echo, student paper; L. A. Merritt of the college's News Bureau, Mr. Graves, Dr. T. E. Malone, biology instructor, standing, and Miss Valeria Powe, president of the Women's Assembly. Mr. Graves recently returned to the United States after serving as chief of a USI unit in Paris.

Publisher Warns On Newsprint

Daily Worker Atlanta, Ga. Oct 3-2-57

WASHINGTON—(INS)— A New Jersey publisher said Tuesday some of America's major newspapers are "in very serious trouble" because of a boost in newsprint prices.

Richard Scudder, publisher of the Newark, N. J. Evening News, told the senate interstate commerce committee, that newspapers are bing "squeezed" by newsprint suppliers.

Schudder said: "unlike newsprint Mills, Newspapers have competition. Television and Radio, competing bitterly for the advertiser's dollar do not have to buy newsprint. Newspapers must give the advertisers space at a reasonable rate of he will go elsewhere."

The publisher maintained that there is "no economic justification" for the new increase in newsprint prices.

He contended that the big newspapers rather than the small ones will suffer most because newsprint constitutes up to 50 per cent of the cost of the largest papers and a lesser precentage of smaller papers.

Sees Bigger Need for Race Press Now

Courier Oct. 5-25-57

Negro Newspapers Will Not Die Soon!

Pittsburgh Pa. P.2

31

JEFFERSON, Mo. (ANP)— There is no immediate prospect of a complete shutdown of Negro newspapers in the United States.

"It is extremely unlikely that desegregation will bring Utopia in America," stated Dr. Armistead S. Pride in the current issue of the Gazette, an international quarterly of the science of the press, published at Leiden, Holland.

The article, "The Negro Newspaper in the United States," was written by the head of the Lincoln University department of journalism. He is now on a one-year leave as a visiting Fulbright professor in Rome, Italy.

The Gazette article divides the news content of Negro newspapers into five categories: the Negro Story, the Achievement Story, the Negro Angled-Story, the Gossip Story and Miscellaneous News items.

■

The analysis includes figures on the size and location of the Negro newspapers and discusses the roles these papers play in American society.

Dr. Pride reviews the functions of these papers and cites the several press creeds that have evolved from the newsrooms of Negro journals.

He stated: "Evils in the areas of race, creed and color are possibly going to re-emerge in the new order in more subtle and sophisticated disguises.

"There will be uncomely and unseemly reminders of the Negro's second-class citizenship, of the jim-crow laws, and of slavery long after segregation has been wiped away in schooling, entertainment, employment, marriage, housing, transportation and recreation."

The writer states that Negro editorial opinion will need to exercise "its sharpest thinking and most astute statesmanship . . . to combat the disease of group partiality."

All of which seems to prove that the newspaper is still the backbone of the advertising world, constituting a permanent record which housewives may keep and study — as with grocery prices — and which can continue to work for the advertiser long after his message is first seen by the reader.

Eleven Negro Newspapers Win N. N. P. A. Merit Awards

World Wed. 6-26-57 Pittsburgh Pa.

CLEVELAND CALL-POST GETS RUSSWURM TROPHY

COLUMBUS, Ohoio.—The Celveland Call-Post was named the winner of the second Russwurm Trophy at the National Newspaper Publishers Associatin annual banquet. This prize, annually goes to the Nego newspaper singled out "for excellence in maintaining the high standards of Journalism."

In the ten catergories of the Annual Merit Awards Contest, the following winners were named: more to come

WINNERS 1957
N. N. P. A. CONTEST

I GENERAL EXCELLENCE
1. Los Angeles Sentinel
2. Norfolk Journal and Guide
3. Cleveland Call - Post

II EDITORIAL
1. St Louis Argus
2. Louisville Defender and Michigan Cronicle (Tie)
3. Minneapolis Spokesman

III BEST ORIGINAL COLUMN
1. Louis E. Martin — Chicago Defender
2. Charles H. Loeb — Call Post
3. A. S. Young — Los Angeles Sentinel

IV PUBLIC SERVICE
1. Ohio Sentinel
2. Cleveland Call - Post
3. St. Louis Argus

V BEST NEWS STORY
1. Ohio Sentinel — John B. Combs
2. Cleveland Call - Post
3. St. Louis Argus — Buddy Loresome

VI BEST FEATURE
1. Los Angeles Sentinel — Kenneth Field (First)
2. New Jersey News Herald — Connie Woodruff
3. Pittsburg Courier — Herald L. Keith

Every first place newspaper was presented a plaque and each honored writer, photographer, or artist was given an engraved oscar.

Lee S. Cole, acting head of the Lincoln University (Mo.) Department of Journalism and Chairman of the N. N. P. A. Judging Committee made the presentations. Frank L. Stanley, Chairman of the N. N. P. A. Awards Committee and Publishers of the Louisville Defender introduced Mr. Cole.

Newspaper Advertising Up

31 General

Although the advent of television brought about a large outlay of money from manufacturers and producers, it is interesting to note that national advertisers invested a record $737,000,000 in the newspapers of the United States last year.

According to semi-official tabulations, the 1956 total was over six per cent above the total spent for newspaper advertising in 1955. General advertising — all national advertising except automobiles — increased 12.5 per cent last year. Automobile advertising was down in 1956 from the record year 1955 by about 8.6 per cent.

Practically every other field showed an increase in newspaper advertising, with groceries leading the jump in the general category by 9.7 per cent over 1955.

Things You Should Know

Advocate Jackson, Miss.
Sat. 6-29-57
X 31 p. 4

130 YEARS of the NEGRO PRESS

CORNISH

IN 1827 JOHN B. RUSSWURM, CHARLES B. RAY AND SAMUEL CORNISH STARTED FREEDOM'S JOURNAL, FIRST NEGRO PAPER IN THE COUNTRY! IN 1837 CORNISH EDITED THE WEEKLY ADVOCATE, LATER RE-NAMED THE COLORED AMERICAN! LATER PIONEERS WERE: THE ELEVATOR AT ALBANY BY STEPHEN MYERS, NATIONAL WATCHMAN BY W.G. ALLEN & H.H. GARNET, PEOPLE'S PRESS BY HAMILTON & DIAS IN N.Y., THE MYSTERY BY DELANY, GENIUS OF FREEDOM BY W. D. RUGGLES, THE RAM'S HORN BY W.A. HODGES, THE AFRO-AMERICAN AND THE NORTH STAR BY FREDERICK DOUGLASS. IN 1856 BISHOP JABEZ CAMPBELL FOUNDED THE CHRISTIAN RECORDER WHICH LASTED UNTIL MODERN TIMES!

RUSSWURM

CONTINENTAL FEATURES

James B. Morris In 35th Year as Bystander Editor

Bystander p1
Des Moines Iowa
Thurs. 10-24-57

Next Thursday, Oct. 31 will mark the 35th year that James B. Morris, Sr. has been editor and publisher of the Iowa Bystander.

Born in Atlanta, Ga., he started studying early for his dual role as lawyer and publisher. After attending public school in his birthplace and in Baltimore, Md., he took studies in the printers trade and academic department at Hampton Institute, Va.

During World War I he was an Army lieutenant and served overseas as intelligence officer with the 366th Infantry. A graduate of Howard Univeristy Law School, Mr. Morris was admitted to the Iowa Bar in June 1917. A year later, he married Miss Georgine McCoy. They have two children, James B. (Brad) Morris, Jr., Des Moines attorney and Mrs. G. Kenneth Washington, Gary, Ind.

From 1921-25 he served as deputy Polk County treasurer and on Oct. 31, 1922 became editor and publisher of the Iowa Bystander. He has been active in NAACP and Interracial Commission and has served on many civic and professional committees. He is a member of Episcopal church.

Negro Editor Wants More 'Uncle Toms'

Post Herald Birmingham Ala.

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 22 (U.P.) —A Negro editor said today the South needs more of the so-called "Uncle Toms" to keep the Negro race from being "led over a precipice."

Percy Greene, in an editorial in his weekly Jackson Advocate, said the Negro leaders who have pleaded moderation on the segregation issue and have sought to maintain a "friendly and respectful attitude" to white leaders have been dubbed "Uncle Toms."

Wed. 1-23-57

The name, Greene said, was calculated by the "new Negro leadership" to subject conservative Negroes to "ridicule, derision and contempt by the Negro community."

He placed the late Booker T. Washington at the head of the list of the "Uncle Toms."

Greene said the "new and brash Negro leadership" has caused members of his race to lose "whatever welcome they might have had in the councils of authority by vituperative, vindictive, calumonous speeches and newspaper statements directed toward the responsible white citizens."

"The masses of Negroes in the South are beginning to see that they are being led over a precipice by the sirene calls of the new Negro leadership," Greene wrote.

"The greatest need for the Negro in Jackson, in Mississippi and in the rest of the South, is more and more 'Uncle Toms.'"

Subscribers 'Boycott' Negro Paper

Advertiser Montgomery Ala. Fri. 8-16-57

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 15 (AP)—A Negro editor said today his weekly newspaper has lost about one third of its circulation because he accepted money from a state agency created to preserve segregation.

Editor Percy Greene of the Jackson Advocate, Mississippi's largest Negro weekly, said circulation dropped from about 4,500 to about 3,000 after it was disclosed he accepted money from the state sovereignty commission.

Commission records show the money was paid for advertising and travel expenses.

Green said he received expense money for participating in several programs designed to promote harmonious race relations.

Greene said the Advocate might regain its circulation "if I can last long enough."

He said he has incurred the wrath of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People because of his moderate stand on integration.

The Southern Negro has little faith in the NAACP, Greene said. "The Negro in the South wants his own schools, separate but equal schools."

Greene said he wants integration in the graduate schools of universities and colleges and that bus segregation must be abolished.

"The Negro doesn't like to get up and move to the rear of the bus," he said.

NEGRO NEWSPAPER LOSES CIRCULATION

Commercial Appeal Memphis Tenn. Fri. 8-16-57 p. 31

Jackson Paper Drops After Segregation Stand

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 15. — (AP) — A Negro editor said Thursday his weekly newspaper has lost about one-third of its circulation because he accepted money from a state agency created to preserve segregation.

Editor Percy Greene of the Jackson Advocate, Mississippi's largest Negro weekly, said circulation dropped from about 4,500 to about 3,000 after it was disclosed he accepted money from the State Sovereignty Commission.

Commission records show the money was paid for advertising and travel expenses.

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Greene said he wants integration in the graduate schools of universities and colleges and that bus segregation must be abolished.

"The Negro doesn't like to get up and move to the rear of the bus," he said.

Poor Old Percy

Arkansas Democrat

The Jackson (Miss.) Advocate, published and edited by Percy Greene, who once showed great promise as a crusader for human dignity, is a tragic example of a publication with an editorial policy of intellectual bankruptcy.

Greene complains that the Advocate, which he admits has lost about a third of its circulation, is being boycotted because it supports racial segregation.

His complaints followed revelation that he accepted money from the State Sovereignty Commission, popularly known as the Mississippi segregation watchdog committee. p. 4

The boycott, he says, is due to his having "incurred the wrath of the NAACP because of my moderate stand on integration." Sat. 8-31-57

At the same time, he insists: "The Southern colored people have little faith in the NAACP. Baltimore

Obviously, Greene is confused. If colored people of Mississippi have little or no faith in the NAACP, then why has he lost a third of his circulation because of opposition from the NAACP?

The truth is Greene probably has been so concerned about keeping faith with Mississippi segregationists he has lost touch with the colored people.

He insists, however, that the Advocate might regain its circulation "If I can last long enough."

Our guess is he will not last, unless the paper is subsidized by the state segregation committee. Is this what Greene is inviting?

Negro Editor Finds State Help Costly

Daily News Jackson Miss. Fri. 8-16-57

A Negro editor said Thursday his newspaper has lost a third of its circulation because he accepted money from a state agency created to preserve segregation.

Percy Greene, editor of the weekly Jackson Advocate, said the circulation dipped from about 4,500 to 3,000 after it was disclosed he accepted money from the State Sovereignty Commission.

Greene said he was given expense money from the State Sovereignty Commission for his participation in several programs designed to promote harmonious race relations.

Greene said part of the money was for travel expense when he traveled to Memphis to participate in a radio discussion of race problems.

He also received funds for staging a "good will" program in Jackson for Negroes.

Greene, who is considered a moderate on the race question, said the Advocate might regain the circulation "if I can hold out ong enough."

Greene said he has incurred the wrath of the NAACP because of his moderate stand on integration.

Greene said the southern Negro has little faith in the NAACP.

"The Negro in the South wants his own schools. He does not want integrated schools but equal separate schools," he said.

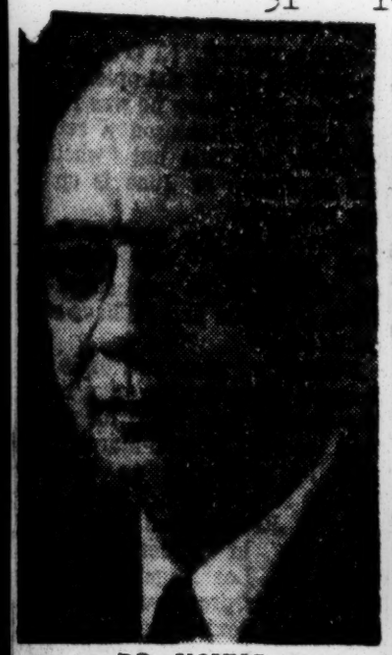
Greene, however, does advocate integration in the graduate schools of universities and colleges and that bus segregation be abolished.

"The Negro doesn't like to get up and move to the rear of a bus," he said.

Greene scored the lack of appropriations given the Jackson College for Negroes.

"Why, they have a observatory built out there but not enough money to put a telescope in it," he said.

"A Negro college in Florida gets $7 million to operate on but they only get $250,000 a biennium out at Jackson college," he said.



DR. YOUNG

Editor Young To Speak Here

News + Observer

Dr. P. B. Young, publisher of The Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va., will speak at Shaw University Monday at 10 a.m. in Greenleaf Auditorium.

Raleigh, N.C.

Dr. Young acquired ownership of the Journal and Guide in 1910, and has been cited as dean of Negro newspaper editors; and was also cited by the Harmon Foundation for "Distinguished Editorial Work."

P. 6

For many years he has been active in civic and educational organizations which included trusteship on the board at Howard University from 1933-1955 and upon reaching retirement age was elected "Honorary Trustee" 1955.

He is currently a member of the Advisory Counsel on the Virginia Economy by appointment of Governors Tuck, Battle and Stanley; a member of the Norfolk City Council Committee on Higher Education; chairman of the Advisory Committee to the President of the College on the Norfolk Division of Virginia State College.

Honorary degrees have been conferred upon Dr. Young as follows: Doctor of Laws, Shaw University 1935; Virginia State College, 1940; Tuskegee Institute, 1943. Doctor of Humane Letters, Virginia Union University, 1937.

The public is invited to hear him.

Courier P. 4 Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat 1-19-57

Publishers Feted—Newspaper executives from three influential weeklies were feted in Durham at a press luncheon by the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company. Left to right: Louis Austin, editor-publisher of the Carolina Times; W. Beverly Carter Jr., publisher of The Pittsburgh Courier; P. B. Young Sr., publisher of the Journal and Guide, and W. J. Kennedy Jr., president of NCM.—Rivera Photo.

MAGAZINE SURVEYS LIFE IN NORTH

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Walls Of Exclusion Plague Negroes

Thurs. 3-7-57

NEW YORK, March 6 (AP)—Life magazine said today that while Negroes have made far greater social progress in the North than in the South, they are still plagued by countless forms of discrimination in the North.

The magazine published results of a survey of northern Negro life in an article titled "The Negro and The North." It was a follow-up to a survey of Southern segregation published last September.

"The North has done far more for Negro dignity than the South," said the magazine. "In the past 15 years, Negroes have advanced faster there than in any previous time and their political equality is now assured.

"Thousands of northern Negroes hold excellent jobs, some with white employes under them. Hundreds of thousands of northern Negroes have social contacts with their white friends.

"In general they fare better and earn more than in the South. This is why Negroes have roughly quadrupled since 1920 while the number in the South has risen a mere 30 per cent.

"Yet northern Negroes keep encountering walls of exclusion which result from combinations of subterfuge, subtlety, paradox and hypocrisy.

"Some Negroes are jammed into ghettos more rigid and more squalid than many of those in the South. The northern white violence against Negroes at Trumbull Park in Chicago since 1953 has been as bad as any Southern white violence in Montgomery, Ala.—and has drawn a peaceable Negro response modeled on Montgomery."

Still, the magazine said, "An enormous difference exists between legal segregation in the South and practices in the North, where discrimination is a matter of social pressures."

Life described the difference in this way:

"In the South resistance to desegregation is open and blatant. In the North, it is covert. In most of the South, segregation is still a way of life to be defended. In more and more of the North, discrimination is coming to be recognized as a wrong to be corrected."

Advertiser

Some of the problems encountered by Negroes in the North at present were listed as:

"Negro real estate men find few attractive houses anywhere for their clients, and seek to open new areas for Negroes. They face many obstacles.

"From artists to day laborers, Negroes in the North find themselves excluded from work which white men may do . . . No top American symphony orchestra employs any Negro instrumentalist—although Negroes sing at the Metropolitan Opera.

"There are no Negro surgeons at any of Chicago's 77 private hospitals except Provident. Only a half dozen of these 77 private hospitals accept Negro patients in appreciable numbers. In many places in the North, Negro doctors and patients are likely to get a similar short shrift.

Thurs. 3-7-57

"Dozens of Midwestern towns refuse to let Negroes work as clerks. "Some large unions (E. G. Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the National Postal Transport Assn.) still have bars up against Negroes.

On the other hand, the magazines listed these points of advancement for northern Negroes:

"Today qualified Negro engineers find a readier acceptance in the North than any other professional group. The whole 1956 and 1957 classes of engineers at Howard, a Negro University, had fine job offers long before graduation."

31 1957

EMMETT TILL KILLERS PUNISHED

Afro-American p.3

Baltimore, Md

The law failed to bring justice in the heartless killing of Emmett Till in the Mississippi "wolf-whistle" case. But the awakening conscience of the South is giving the Tillkillers a measure of the punishment they deserve. See LOOK MAGAZINE and you be amazed by the measures which many Mississippians—both whites and Negroes alike have taken to make life difficult for Milam and Bryant, the killers of Emmett Till. The full story is in the new issue of LOOK.

EMMETT TILL

today—get

LOOK

Magazine Gets Service Medal

CHAMPAIGN, Ill., May 4 (U.P.)—The Benjamin Franklin Gold Medal for the "most distinguished and meritorious public service during the year" by a general circulation magazine today went to Look magazine for an article on the dispute over racial integration.

David D. Henry, president of the University of Illinois, which sponsors the awards for distinguished magazine writing, editing and public service, announced the award for Look's April 3, 1956, publication of "The South Versus the Supreme Court."

Seven other awards were announced, including a $1000 prize to Cornelius Ryan for the "most distinguished writing involving original reporting in which serious obstacles had to be overcome."

Ryan won the award for two articles in Collier's magazine entitled "Five Desperate Hours in Cabin 56" and "One Minute to Ditch."

Prizes of $500 went to six other entries in the annual competition.

A series by John Bartlow Martin, appearing in Saturday Evening Post, "Inside the Asylum," was judged best for "depicting institutions in the United States."

Former Ambassador George F. Kennan was honored for his "Overdue Changes in Our Foreign Policy," in Harper's magazine.

Author Jim Bishop received an award for his three-part series, "The Life Story of Jackie Gleason," appearing in Look magazine.

"Man's Courage," by Wyatt Blassingame, which appeared in Harper's magazine, was named top short story.

The best article on science or health was, "The Uninsulted Child," by Gladys Denny Schultz.

Lincoln Barnett and the staff of Life magazine won an open classification award for the series on, "The Epic of Man," Parts III and VII.

Cited for short stories were John Campbell Smith for, "Run, Run Away, Brother," in the Yale Review, and Charles Einstein for, "A Favor for Lefty," in Colliers.

Formal presentation of awards will be made at a banquet of the Magazine Publishers Association in New York May 16.

LOOK MAGAZINE

Arkansas Judge Urges Respect For Democracy

Post Herald p.3

NEW YORK, Sept. 29 (U.P.)— An Arkansas judge called upon Southerners today to reject those who counsel open defiance of the U. S. Supreme Court's ruling on segregation.

The statement was made by Lee Ward, of Paragould, judge of the 12th Chancery District Court, in an open letter to the South published in Look Magazine.

Mon. 9-30-57

Obedience to the law, Ward said, is the essence of freedom.

"The South has lost its battle against integration on every national Democratic front," he said. "Now—in this hour of defeat and travail—just how much do we believe in government of our nation through Democratic processes?"

Birmingham Ala

The South must choose, he said, between Democracy and segregation.

"Shall we abandon Democratic processes in our national government just so we can retain segregation?" he asked. "Shall we, once again, undertake to withdraw the Southland from the union and create a new nation where segregation can be the law of the land?"

To do so, he said, would mean flouting the nation's majority will which has found racial segregation wrong. It would mean, he said, repudiating and disowning the United States.

"We come now to an hour in our history when we must stop and take inventory of our beliefs," Ward said. "We must decide whether we do, in fact, believe in the principle of majority rule for our nation."

Ward said he could find no fault with the citizenship of any person who "vigorously and vocally disagrees" with the Supreme Court ruling.

"It is all right to disagree," he said. "It is all right to work day and night for legislative action which will change or nullify a decision you don't like. But it is not all right—under our system of government—for us to decide that we will ignore or violate the law as it has been interpreted by the Supreme Court. We do not have any such right."

A number of Southerners, he said, have gone far beyond criticism and have practiced open defiance of the law . . . "an indefensible course of action."

"Even the decision on integration is subject to modification—or complete obliteration—through proper legislative processes," Ward said. "All that is needed to bring about any such change is to obtain a majority vote in favor of the change you seek."

Whites Misrepresenting Louisiana Weekly In N.O.

Wully Sat. 8-3-57 p.3
New Orleans, La.

For a number of months, readers of The Louisiana Weekly have been inquiring about a "survey" this newspaper is said to be conducting in various neighborhoods. The persons making the survey were white, the informants said. The Louisiana Weekly has not authorized anyone to conduct such a survey and has made attempts to find out who was actually behind it.

Now something new has been added. This time persons, believed to be white also, are telephoning homes, which they believe to be occupied by Negroes, and saying that The Louisiana Weekly is conducting some sort of a quiz program. This also is not true.

Saturday, one of these persons made the mistake of phoning one of The Louisiana Weekly circulation managers and told him of the so-called quiz. When the employee attempted to trace the real source of the "quiz" he was told that his office should have filled him in on the details of the "game" and the person who telephoned the employee hung up.

The Louisiana Weekly has always informed the public through these columns of any and all promotions it conducts. Of course, other means of advertising are also used on various occasions but news of such promotions will always be found in this newspaper.

The reasons for this misrepresentation are not known but The Louisiana Weekly readers are advised to demand the proper credentials from the people who call on them in the company's name or consult The Louisiana Weekly. Either visit the office building at 601 Dryades Street or Call RAymond 6596 or CAnal 5696.

Dixie woman editor writes 'hot' copy

Afro-American Sat. 2-2-57
Baltimore, Md.

NEW ORLEANS (ANP) — Residents of the Delta area reually frank editorial written by joiced last week over an unus-Mrs. Annette C. Carmichael, white, of Bay St. Louis, Miss., who edits the newspaper "The Light."

p.16

Colored readers consider the editorial the one bright light in real liberalism in all of Mississippi, which reeks with race hatred and bitterness. Though small the paper weilds great influence in the community about 75 miles from here.

Mrs. Carmichael's editorial titled "AS WE SEE IT," follows:

* * *

"**THERE ARE** a lot of people, from the White House on down, so interested and worried over the plight of the bombed out freedom fighters of Hungary. We regret their troubles but feel sure they would not be greatly worried over us if the case were reversed.

"They are far, foreign, and like the Russians are largely Eurasian and with a background of unnumbered invasions and counter invasions.

"But the thing that has shocked and sickened us is the beastly uncivilized bombings of the churches of peaceful people in Montgomery, Ala., and other acts of violence in our Southland—because they ask for the common, everyday rights all other Americans have without question.

* * *

"**THESE SAME** rights the highest court of our country, has ruled unanimousl and repeatedly, are theirs also.

"If our government fails to protect the colored people in the South, it is lacking in force.

"We cannot talk about injustice abroad and NOT PROTECT AMERICANS AT HOME.

"If we do, we will be the laughing stock of all the world."

31 1957

THE LIGHT (Mississippi)

White Woman Editor Writes Frank Editorial

Fri. 2-1-57

By O. C. W. TAYLOR

NEW ORLEANS. — (ANP) — Residents of the Delta area rejoiced last week over an unusually frank editorial written by Mrs. Annette C. Carmichael, white woman of Bay St. Louis, Miss., who edits the newspaper, "The Light," published in that community, about 75 miles from this city on the Gulf Coast.

Negro readers of her paper consider the editorial the one bright light in real liberalism in all of Mississippi, which reeks with race hatred and bitterness.

Though small, the paper wields great influence in the community.

Mrs. Carmichael's editorial titled "AS WE SEE IT," follows:

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"If our government fails to protect the Negroes in the South, it is lacking in force.

"We cannot talk about injustice abroad and NOT PROTECT AMERICANS AT HOME.

"If we do, we will be the laughing stock of all the world."

GREENSBORO, N. C. — Miss Grace Dungee, senior at Bennett college here, has been appointed to the national college board of Mademoiselle magazine.

She is the second Bennett student to be so honored, and is one of 650 students who competed to win a place on the board.

As a college board member, she will represent her campus and report to Mademoiselle on college life and the college scene. She will also compete for one of the 20 guest editorships to be awarded by the magazine at the end of May. If successful, she will spend the month of June in New York on salary, helping to prepare the college issue of the publication.

31 1957

MISSISSIPPI

VICKSBURG HERALD ENDING PUBLICATION

Commercial Appeal Sat. 3-30-57

92-Year-Old Newspaper Is Shut Down By Costs

Memphis, Tenn.

VICKSBURG, Miss., March 29. —(AP)—The Vicksburg Herald, 92-year-old morning newspaper, will cease publication with Saturday's edition, publisher Louis P. Cashman Sr. said Friday. He blamed rising production costs.

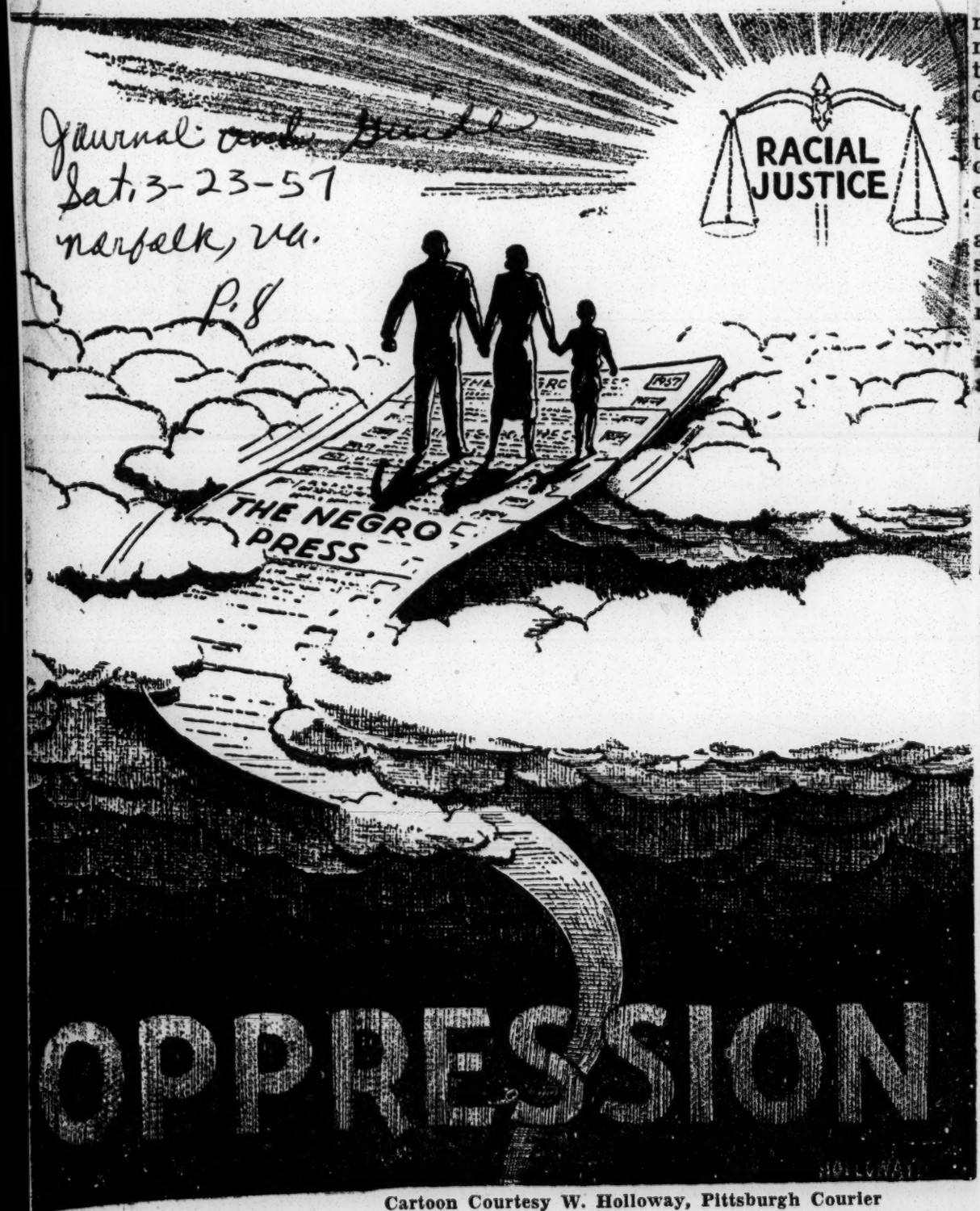
The Vicksburg Evening Post, also owned by the Cashman family, will continue publication. A Vicksburg Sunday Post will replace the Herald's Sunday morning edition.

An editorial to be published in the last edition of the morning newspaper says:

"Constantly mounting publication costs over which we have had no control, unaccompanied by commensurate increases in advertising revenues, have made the suspension of the Daily Herald inevitable. Most of the Herald employes will be given positions on the Vicksburg Evening Post."

The Post, established in 1883 by Mr. Cashman's father, John B. Cashman, acquired the Herald in 1925. The Herald previously had been under a series of owners.

Racial Justice And The Negro Press--1827-1957



Journal: Norfolk Bulletin
Sat. 3-23-57
Norfolk, Va.
P. 8

Cartoon Courtesy W. Holloway, Pittsburgh Courier

31

National Negro Newspaper Week--March 17-23

Negro Newspaper Week

Courier Sat. 3-16-57

On March 16, 1827, the first Negro-owned and edited newspaper, Freedom's Journal, was born out of the same necessity which has sustained its many successors from that time to this; and each year we celebrate that fact during this period. Pittsburgh, Pa.

A community without a voice is subject to disintegration, disorganization and division (as would an army without communications), and our ancestors were canny enough to realize this. P. 9

Like everything else, the Negro newspapers have not attained perfection because they exist in an imperfect society, but they flourish because they are needed and there is no substitute for them on the horizon—for all the new-found liberalism of some of the dailies.

When it comes to the over-all interests of Negroes in our society, only the Negro press can be counted upon as a Negro voice and champion.

Breakfast Club Observes 4th Estate Week

Courier P. 18
Sat. 3-23-57
Pittsburgh Pa.

LOS ANGELES — In keeping with the practice of honoring the fourth estaters of the city during National Negro Newspaper Week, President Mrs. Theresa Lindsay and her Sunday Morning Breakfast Club members outdid themselves on the second Sunday when they presented a committee of native Africans from every section of the continent.

In the U. S., under the sponsorship of Moral Rearmament Society, the visitors gave interesting speeches to the well attended breakfast.

■

MISS LIBBY CLARK gave an inspiring talk on the fourth estate, pointing out the work done on a local level with special accolades going to local editor Theo Nix Thomas.

The morning session ended with Courier writer Marylynn Holder narrating for Grewal Imports on India styles for morning, noon and night.

Mrs. Earlene Brown, Olympic discus and shot-put champion, was designated woman of the day.

NNPA BROADCAST CELEBRATES 130 YEARS — Shown above are participants on a recently-heard program carried by the National Broadcasting Company in commemoration of the founding of the Negro press in 1827 by John B. Russwurm. Left to right are: W. Beverly Carter, publisher of the Pittsburgh Courier and vice-president of the National Newspaper Publishers Association; Miss Betty Quadt, NBC; Dowdal H. Davis, general manager of the Kansas City Call and chairman of National Negro Newspaper Week; Bob Maurer, NBC, director of the show; Roy Wilkins, executive secretry of NAACP; Lester B. Granger, executive director of the National Urban League, and Mrs. Doris Corwith, supervisor of Special Events, NBC. The broadcast, a feature of National Negro Newspaper Week, was heard last Wednesday over NBC affiliated stations and featured the announcement of the Russwurm Award winners for 1957.

Celebrate Negro Newspaper Anniversary

Journal & Guide Sat. 4-6-57

A nation-wide radio broadcast was held recently in commemoration of the founding of the Negro press in 1827 by John B. Russwurm. Participants in the program included:

Left to right: W. Beverly Carter, publisher of the Pittsburgh Courier and vice-president of the National Newspaper Publishers Association; Miss Betty Quadt, NBC; Dowdal H. Davis, general manager of the Kansas City Call and chairman of National Negro Newspaper Week; Bob Maurer, NBC, director of the show; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP; Lester B. Granger, executive director of the National Urban League, and Mrs. Doris Corwith, supervisor of Special Events, NBC.

Newspaper Awards to Nine

Courier 4-27

PITTSBURGH — Montgomery's crusading pastor, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., was named along with eight others by the National Newspaper Publishers Association as one of its nine Russwurm Award winners.

Rev. King was cited for his "wise and unflinching leadership in the fight against racial segregation and for his contribution of a third force, non-violence, to the arsonal of democracy."

All nine chosen were cited for their "outstanding achievement in making possible a richer conception of democratic principles."

■

THE AWARDS were made over an NBC broadcast last week.

Others selected included the NAACP, the National Urban League, Gov. Theodore McKeldin of Maryland, Lieut. Co. Daniel James of the USAF, Rev. Paul Turner of Clinton, Tenn., Rev. Robert Graetz of Montgomery, Ala., Althea Gibson, U. S. Lawn Tennis Association star; the National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics, and the Negro Inter-Civic Council of Tallahasse, Fla.

Call Fri. 5-29-57 Kansas City Mo. P.

COMMEMORATE FOUNDING OF NEGRO PRESS.—Shown above are participants on a recently-heard program carried by the National Broadcasting company in commemoration of the founding of the Negro press in 1827 by John B. Russwurm. Shown here are, from left, W. Beverly Carter, publisher of the Pittsburgh Courier and vice president of the National Newspaper Publishers association; Miss Betty Quadt, NBC; Dowdal H. Davis, general manager of the KANSAS CITY CALL and chairman of the National Negro Newspaper week observance; Bob Maures, NBC, director of the show; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of NAACP; Lester B. Granger, executive director of the National Urban League and Mrs. Doris Corwith, supervisor of Special Events, NBC. The broadcast, a feature of National Negro Newspaper week, was heard Wednesday night, over NBC affiliated stations and featured the announcement of the Russwurm award winners for 1957.

Courier Pittsburgh Pa. Sat. 4-6-57

Broadcast—Participants on a radio program carried by the National Broadcasting Co. in commemoration of the founding of the Negro press in 1872 by John B. Russwurm. Left to right: W. Beverly Carter, publisher of the Pittsburg Courier and vice president of the National Newspaper Publishers Association; Betty Quadt, NBC; Dowdal H. Davis, general manager of the Kansas City Call and chairman of National Negro Newspaper Week; Bob Maurer, NBC, director of the show; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of NAACP; Lester B. Granger, executive director of the National Urban League, and Mrs. Doris Corwith, supervisor of special events, NBC. The broadcast was a feature of National Negro Newspaper Week.

Jackson Attends Publishers Board Meet In Washington

Wed. Birm. Ala. World Sat. 11-9-57

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (SNS) — Emory O. Jackson, managing editor, Birmingham (Ala.) World, was here for a two-day meeting Nov. 8-9 of the board of directors of the National Newspaper Publishers Association.

Sessions are schedule for Willard Hotel where the group will discuss plans for the NNPA Midwinter Workshop, Negro Newspaper Week, and hold a series of conferences with governmental officials.

Other board members include: William O. Walker, publisher, Cleveland Call-Post, Cleveland, O., president; W. Beverly Carter, publisher, Pittsburgh (Pa.) Courier, vice-president; John Kirkpatrick, publisher, East St. Louis (Ill.) Crusade, secretary; Mrs. Nannie Mitchell Turner, St. (Mo.) Argus, treasurer.

C. C. DeJoie, publisher, Louisiana Weekly, New Orleans, La.; Dr. Carlton Goddett, publisher, San Francisco (Calif.) Sun; Louis E. Martin, publisher Michigan (De- Chronicle; Carl Murphy, publisher, Afro-American, Baltimore, Maryland; E. Washington Ehods, publisher, Philadelphia (Pa.) Tribune; John H. Sengestacke, publisher, Chicago (Ill.) Defender; Frank L. Stanley, publisher, Luisville (Ky.) Defender; N. A. Sweets, publisher, Norfolk (Va.) Journal and Guide.

Negro Press Creed

Weekly Sat. 1-26-57 New Orleans, La.

The Negro Press believes that the United States of America can best lead the world away from racial and national antagonism when it accords every man, regardless of race, color or creed, his human and legal rights. Hating no man, fearing no man, the Negro Press strives to help every man in the firm belief that all are hurt so long as any one is held back.

31 1957

NEW YORK

Eagle's City Editor Resigns for Post with NY Company

Eagle Thurs. 3-21-57 P.1

RESIGNS— Bill Dillard, city editor of The Eagle, and staff protographer has submitted his resignation, E. L. Goodwin announced this week. Dillard will take a job with a firm in New York City (See related story). Indicating his versatilty, the above photo was taken by Dillard, himself.

Bill Dillard, city editor of The Oklahoma Eagle, will end services with the weekly newspaper on March 29, it was announced this week by E. L. Goodwin, Sr., publisher. Tulsa, Okla.

Dillard, who launched the fight for an integrated Tulsa fire fighting team in 1952, will take a job with the publications department of the Consultants and Designers, Inc. of New York City.

Will Do Further Studies

He will also do extensive study in the fields of journalism, history and philosophy at Columbia University. He is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Fred D. Dillard Sr., of 416 East Oklahoma place.

While with The Eagle, the 26-year-old newsman was cited for many different news and feature stories. He was a versatile writer, often said to possess the ability to project readers into the desired mood of any kind of news story.

"We hate to lose Dillard," Goodwin commented, "but we never stand in the way of progress."

Dillard will begin his new duties at the NY firm on April 1. He has worked with The Eagle on a second stretch since September, 1955. He first began with the newspaper in the summer of 1949, while studying at Howard university.

A veteran of the Korean conflict, Dillard worked in the public relations department of the New York Port Authority before returning to Tulsa in 1955.

Eagle P.2

Thirteen To Get News Awards

Defender
Sat. 4-27-57
Chicago, Ill.
31
P. 3

Thirteen winners of Page One Awards for outstanding newspaper work in 1956 in the Chicago area were announced today by the Chicago Newspaper Guild.

The winners will receive the traditional "sticks of type" at the Guild's annual Page One Ball at 8 p.m. Saturday, April 27, in the Sheraton Hotel.

They are:

George Thiem, Chicago Daily News reporter, and his fellow reporters, rewritemen and editors, for their initial investigations which broke the Hodge scandal.

'EL' WRECK

Ralph Arvidson, Chicago Sun-Times photographer, for his story-telling picture of children at play, "Modern William Tell."

Mel Larson, Chicago Sun-Times photographer, for his emotion-packed picture of last year's tragic "El" wreck, "Courage and Despair."

Robert A. Stiewe, Chicago Daily News photographer, for his stirring sports picture of boxing match, "Victory and Defeat."

Joe Kordick, Chicago Sun-Times photographer, for his unusual sports picture, "Soc 'er."

Edward DeLuga, Chicago Daily News photographer, for his hummourous picture, "Ugh!" of four children waiting for their polio shots.

WELFARE SERIES

M. W. Newman and Lestre H. Brownlee, Chicago Daily News reporters, for their series of stories on the state's Aid to Dependent Children program.

Art Petacque, Chicago Sun-Times reporter, for his three exclusive interviews of figures in the Hodge case.

John K. Adams, Chicago Sun-Times reporter, for his weekly series of stories spotlighting the growth problems of Chicago's suburbs.

Jack Jordan, Chicago Sun-Times editorial artist, for his imaginative art work and reporting in charting news events.

Maury Falstein, Chicago Sun-Times picture editor, and Dave Mann, Chicago Sun-Times photographer, for their work illustrating how pictures may be taken in court without interfering with a trial.

At the ball, $100 for the Stick of Type winner whose work best typifies the highest standards in the journalism field will be announced.

Judges were Ray Jefferies, Associated Press; Merritt Johnston, Daily News; Jesse Bogue, United Press; and August Sisco, Sun-Times.

Tuscaloosan Awarded Pulitzer Prize For Editorials

Advertiser

NEW YORK, May 6 (AP) — The Chicago Daily News today received the 1957 Pulitzer award for meritorious public service for exposing the Hodge scandal in Illinois.

Montgomery, Ala.

Eugene O'Neill won his fourth Pulitzer award, the first ever awarded posthumously, for his play "Long Day's Journey into Night."

It was the first time a playwright had been given four prizes.

There was no fiction award made by the trustees of Columbia University, which has awarded the prizes since 1917 under the will of the late Joseph Pulitzer,

RESTON

JONES

publisher of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and the old New York World.

The trustees made eight awards in journalism and six in music and letters.

The awards in journalism are worth$ 1,000 cash to the individuals chosen. The ones in the arts are worth $500 each. The winning newspaper gets a gold plaque.

Buford Boone, president and publisher of the Tuscaloosa (Ala.) News, won the editorial award for his editorials "in a community inflamed by the segregation issue." Cited as an outstanding example was his Feb. 7, 1956, editorial "What a Price for Peace," concerning the efforts of Autherine Lucy, a Negro girl, to gain admission to the University of Alabama. Added the trustees:

"Mr. Boone's editorials demonstrated courage and independence in the face of excited and almost hysterical opposition. At the same time they gave evidence of the willingness of a community to follow sober and enlightened leadership dedicated to the maintenance of order and individual rights, challenged by mob impulses."

BUFORD BOONE
Editorial Winner

James Reston of the New York Times won the award for national reporting.

Russell Jones of the United Press won the award for international reporting.

The Salt Lake Tribune was selected for local reporting—on edition time—for its coverage of the Grand Canyon crash of two airliners in which 128 persons died.

Wallace Turner and William Lambert of the Portland Oregonian, were cited jointly for stories exposing Teamsters Union "vice and corruption" in Portland. The award was for local reporting—no edition time—and each man gets $1,000.

WILBUR

LITTLE

LAMBERT

O'NEILL

History — "Russia Leaves the War," by George F. Kennan.

Biography — "Profiles in Courage," by Sen. John F. Kennedy (D-Mass.)

Poetry—"Things of this World," by Richard Wilbur.

Music—"Meditations on Ecclesiastes," by Normal Dello Joio.

A special citation was awarded

KENNAN

ROBERTS

to Kenneth Roberts "for his historical novels which have long contributed to the creation of greater interest in our early American history."

Other journalism awards were:

Editorial Writing—Buford Boone of the Tuscaloosa, Ala., News.

Cartoons — Tom Little of the Nashville, Tenn., Tennessean.

News Photography — Harry A. Trask of the Boston, Mass., Traveler.

The Chicago Daily News was cited for "determined and courageous public service in exposing a 2½-million-dollar fraud centering in the office of the state auditor of Illinois, resulting in the indictment and conviction of the state auditor and others. This led to the organization of state procedures to prevent the recurrence of the fraud."

The imprisoned state auditor was Orville E. Hodge.

The staff of the Salt Lake Tribune was praised for its "prompt and efficient coverage" of the Grand Canyon crash under pressure of edition time.

"This was a team job that surmounted great difficulties in distance, time and terrain," the citation said

KENNEDY

THIEM

Expose of Hodge Wins Pulitzer Prize; Georgian Honored for Racial Editorials

Constitution Tues. 5-7-57 Atlanta, Ga.

P. 2

From Press Dispatches

NEW YORK, May 6—The Chicago Daily News today received the 1957 Pulitzer award for meritorious public service for exposing the Hodge scandal in Illinois.

Eugene O'Neill won his fourth Pulitzer award, the first ever awarded posthumously, for his play "Long Day's Journey Into Night."

It was the first time a playwright had been given four prizes.

There was no fiction award made by the trustees of Columbia University, which has awarded the prizes since 1917 under the will of the late Joseph Pulitzer, publisher of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch and the old New York World.

The trustees made eight awards in journalism and six in music and letters. Buford Boone, a native of Georgia, was one of the Journalism Award winners.

The awards in journalism are worth $1,000 cash to the individuals chosen. The ones in the arts are worth $500 each. The winning newspaper gets a gold plaque.

James Reston of the New York Times won the award for national reporting.

Reston was cited for his distinguished national correspondence, including both news dispatches and interpretative reporting, an outstanding example of which was his five-part analysis of the effect of President Eisenhower's illness on the function of the executive branch of the government. Reston also won the national affairs reporting award in 1945.

Russell Jones of the United Press won the award for international reporting.

Jones' citation praised "his excellent and sustained coverage of the Hungarian revolt against Communist domination."

Jones was the only American newsman in Budapest at the height of the Hungarian revolt. He drove into Budapest last Oct. 29 for a "quick trip" that lasted a month.

The Salt Lake Tribune was selected for local reporting—on edition time—for its coverage of the Grand Canyon crash of two airliners in which 128 persons died.

Wallace Turner and William Lambert of the Portland Oregonian were cited jointly for stories exposing Teamsters Union "vice and corruption" in Portland. The award was for local reporting—no edition time—and each man gets $1,000.

Other awards were:

History — "Russia Leaves the War," by George F. Kennan, former State Department policy adviser.

Boone Reston

Biography — "Profiles in Courage," by Sen. John F. Kennedy (D-Mass.)

Poetry—"Things of this World," by Richard Wilbur.

Music—"Meditations on Ecclesiastes," by Normal Dello Joio.

A special citation was awarded to Kenneth Roberts "for his historical novels which have long contributed to the creation of greater interest in our early American history."

Other journalism awards were:

Editorial writing — Buford Boone, president and publisher of the Tuscaloosa (Ala.) News, for "his fearless and reasoned editorials in a community inflamed by a segregation issue, an outstanding example of his work being the editorial entitled 'What A Price for Peace,' published on Feb. 7, 1957."

Boone, who was born on a farm in west Georgia near Newnan in 1909, was graduated from Mercer University at Macon, Ga., in 1929 after majoring in journalism.

He worked for the Macon Telegraph and Macon News until 1942, when he became an FBI agent. In 1946 he became editor of the Macon Telegraph, and in 1947 publisher of the Tuscaloosa News.

Cartoons — Tom Little of the Nashville (Tenn.) Tennessean—for his cartoon depicting a boy on crutches and wearing leg braces watching a neighborhood football game. The cartoon was entitled, "Wonder Why My Parents Didn't Give Me Salk Shots?"

News Photography—Harry Trask of the Boston Traveler—"for his dramatic and outstanding photographic sequence of the sinking of the liner Andrea Doria." The pictures were taken from an airplane flying 75 feet above the water only nine minutes before the liner sank.

The Chicago Daily News was cited for "dtermined and courageous public service in exposing a 2½-million-dollar fraud centering in the office of the state auditor of Illinois, resulting in the indictment and conviction of the state auditor and others. This led to the organization of state procedures to prevent the recurrence of the fraud."

The imprisoned state auditor was Orville E. Hodge.

At Boca Raton parley—

News-Herald Ala P.19

South must stay calm, Collins tells publishers

Mon. 11-11-57

BOCA RATON, Fla., Nov. 11—(AP)—Gov. Leroy Collins of Florida told Southern Newspaper publishers today they had an unequalled opportunity and responsibility "to develop and defend a public atmosphere free of racial fears and bigotry."

Collins, who is regarded as a moderate on the race question, declared that without a calm atmosphere the South could expect to make little progress toward its goals of happier communities and stronger states.

In a speech prepared at the opening session of the Southern Newspaper Publishers Assn. convention, Collins said the South is now at one of history's crossroads, and that the greatest roadblock to its progress is "the disease of racial intolerance and furor."

AS PUBLISHERS of 131 daily newspapers gathered for the convention, they received committee reports which:

1. Warned of a dangerous trend, especially among young people, to disregard basic American freedoms.

2. Reported new expansion of newsprint production in the South but called attention to cancellation of plans for a proposed new mill in Florida.

3. Expressed concern over "the alarming decrease in interest in journalism as a career" and about the quality of journalism education being given in the South.

THE LEGISLATIVE committee headed by Maynard R. Ashworth of the Columbus (Ga.) (Ledger-Enquirer said young people were being brought up in an atmosphere "which is filling them full of ideas which are contrary to the freedoms which we enjoy in this society—particularly freedom of the press."

A great effort should be made, the report said, to make young people realize the importance of press freedom and "their right to know."

Another report estimated newsprint production in the South at a record 1,215,000 tons for 1957 and predicted an increase of 200,000 tons in 1958. It noted that plans for a new Florida plant, to be built by the Hudson Pulp and Paper Co., had been abandoned at least temporarily.

SNPA MEMBERS were asked to initiate programs to interest students in journalism careers and to bring pressure to bear to improve existing schools of journalism in the South.

In a meeting of the board of directors yesterday, Tom Tanner of Chattanooga, Tenn., was reelected secretary-manager. The board also tentatively approved plans to return here for the 55th annual convention next year. A board meeting was scheduled for Feb. 23 at Port Clear, Ala.

James L. Knight, SNPA president and general manager of The Miami Herald, presided at the meeting of publishers from 14 states.

THE PROGRAM will include talks by James Mills, editor of The Birmingham Post-Herald; George H. Beebe, managing editor of the Miami Herald; Walt Opie, of the Staunton (Va.) Leader and News; Millard Cope of the Marshall (Tex.) News Messenger; Carl Jones, John City (Tenn.) Press-Chronicle; Mark Etheridge of the Louisville Courier-Journal; Martin Andersen of the Orlando Sentinel and Jim Couey of The Birmingham News.

BUSINESS speakers will include William Dwight, president of the American Newspaper Publishers Assn. of the Holyoke (Mass.) Daily Transcript; Lisle Baker Jr., Louisville Courier-Journal and Louisville Times; W. F. Aycock Jr., Memphis (Tenn.) Publishing Co.; Shields Johnson, Roanoke (Va.) Times and World-News; C. L. Ray, Winston-Salem (N. C.) Journal and Sentinel, and Ralph Nicholson, Dothan (Ala.) Eagle.

The convention ends Wednesday.

Incompetent, Faithless Reporting

Advertiser P.4-A

VERY few *Time* magazine reporters are in Hollywood writing movie scripts. This not because they aren't accomplished fiction writers. Verily they are. It is not because Hollywood would pay them less, but because Henry Luce pays them more.

Too, there is a pronounced trend to factual documentary films and realism in Hollywood, and this, of course, would inhibit the *Time* fictioneer. Not in Hollywood, but in *Time* does one encounter the true Hollywood ending these days.

Now last week, as *The Advertiser* revealed Sunday, Dr. M. L. King was beatified, called "saint" and sped on his way to his place in The Ages in the company of St. Francis of Assisi by an Emory University divine. And this week Dr. King is upon the front cover of *Time*.

So far as we can recall, Dr. King—out of all of Alabama's renowned soldiers, sailors, scientists, physicians, authors, etc. — is the second Alabamian (Tallulah Bankhead) to achieve this distinction.

The long article on Dr. King was done after exhaustive research by a *Time* staff member from the Atlanta bureau who has spent much time in Montgomery. He is a competent and honest reporter. The incompetence and dishonesty of the *Time* reporting is undoubtedly traceable to the *Time* rewrite men in New York, the script writers aforementioned.

The essence of the *Time* story is of how Dr. King practiced non-violence and thereby led a movement which achieved integration.

★

THE *Time* dullards swallowed the preposterous comparison of the passive resistance of the 350,000,000 inhabitants of India to a corporal's guard of Englishmen to Montgomery's Negro minority.

In India the oppressed Indians were a vast majority. In Montgomery it is the whites, not Negroes, who are in the majority and command the constabulary, soldiery and arsenals. Such passive resistance as there has been in Montgomery has been practiced by the dominant white majority.

Such bombing violence as occurred was undertaken by a tiny element scorned by the white community. The violence was overwhelmingly disfavored by the whites. And a white City Commission, a white chief of police and white policemen moved decisively to practice non-violence by arresting and arraigning those it accused of the bombings.

Nowhere in *Time's* lengthy account does it mention the police action in the bombings. That is the most conspicuous act of non-violence in the history of the bus boycott.

★

BUT the true measure of the faithlessness and incompetence of this *Time* story is its repeated assertion that Montgomery buses are now "peacefully integrated."

As *Time's* Atlanta man knows from his trips here, Montgomery buses are not integrated.

For the most part, the seating arrangement, by choice of both races, is just as it was a year ago.

Nathaniel Lamar Mentioned In Time Magazine

Daily World Fri. 3-1-57 Atlanta Ga.

How the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS) "ferret out hidden talents" in Negro students is told in the March 4th issue of Time magazine. P.1

It tells how Nathanield LaMar of Atlanta, the son of a widowed school teacher, was given an opportunity to develop his potential with the aid of NSSFN "pronounced Nessfeness."

LaMar graduated from Harvard University summa cum laude won a fellowship to Cambridge university, is now working on a novel. He had a story published in the Best Short Stories of 1956 and several short stories published in Atlantic Monthly.

NSSFNS not only try to discover hidden talent but it also promotes higher education in Negroes.

Also mentioned in the article are Carole Waters, Milton E. Pharr and Robert Earl Hood.

Time Magazine's Prices Increased

Times Picayune Fri. 3-1-57

NEW YORK, Feb. 28 (AP)—Time Magazine announced Thursday its newstand price will be increased from 20 cents a copy to 25 cents, effective with its April 15 issue.

"Subscription rates will also be raised accordingly," the announcement added. P.1

The magazine said it will increase its circulation base and advertising rates effective with its Jan. 6, 1958, issue.

The new circulation rate base will become 2,250,000, up 150,000 over the present base. The new black and white one-time page rate will be $11,560, an increase of 10.1 per cent. Rates for two-color and four-color units also will be raised approximately 10 per cent.

New Orleans, La.

"The new rate structure," said advertising director John McLatchie, "reflects the steady growth since World War II of Time's circulation, which today stands at an all-time high."

Mayor Gayle, Commissioner Sellers Deliver Roundhouse Swing At Time Magazine Article

Advertiser Sun. 2-17-57 Montgomery, Ala. P.1

By NELSON COLE

Montgomery's mayor and police commissioner took roundhouse swings yesterday at Time Magazine's cover article on the Rev. M. L. King Jr., accusing the publication of "misquoting and being filled with the usual inaccuracies."

The Feb. 18 issue which is now being distributed featured King in its "cover" article called an "Attack on the Conscience."

In the article both Mayor W. A. Gayle and Commissioner Clyde C. Sellers were quoted several times and their actions described in connection with the bus boycott and bombings.

Most critical of the article was Sellers who voice a strong denial of a quote which the magazine credited to him.

Wrote Time: "Said Police Commissioner Clyde Sellers: 'I wouldn't trade my Southern brithright for 100 Negro votes.'"

Yesterday, Sellers told The Advertiser "If they were seriously interested in being factual they would have quoted me correctly. I said, and I repeat in full faith, 'I am 100 per cent for segregation and will not compromise my principles or violate my Southern birthright for ANY number of Negro votes."

In another part of the article, the [illegible] told of the first bomb attack on Kin[illegible] and events immediately following it. According to the magazine, "A white man rushed inside the parsonage and begged Martin King [illegible] to stop his followers (who had gathered outside). King did."

Sellers said it was never a "case of anyone 'begging' King to do any such of a thing. I personally told him to get out there and tell the crowd to go home.

"At the same time, Mayor Gayle and I told the crowd approximately the same thing," he said. "It was a case of them being under foot, hampering any attempt to investigate the situation and in general just getting in our way."

The commissioner added that he could "personally guarantee no policemen ever said later, like that magazine quoted him as saying, 'I owe my life to that nigger preacher.' It just didn't happen."

Sellers said he was not "surprised" there was no mention of the fact that "Negroes were running an illegal car pool operation. Those people only said the Negroes were 'fighting a losing battle . . . when the news came from the Supreme Court.'

Advertiser

"Of course, what actually happened was that a court granted us an injunction stopping the unlawful service," he said. P.2-A

"To the charge that 'police harassment followed' the boycott's beginning," he said, "I can only say no such event occurred . . . we have never harassed or intimidated any Negro, but have tried to insure they receive fair treatment at all times."

He then pictured the article as being "typical of all Northern reporting of the conditions as they exist in Montgomery."

In his criticism, Mayor Gayle objected to the "omission" of particular facts.

"The city officials and police department did everything possible to keep down violence, but there is no mention of their efforts," he said.

As to the section where the magazine wrote "white complacency turned to fury," Gayle said "there was no fury demonstrated among the white race during the bus boycott. The white people did not core whether or not the Negroes rode the buses."

He added also, "It was not the boycott of the buses or Rev. King's alleged leadership that brought about integration of the buses—but it was the decision of the nine United States Supreme Court Judges which dissolved segregation on the buses.

"This decision by the Supreme Court judges was handed down without giving any legal reason for the decision whatsoever," he

In onswer to the portion where Time said "white and Negroes (are) riding peaceably . . . integrated together," the mayor said, "integration of our buses . . . is by no means a peaceful situation."

The Time Magazine Court Dissents Again

Advertiser P. 4-A
Tues. 6-25-57
Montgomery Ala.

We have previously noted the dissents of *Time* magazine to recent rulings of the U.S. Supreme Court. The same magazine which decried the South's criticisms of the segregation ruling has now out-Dixied Dixie.

In the June 10 issue *Time* reproached the court for its Fifth Amendment ruling with the comment that citizens would—and by implication should—ignore it.

The following week, June 17, *Time* nullified the Supreme Court's monopoly declaration in the Du Pont case, accusing the court of stretching the Clayton Act "so far that even the government trust busters gasped."

It was evident in this and in *Time's* dim view of the Jencks ruling the same week, that the magazine had begun to set itself up as a court of final resort because of the Supreme Court's manifest failure "to carry out the U.S. law as it is, not as it ought to be under the precepts of liberalism or conservatism or any other political philosophy."

It was a question, *Time* said, of "legal realism" vs. "legal idealism," the liberal Warren court having plainly taken the latter and *Time* the former.

This week *Time* is still nullifying (as it probably will, in next week's issue, on the communist ruling). The Supreme Court "completely reversed itself," *Time* said, in the cases of Dorothy Smith and Clarice Covert, service wives who had done in their husbands. The court held that military courts overseas had no right to try civilian dependents, thus invalidating the convictions of Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Covert.

> In so doing [*Time* said], it threw some 390,000 overseas dependents, along with 23,500 employes of the armed forces, into a sort of legal no man's land.

Then, rather reminiscently of Southern attacks on the court, *Time* added:

> It also proved, if anyone had doubted it previously, that Supreme Court decisions depend heavily on the personalities and philosophical underpinnings of the justices who make them.

Watch for next week's installment of *Time's* court-baiting.

TRIBUNE (LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA)

Dr. Claud Marion Named To Staff Of Encyclopedia

Call Dig
Kansas City Mo.
Times 5-3-57

NEW YORK. — (ANP) — Dr. Claud C. Marion, professor of Agricultural Education and Teacher Training at Maryland State college, has been appointed to the staff of the New Wonder World Encyclopedia, published by Parents' magazine.

In informing the distinguished Maryland educator of his new appointment, Miss Christine Parker, executive editor, wrote:

"I cannot help but remember the excellent work you did for Mr. Morehead a couple of years ago, and would be more than delighted to have you join our staff now. Please let me know your decision as soon as you can."

The editor-in-chief of the New Wonder World Encyclopedia is Dr. George D. Stoddard, Ph.D., LL.D., Lit.D., dean of the School of Education, New York university. He was formerly president of the University of Illinois and commissioner of Education of the state of New York.

Dr. Marion had been informed earlier this month by Albert Morehead, president of the National Lexicographic board, LTD., that his name appears as consultant in the New Wonder Book Encyclopedia, the Illustrated Home Library Encyclopedia and the New American Webster "Handy College" dictionary. And that he would be listed as consultant in the Fireside dictionary to be published in the fall by Simon and Schuster and in the Simon and Schuster Pictorial Encyclopedia to be published probably in the fall of 1958.

The 12-volume set of New Wonder Book Encyclopedias was published by John C. Winston company of Philadelphia in 1953 and 1954. This set of books, which has American Library association recommendation, is not only published by one of the most distinguished textbook companies but is one of the two sets of books that have and P. stores.
been adopted for sale by the A.

The 21-volumes of the Illustrated Home Library Encyclopedia were published in 1955 and 1956, and the Illustrated Encyclopedia of knowledge, 21-volumes, published the same year, both by George McKibbin and Son in Brooklyn, N. Y. These are the largest selling encyclopedias in the United States. More than 7,000,000 individual volumes have been sold in the short period since publication.

The New American Webster "Handy College" dictionary was published by the New American Library of World Literature in New York City in the fall of 1956. It is generally consisdered the leader in its field.

Drew Pearson Lauds Girl Editor For "Exit Ike" Editorial Blast

Oklahoma City Okla.
Times 5-3-57

LOS ANGLES — (ANP) — Again attracting the attention of a national political and journalistic figure, Almena Davis Lomax, militant coast editor, was highly lauded recently by Drew Pearson.

After launching the L. A. Tribune, while but 18 years of age, she has by her outspoken editorials and the excellent publishing of her tabloid, won envoniums from Walter Winchell and others, besides winning the Wendell Wilkie Award for superior jurnalism.

Pearson's letter follows:

Drew Pearson, Merry-Go-Round
1313 Twenty-Ninth St., N. W.,
Washington, D. C., April 12, 1957

Mrs. Almena Lomax, The Los Angeles Tribune, 2323 West Jefferson Boulevard, Los Angeles, Calif.

Times 5-3-57

Dear Mrs. Lomax:

Your editorial on "exit Ike" was one of the most brilliant I have seen in a long time. Also, too true. Keep up the good work.

Best wishes, Drew Pearson.

She's Editor-Publisher Now

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 10-26-57

Publisher Loses Wife and Paper!

LOS ANGELES—Marital differences have caused a split in the well-known newspaper family of Lucious W. Lomax Jr., resulting in his replacement as publisher of the Los Angeles Tribune.

Stepping into the publishing role of the 17-year-old weekly newspaper is his wife, Almena, who will serve in a dual capacity, retaining her editor's seat.

■

SEPARATED SINCE last April when Mrs. Lomax started divorce proceedings on what her attorney, Vaino Spencer, said amounted to "incompatibility," the couple continued to edit and publish the paper until last week when Mrs. Lomax announced her dual role of editor and publisher after obtaining an interlocutory decree of divorce.

An out-of-court settlement submitted to the court spelled out Mrs. Lomax's right to exclusive operation of the Tribune while she is purchasing her husband's interest.

The settlement also gave Mrs. Lomax the family home and monthly support for the six children, ranging in age from 21 months to 12 years, with free access to them by their father. She waived alimony.

THE TRIBUNE was purchased originally by Mrs. Lomax when it was the Interfaith Churchman, from William T. Smith, and converted six months later into a newspaper of general circulation, with Mr. Lomax joining in the venture.

Mr. Lomax will have the right to hold a 15 per cent interest in the paper if he so desires.

Looking For Trouble

Afro-American p.4

That Dixiephobia publication, the U.S. News and World Report, in its current issue, states that colored people are pouring into Chicago and whites are moving out.

5-16-57

Migrants are arriving from the South at an estimated rate of 3,000 per month, it says.

Baltimore, Md.

Chicago's estimated colored population today is 682,000 colored persons and three million whites.

By 1965 guesses the magazine, the colored popuation will have increased to 925,000 while the white population remains static.

It fails to explain that the white population will remain static because of the current nationwide trend to move to suburban areas.

The U.S. News and World Report sees real racial danger in this situation and predicts "the lid may blow off at any time."

Colored people are not only moving to Chicago. They are migrating to America's third largest city at the rate of 10,000 a year.

Los Angeles County counts among its 5,500,000 population, 250,000 colored persons, 350,000 Mexicans and 40,000 Japanese.

The current Look Magazine terms Los Angeles a race relations success story.

It could have emphasized the fact that it is a city with the greatest potential for racial troubles.

But what Look points out specifically is what people of different races and backgrounds can do to live side by side in harmony.

Look likes to look realistically at the hopeful side. It prefers to focus its attention on the agencies which are operating to create better public understanding of race relations.

In marked and gloomy contrast, the U.S. News and World Report, obsessed with the myth of racial superiority, emphasizes the areas of friction and discontent.

So intent was this alleged news publication on finding difficulties, it neglected to report that no longer are there racial troubles at its favorite Chicago horror spot, Trumbull Park Homes; that people of all colors now live there in peace and harmony.

If there are to be troubles, it's institutions like the Klan, the White Citizens Councils and the U.S. News and World Report that fertilize the soil for them.

It's Too Late Now

Defender P. 10

With a slam bang article on colonialism, Adlai E. Stevenson, the former idol of the liberal wing of the Democratic party ushered in a new monthly magazine called WESTERN WORLD, which made its apearance simutaneously here and in Europe last week. Sat. 4-27-57

Stevenson availed himself of this auspicious occassion to sprout off his belated views on colonialism. He observed with characteristic solemnity that American opposition to colonialism is essential to the defeat of Communism in Asia and Africa. "Anti-colonialism," he maintained, "may have weakened the Atlantic community in important respects." Chicago, Ill.

Such a policy in "defiance of popular aspiration," Stevenson argured," is a greater risk and far more likely to lead to racial hatred or violence and Communist gains."

This is a fine time for Mr. Stevenson to propound his views on national blunders and racial matters, now that he is no longer a candidate for the presidency and has no great audience to appeal to. Had he been as clear and uncompromising on civil rights, on integration last Summer and Fall, as he is today on colonialism, he might have snatched his venerable name from the oblivion of the also-ran-column. But he insisted on touching lightly on the subject that was of paramount import to the Negro. And, when he did speak about civil rights, it was in a lukewarm language that was neither convincing nor definitive.

Mr. Stevenson disregarded the counsel of his friends and of those who knew the score. He went on a mistaken, ill-advised and ill-timed crusade against further testing of A-bombs, on the grounds that the fall-out endangered the health of the population. Instead of blasting away at the crucial domestic issues around which the Republicans were executing fancy ballet steps, Stevenson grew more and more indifferent to those painfully neglected questions as the campaign drew to a close. It was this ill-fated strategy that cost him the election. It's too late now, Mr. Stevenson.

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Matter of Fact . . . . . .

By Stewart Alsop

What Does Harlem Think?

NEW YORK—This enormous Negro city-within-a-city is now in the process of making up its collective mind on the following question: Which party, Republican or Democratic, deserves most credit or blame for its role in the civil rights fight?

Stewart Alsop

This reporter, accompanied by the experienced political analyst Louis Harris, has spent many footsore hours ringing doorbells here, trying to find out what Harlem thinks. It has been a fascinating experience, the more so because the way Harlem, and the many smaller Harlems in the key northern states make up their minds, may determine the political balance of power for years to come.

All Harlem, like all Gaul, is divided into three parts. At the top, there is the small aristocracy of the prosperous and well-educated, who live in places like the comfortable, private Riverton apartments. These people constitute an impressively articulate and knowledgeable community. At the bottom are the dwellers in Harlem's rat-infested, festering slum tenements. And in the middle are the occupants of the Government-subsidized housing projects, like the modest but decent Lincoln apartments.

Harlem's way of making up its mind works on the Tinker-to-Evers-to-Chance double-play principle — Riverton-to-Lincoln-to-tenements. People like the occupants of the Riverton are, by and large, the opinion-formers, and their political views seep down through the Harlem hierarchy. Harris and this reporter sampled opinions in all three groups, but the Riverton group provided the most interesting interviewing. The people in the Riverton are having a difficult time making up their minds.

WHEN WE ASKED them the question cited in the first paragraph, they would pause thoughtfully, and say "That's a very hard question to answer." The reason it is a hard question to answer was suggested by their answer to another question—in the last 50 years, who had done most for the Negro people? Almost without exception, the answer was "Franklin D. Roosevelt," and when they pronounced the beloved name, their faces lit up.

The people in the Riverton, in short, are New Deal Democrats, and by a margin of at least four or five to one. It is thus very hard indeed for them to give credit to the Republicans on the civil rights issue. Yet an increasing number of them are doing so.

An increasing number, moreover, are giving credit specifically to Vice President Richard M. Nixon. The new popularity of Nixon among the Harlemites was, indeed, the phenomenon which most impressed both Harris and this reporter. And this is related to another phenomenon.

Of all the people we talked to, in all our weary hours of doorbell pushing, there was exactly one who had the slightest interest in, or understanding of, the disputed jury trial amendment, about which so many millions of words have been written. This ignorance of the legislative details of the civil rights battle was as true in the Riverton as in the tenements.

THUS MINORITY LEADER William Knowland got virtually no credit at all for his stubborn fight for a strong civil rights bill. By the same token, Sen. Jack Kennedy got no blame for his vote for the jury trial amendment—no one was aware of it. And yet, somehow, the image of Nixon as a staunch fighter for civil rights has emerged very clearly.

There is not much mystery about that "somehow," either. People remembered the pictures of Nixon with the Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the Montgomery bus strike, and with Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of the newly independent state of Ghana. In terms of political salesmanship, those pictures were worth more to Nixon than reams of close-typed pages of brilliant and impassioned oratory in the Congressional Record.

Civil rights is not the only issue which will determine how Harlem makes up its mind. Especially in the tenements, there are many people who hardly bother their heads about civil rights, and who wax passionate instead about such matters as housing, rents, and above all, rising prices. If there is much more inflation, or even a mild depression, the gains the Republicans have made among northern Negro voters could vanish like the mist at sunrise.

Yet those gains are unquestionably real today. Harlem, which has voted overwhelmingly Democratic for a quarter of a century, will not vote overwhelmingly Republican tomorrow. But the Republicans have for the first time a real chance to reduce the Democratic majority among northern Negro voters close to the 50-50 mark. If they do, it will mean a major shift in the whole national political balance of power. And as of today, the major beneficiary of such a shift will unquestionably be Richard M. Nixon.

31a 1957

NEGRO (TREZZVANT W. ANDERSON)

Dixie Editor Warns:

Courier Pit. 6-22-57 P. 7

Political Leaders Have Gone Extreme; Being Anti-Negro Has Become Essential for Political Survival in South

By TREZZVANT W. ANDERSON
(Courier Staff Writer)

Pittsburgh Pa.

ATLANTA—Powerful editor Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution has, for years, been recognized as one of the most penetrating and well-balanced liberal thinkers in the South—and the nation.

But the square-cut Georgian admits a certain amount of indecision over what to do about the explosive race issue now haunting Dixie.

There isn't an ounce of defeatism in Mr. McGill, but a sort of perplexed frustration seems to surround him when the question of how to make specific programs to alleviate tensions is faced. Frustration in the sense that he isn't so sure that certain moves would be effective.

The Courier asked Mr. McGill if he felt that the 1956 proposal that white and colored leaders of the South sit down together and work out an acceptable solution to the desegregation issue would work. The idea was advanced that "community councils on race relations" should be set up.

"As to whether the idea would work," Mr. McGill said, "I would say South-wide 'no,' but in certain cities 'yes'."

"I don't think some Governors in some Southern states would endorse and support the effort, he said, "and without their support it couldn't succeed."

■

THE HARD-HITTING Georgia editor then observed that Mayor William B. Hartsfield of Atlanta has an interracial council and it has helped considerably.

The general tenor of the discussion was aimed at trying to decide what means could be brought into action to bring about a true and genuine understanding between the races which could do away with the existing tensions.

With cognizance of the feeling generated among white Southerners by the very use of the word "integration," Mr. McGill pointed out that in Atlanta golf courses have been integrated. "There has been no incident," he said, "not even any words, so far as we have been able to gather."

BUT MR. McGILL feels that his State of Georgia has not been as violent on the race issue as some other states. In this he is correct. He says: "There has been as much violent talk from top officials in Georgia as anywhere else, but Georgia has done better than most folks would expect."

Explaining why this is so, he said: "One reason is that Georgia's newspapers haven't been as violent as some in some other states, like Mississippi."

He cited an exception to the general pattern in a little paper published in Augusta, Ga., which is violently anti-Negro.

Now, because of its trend toward fair and equal treatment of Negroes, Atlanta is coming under fire from racial extremists, he points out.

■

THE RECENT POLICY stand taken by the Southern Baptist Convention is sure to bring angry repercussions in the South, he maintains, but he felt it would at the same time cause serious thinking in the hearts of Georgians.

"There is no doubt but that Christianity has experienced great agony of spirit and mind since the court decision," he wrote last week discussing the Baptist move.

Perhaps Mr. McGill laid his finger on the pulse of the whole situation when he made this pertinent and penetrating observation:

"Political leaders have gone extreme. Being anti-Negro has become essential for political survival."

■

THEN THE COURIER asked Mr. McGill "the $64 question":

"Do you think that the reported fear of the white man with regard to intermarriage is sincere, and that he really and truly thinks Negroes want to marry his women?"

To answer that one, Mr. McGill reflectively referred to a statement he made last year in the Atlantic Monthly, and said he would have to let that speak for him. The statement:

"But it is this one issue of the possibility of intermarriage which most concerns the Deep South. That the reasoning is not always sound does not at all detract from the strength of its belief or fear. When emotions dominate, reason plays little part. He who dismisses this attitude as a mere prejudice, does neither himself nor the great American problem any good."

Finally we ask: "What then is to be done about the situation?"

His answer, after a bit of study: "I don't know what to say. Progress is being made. Integration in the border states is coming around, for example, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, and some others. Some cities have made the move also, such as Louisville."

■

BUT HIS final observation seemed to bring the foggy picture into sharp focus: There are some white people who have money and are willing and want to spend their money helping bring about integration in the sense of having all men treated alike. But they dare not allow their participation in any such project become known, for it would mean the imposition of boycotts on their industries and businesses by embittered whites with little perception.

"There's a sort of indirect blackmail in this thing," Mr. McGill declared as the interview came to an end. Where do we go from here? Back to mind come his words: "I don't know what to say."

GEORGE ANDREWS REPORTS from WASHINGTON

News
Thurs. 7-18
Tuskegee, Ala.

A LOOK AT THE MAIL — I think everybody likes to receive mail. I know I do. The first hour of my working day is always spent with my mail. People from all of the 10 counties in Alabama's Third District write to me about all sorts of problems; veterans, farmers business men, teachers, mothers and housewives, civic groups, and others too numerous to mention. I even receive some mail from other parts of the country; comments on my stand on various national problems. The questions and opinions of these folks serve as a guide as I go about my daily tasks. Here are my answers to some of the questions found in the mail during the past week.

RUSSIAN SITUATION — The future is anybody's guess. All we know for sure is that dictatorships are all alike. The team leadership idea has broken down and Russia is again under a one-man rule: Nikita Krushchev. I don't think he can be trusted any more than those men who were kicked out: Malenkov, Molotov, Kaganovich and Shepilov. As for them, I wouldn't be surprised to read in the newspapers and day that they have been shot. My opinion hasn't changed. We should keep alert—and not "fall" for any of their new promises or propositions.

IS A DEPRESSION COMING?—Not like the one in the early 30's. But inflation is creeping up on us—and that will hurt some people just as much. For nine straight months, the cost of living has gone up under the Eisenhower administration. The president has asked the people to use "self restraint" to hold prices down. But how can you hold prices down? As long as the 'escalator" clause works in Northern labor contracts, the cost of living will gradually climb. Prospect is for a further decline in the value of the dollar under the Republicans.

SUPREME COURT — Alarm over the Supreme Court is slowly spreading. More and more members of Congress are talking of ways of cutting down the Court's authority. This opposition is no longer confined solely to the South At present, the prospect of getting action looks slim—however, a few more decisions like the Mallory and the Jencks cases, and something might happen.

BUSINESS OUTLOOK? — Business should continue to be good With the big federal spending program, there should be plenty of jobs. Big drawback is adminstraton's emphasis on big business—thereby hurting the small business man. Also, rising prices will tend to offset increased earnings. Plenty of money, just harder to get.

MILITARY SERVICE — Most popular plan seems to be the Army's arrangement for enlistment in the reserve. That way, you serve six months active right away Then 5½ to 7½ years reserve duty (depending on age when you sign up).

Albert
BARNETT

Defender Chicago, Ill.

Editors Of Negro Newspaper In Faraway Alaska, Write the "Editorial Of The Week"

Sat. 3-2-57

MOST NEWSPAPER READERS are partial to one section of their paper and invariably turn to that section in preference to the others.

Men like the sports pages, women, fashions household hints and social items, others prefer the front page and general news, while still others — of the more serious type — read the editorials first.

P. 10

In the last category are those who like to read the Editors' comment on issues of the day and also on the problems affecting their immediate community.

Most papers, on the editorial page, and as an added feature carry the "Editorial of the Day," a selected comment on a particular subject, taken from another newspaper.

This Column's choice for that distinction this week, is an editorial appearing in the Alaska Spotlight, published in faraway Anchorage, Alaska by George C. Anderson, with Eula and Elmer Burrell, associate editors.

But the Negroes of Anchorage are a sturdy, pioneer people who have a local NAACP and observed both Negro History Week and Brotherhood Week. They also have a community problem of 'segregation within the race,' and serious enough to warrant editorial comment in the Alaska Spotlight, whose editors apparently are determined to 'separate the sheep from the goats' and make the remaining few straighten up and fly right. Here's the Editorial, titled "Our Folk are also Guilty of Discrimination."

"Many Negroes, especially those who like to think they are the "upper crust" practice race discrimination against their own folk just as flagrantly as any prejudiced Southerner. Of course the offense does not take the form of exclusion from public places, nor employment practice, because they seldom own or have any connection with any business enterprise operated by Negroes.

"They pretend to look upon efforts of our group to achieve economic independence, as "self-segregation." Here is where the form of discrimination begins to take shape. They go all out in their ostentatious effort to avoid use of Negro lawyers, doctors, etc., like the plague. Whenever people of this type give an affair, requiring the use of a public place, they always feel impelled to seek some swank locale, where, for the most part, they are only tolerated — not welcomed.

"They cannot see that the large amount of money these affairs entail, if spent with members of the race, would not only improve the economic condition of their community, but would engender the respect and admiration of white people whom they try so hard to impress.

"This type seldom supports a Negro candidate for office, and in public gatherings conducted by their organizations, if a white person and a Negro of equal importance are present, the white will be highly honored, and the Negro ignored — and we could go on, and on. All of this is race discrimination, which is evil in any form. It is this kind of discrimination, practiced by Negroes, that is responsible for the belief that the chief ambition of Negroes is to socialize with white people, which is not true.

"WE do demand our civil rights (that is law), but we are not concerned with social equality (that is personal). We have some of the misguided individuals here in Anchorage — but they are few in number."

Albert
BARNETT

Defender Chicago, Ill.

You Read Reams About African Men But What About The African Women?

Sat. 3-16-57

WITH WORLD-WIDE ATTENTION focused on GHANA, new African republic, recently admitted to the British Commonwealth of Nations, there have been numerous inquiries as to the status of women in West Africa — their past, present and future.

P. 10

To the interested, but distant American observer, the past status of African women leaves much to be desired. However, some improvement has been noted in recent years and the future holds great promise for these women who are slowly emerging from poverty and ignorance through an adult and community education program, fostered by British governmental agencies and loyal native organizations.

The University of London Institute of Education publishes a periodical twice a year, called AFRICAN WOMEN, which is intended to help the teachers, social workers and those literate native Africans who are working among the women and girls in all territories of Africa.

In recent years the Gold Coast (Capital, Accra), and Nigeria, have made great progress toward democratic home rule, but, because of the fear of Communist infiltration, the United Kingdom has held itself responsible for their external relations, especially their defense.

Today, in West Africa, there are many educated men and women who can match achievements with the leaders of any civilized communities, but there are still millions of natives who follow ancient tribal rites and customs in the hinterland. Among the alert, and educated, there are thousands of trained women who work in telephone exchanges, department stores, offices, schools and hospitals of the larger cities, and who, in dress and conduct compare favorably with any group of young women on an American campus.

Miss Mabel Dove, first woman member of the Gold Coast Assembly, is a convincing speaker and logician, and when she arose—as the lone woman among the 104 members of the Assembly — to speak in appreciation of Her Majesty's Gracious Message to the Gold Coast—she was greeted with thunderous applause.

But Miss Dove and those of her cultural and educational level are far removed from the millions of African women who still live in the dark traditions of the past.

Commenting on these pagan beliefs, Assemblywoman Dove stated:

"I am very anxious to do something for these women, especially my illiterate sisters and mothers, and I am planning a strong women's organization — it should be a stronghold for women.

Miss Dove and her associates have pressed hard for the education of African women in remote districts, where they play 'second fiddle' to their husbands and remain largely beasts of burden. But, despite polygamy and their lack of formal education, women in rural areas are shrewd bargainers in the market place and in weaving, which is their main occupation. By selling their wares many women gain an income and a degree of independence, despite their menfolk who hold tight to the moneybags. The British magazine, AFRICAN WOMEN states: "Townswomen are also active in money-lending; indeed they are often more astute at it than the men . . . Successfully practiced, polygamy is a form of property ownership and gives the African prestige . . . But, perhaps the most radical change in recent years, at any rate among Nigerian women, has taken place in the Ibo country of the Eastern region.

"Earlier, there had been an almost open traffic in children with the North, the effect of which had been to debase the whole status and life of the local women. This has now ceased and Ibo women have benefited immeasurably. The new university colleges at Achimota and Ibadan, in accepting women students on the same terms as men, are helping to spread emancipation."

Albert
BARNETT

Defender Chicago, Ill.

500 Rural Negro Teachers Lose Jobs Because Of Integration

Sat. 3-1-57

DE-SEGREGATION OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN THE SOUTH, is moving apace, but the pace is slow — so slow in fact, that if a drowsy-eyed Snail could view the PROGRESS from the side-lines — he'd laugh himself to death.

P. 16

However, the picture is not too dismal and you read occasional news stories, where some of the Negro school teachers have found jobs in the 'mixed schools,' and you are able thereby to answer, at least in part, the oft-repeated query: "How many Negro teachers have lost their jobs, because of integration?"

All in all, it's safe to say that about 500 Negro teachers—mostly in farm and rural areas—have lost their jobs because of integration in the public schools of the South.

They are the young women—and men—who are the DP's of the U. S. educational system—displaced persons, and native, not foreign—who find themselves unemployed because of the May 14, 1954, ruling of the Supreme Court, outlawing segregation in the public schools of America.

Here's the score: most of the displaced teachers are in the rural areas of the South, where their own all-Negro schools were abandoned and the Negro pupils absorbed in white schools. Many of these teachers had from 20 to 30 years of teaching experience, and therefore were unable to cope with the younger, more alert teachers, who, because of advanced training in other lines, could find employment in other lines, as in business or industry.

Here's an example: On a recent trip to Phoenix, Ariz., this writer interviewed a personable young woman teacher who had been 'shelved' when the public schools admitted all pupils — white, Mexican, Negro and Indian — to the classes.

But, Miss M., — she's married now — had no qualms about her future, because in addition to her teacher training, she had taken an advanced course in business administration. She can operate a comptometer, a Remington-Rand tabulator, can cut stencils, take fast short-hand dictation and is a 'wizard' on the typewriter. As a result, she now has an inner-office job, and has four young women assistants, of various racial backgrounds, under her immediate supervision.

In the South, of course, it's different, but Jim Crow spells segregation, wherever you find him, and it's strange, but true, that the Dixie states making the greatest strides toward integration, have the largest number of displaced Negro teachers. In Oklahoma, more than 300 teachers have lost their jobs, because their all-Negro schools had been closed. But, no white teachers were displaced because of the new integration program.

In the rural sections of Kentucky, 60 Negro teachers were left 'holding the bag,' while in Louisville, among the first to obey the Supreme Court mandate, no Negro teacher has been displaced. In West Virginia, 52 were ousted; In South Carolina, 24 were dropped from the rolls because they refused to disclaim allegiance to the NAACP. In Missouri, the count is uncertain because the State Education department keeps no 'color' record in integrated districts.

In Texas, estimates say that 35 Negro teachers have lost their jobs. In that state, also, no white teachers have got the 'pink slip' because of the new 'interracial' ruling. Some states, like Maryland, have brought about the change without dismissal of any Negro

teachers, but there, Negro college grads are being urged to 'go into other fields'
into other fields?

ALBERT G. BARNETT

Defender P.10 Sat. 4-27-57

Round-Up Of Globe News

Chicago, Ill.

African Scientists Find New Eood For Poultry And Pigs --- POWDERED MUD

MODERN SCIENCE, IN ITS STUDY OF FOOD VALUES, by test tube and laboratory research, has discovered and codified the calories and vitamins found in fruits, vegetables, grains, fish, poultry and meat, as well as their by-products.

As a result, we have today, on our food charts, energy calories, vitamins, A,B,C, and D; thiamine, riboflavin and niacin, just to mention a few.

Now, from faraway Nairobi, Kenya, in East Africa, comes a new food suggestion for chickens and pigs, — it's DRIED, POWDERED MUD—brought up from the bottom of Lave Victoria, and its nutrient value is vouched for by a scientist who ate some of the mud himself and found it palatable.

This scientist, of high repute, is D. S. A. Beauchamp, director of the East African Fisheries Research Organization, who, with other scientists, discovered that at a depth of 50 feet, there was not as much lake plankton (minute vegetable growth on which fish feed) as they expected to find because of a shortage of sulphur in the water .

It was explained that in lakes located in temperate climates, sulphur is released into the water when the mud at the bottom, decomposes. Millions of bodies of dead plankton, weeds and slow-moving water animals fall to the bottom every year, and when they decompose, they give back to the water the elements they took from it to grow.

Aiding Director Beauchamp in the mud research, were scientists from Jinja and from Muguga, near Nairobi, and they discovered that the mud of Lake Victoria is slow to decompose, and at the bottom of the lake there are layers of mud, tens of feet deep, in which are locked up the accumulated richness of thousands of years.

Dr. P. R. Hesse, a soil chemist, analyzed many samples and found the mud rich in sulphates, nitrogen and other plant nutrients. Later, he boiled the mud and found it would not decompose and got the same effect by allowing it to dry completely. Dr. Heese said the dried mud has proved to be a fertile soil conditioner for vegetable gardens.

Director Beauchamp said he believes that, dried and powdered, it could be a valuable pig and poultry food because it contains the necessary minerals and considerable amounts of protein.

Reaction of U.S. chickens to the African mud diet might be open to speculation, but the pig, being less discriminating in the matter of food, would doubtless give it a try. And there's much to be said in its favor.

The pig is absolutely the dirtiest of all farm animals, but has the 'sweetest tasting' meat. To a hungry man, sitting down to breakfast, the only thing better than ONE Pork Chop, is TWO.

ALBERT G. BARNETT

Defender P. 10 Sat. 4-6-57

Round-Up Of Globe News

Chicago, Ill.

STRANGE AS IT MAY SEEM, the Negro farmers of Uganda, Africa are more prosperous and enjoy far better living conditions than their 'cousins' on farms in America below the Mason-Dixon Line.

The contrast was brought to light recently by a report released by Fay Bennett, executive secretary of the National Sharecroppers' Fund.

Miss Bennett states that Negro farmers are facing an economic crisis and that nearly 300,000 Negro farm families have to exist on an annual income of less than $1,000.

The report states that according to latest Census figures, there are 5,226,000 farm families in America and of this number about 1,500,000 families earn less than $1,000 annually. Here's another interesting figure: Of the million low-income farmers of the South, Negroes constitute one-third — or about 300,000 — who are forced to eke out a miserable living — including the bare necessities of life and maintenance of their farms — on an income of about $83.00 a month.

Just compare this pitiful situation with the rising standard of living, and the prosperity today, of African farmers in Uganda, whose major crops — cotton and coffee — bring them the bulk of their income.

In the past five years, the annual value of these two crops has risen from about 33 million dollars, to an estimated 96 million, a three-fold gain which shows the African farmer of Uganda has improved his family's standard of living.

Newsmen on the recent African trip with Vice President Nixon, noted that the demand in Uganda for consumer goods has shown a marked increase. Farmers are driving more and better cars and their homes are being built of permanent materials. Thatched living huts are being replaced with modern homes, and many have radio sets proudly set up in their living rooms.

A recent independent survey, sponsored by the Uganda government was made by the Marketing Development Company, Ltd., a London firm. The survey showed that growers of cash crops in the Masaka district of Buganda, have been able to spend relatively large sums of money in recent years for newly-built homes.

The farmers are also saving part of their previous year's income, some to assure future security for their families, others to buy needed consumers goods or to improve their homes.

Most of the prosperous tillers of the soil were found in more fertile areas, blessed with adequate rainfall, so necessary to the agricultural wealth of the country. But all districts showed satisfactory cash returns from individual holdings.

Cotton and coffee are not the only sources of revenue for Uganda farmers, but they do run on a comparable basis with cattle raising, and some of the natives are experts in animal husbandry. In many districts, cattle and livestock raising are regarded as the criteria of wealth and the yardstick of social prestige. Just as blocks of salt in the African pygmy country are considered money in the barter and exchange system, so in Uganda, cattle and other livestock serve as currency under the same system.

ALBERT G. BARNETT

30 Defender Sat. 5-18-57

Round-Up Of Globe News

Chicago, Ill. P.10

Mid-East Crisis Focuses Spotlight On The Black Jews Of Cochin

IN THE MIDST OF THE MID-EAST ENBROILMENT, involving Egypt, Iraq, Israel, Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, and with Russia warning the U. S. of the danger of giving 'aid and comfort' to Jordan, Western world observers are wondering what will be the situation in Israel, now that the Black Jews of Cochin, India, are going home at last.

Cochin is an Indian state, within the province of Madras and Jews there classed as 'white', are as fair in complexion as their European or American cousins. The Blacks, though darker, are not so black as Negroes, have more regular features and about the same complexion as the Jews of Yemen or Kurdistan.

In 1570, Writer DeBarros referred to the Black King of Cochin as "King of the Jews", despite the fact that the white and black Jews did not eat or drink together and the whites were permitted by law to have the blacks as slaves. Both castes however, have the same social and religious customs, but their diets differ. The Black Jews for centuries have subsisted on rice and the milk of cocoanuts, and being strict vegetarians, eat no meat. The white Jews of Cochin, eat cooked fish and chicken on the Sabbath.

According to the Jewish Encyclopedia, the two classes have separate synagogues, and although they have lived alongside each other for centuries, they avoid each other, do not mix socially and there is no cross-breeding. Among Cochin's black Jews, adultery is a rarity, and bigamy and polygamy practically unknown. The Blacks also have a law, called "Yibbum", whereby a man is obligated to marry the childless widow of his brother.

Origin of the black Jews is speculative but it is known that their forefathers came to India 2,000 years ago. The whites claim the blacks are converted slaves, while the blacks say they are descendants of Jews captured by the Babylonian king, Nebuchadnezzar and shipped to India in the 6th Century, B. C.

Best guess, based on history, is that the white Jews mingled with the dark-skinned Indian natives and became progenitors of Cochin's black Jews, whose color in most cases, parallels that of the brown Indians.

Latest reports indicate that 3,000 of Cochin's Black Jews already have migrated to Israel, leaving only a few hundred, and they intend to leave soon as they can. Their synagogues have been torn down, except one, which was dismantled for shipment to Israel, where it will be re-erected.

When the first Black Jews migrated to Israel, a ban was put upon their entry, because it was feared they might infect the other Jews with the dread elephantiasis — a disease of the skin in which it becomes thick, rough and fissured like an elephant's hide.

But the official spokesman for the white Jews in Cochin — A. B. Salem — a business man and property owner, took pity on the black Jews and flew to Israel to plead their cause.

Appearing before the Israeli Inner Council, M. Salem cited the scriptural song of Miriam, beloved by all Jewry, but also showing their hatred of the Egyptians: "If thou wilt diligently hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God, and wilt do that which is right in His sight and wilt give ear to His commandments and keep all His statutes, I will put none of these diseases upon thee, which I HAVE BROUGHT UPON THE EGYPTIANS."

The ban against the Black Jews was immediately lifted.

Albert

BARNETT

Defender Sat. 3-23-57

Harvester Official Explains Reason For Great Turnover Of Negro Labor In Industry

Chicago, Ill.

A RECENT QUERY WAS SENT TO THIS COLUMN, the writer asking: "How do you account for the great turnover of Negro workers in our key industries and what, if anything, is being done about it?"

At first glance, that seems a pretty large order to fill, but both sections of the questions have been answered by experts in the field of labor relations who are in daily touch with the problems confronting U. S. companies and corporations employing large numbers of Negro workers.

The first part of the writer's query was answered recently in Louisville, Ky., at the Urban League membership - campaign dinner held at the Sheraton - Seelbach hotel. Speaker of the evening was Ivan L. Willis, vice-president in charge of industrial relations for the International Harvester company, Chicago and also a member of President Eisenhower's Committee on Government Contracts. Declaring that he would speak 'bluntly', Mr. Willis told the Urban Leaguers that there could never be true racial job equality until more Negroes prepared themselves properly for skilled and semi-skilled work.

He said he had first hand knowledge of the problem and cited two black marks held against Negro workers by officials of big industrial and manufacturing plants. Here they are:

1—Too many Negroes go into industry with the idea that they are better qualified than they actually are. And when they fail to make the grade—they cry discrimination.

2—Too many Negroes have not learned, or do not practice, the fundamentals of home management, and as a result wage garnishments become a problem. Ninety percent of the garnishments against Harvester workers were against Negroes.

Declaring that there are more job opportunities for Negroes than qualified workers to fill them, Mr. Willis said: "Too many Negro youths leave high school before graduation.

Only 65,000 Negroes graduate annually from U. S. high schools, when the number should be more nearly 165,000." He said education preparedness is essential for employment in the skilled and semiskilled labor fields.

Endorsing Mr. Willis' insistence on educational preparation, one Urban League member cited the present status of Negro teachers in Kentucky, resulting from the de-segregation ruling. He said that although Kentucky has lost 27 qualified teachers, 112 have been accepted and are now teaching in schools with white students.

In Chicago, Edwin C. Berry, executive secretary of the Chicago Urban League and associates furnish the answer to the writer's second query: "What, if anything is being done about it?" Mr. Berry explains that they attempt to meet the problem by their Job Guidance program, directed by Ray Lewis, employment and guidance supervisor. Here are the main Job Guidance objectives:

1—Raising the level of aspiration of Negro youth so that they will prepare themselves to the best of their abilities for the many excellent job opportunities which the League is opening for them in all fields of employment.

2—Encouraging young people to stay in school and finish their education so that they are prepared to do a specific job well.

3—Revealing to these young people the expanding job opportunities which are opening at such a rapid rate as to find too few young people prepared to fit the requirements.

4—Channeling specially prepared materials into the schools to help the schools prepare youth more adequately for the opportunities which are opening.

Albert

BARNETT

Conniving "Mothers" Cheat State Through Million-Dollar ADC Baby Racket

Chicago, Ill.

THE STATE OF ILLINOIS, through its Public Aid Commission is making a thorough investigation into the most vicious of all rackets — using the Aid To Dependent Children program to mulct the state of millions of dollars, fraudulently received by conniving mothers of innocent babes-in-arms and others yet to be born.

The state took official notice of the vile racket when the legislature appointed a 10-man commission to investigate the Relief Rolls whose officials had presented a budget calling for $360,000,000, for the next two years.

The probe produced astounding exposures, one being that the Illinois Public Aid Commission faced a deficit of 30 million dollars for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957. It was also revealed that the Commission has been defrauded of more than 6 million dollars in the past five years.

One of the investigators stated that 99 per cent of the frauds were by people on the Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) rolls, and that very little trouble was given them by persons receiving old age assistance or by blind people getting checks for their disability.

The record showed that there are about 77,000 children on ADC rolls and Garrett W. Kaester, executive secretary of the Illinois Public Aid Commission said that almost 38 percent of these children are illegitimate and they average about three to a mother.

The Chicago American, leading daily, made an exhaustive study of the baby racket and quoted secretary Kaester as viewing with alarm the increasing migration of Negroes from the South. Mr. Kaester said: "The growing relief cost is the state's primary problem. One-fourth of the 1957-59 budget, or a whopping 90 million dollars, will be set aside for the ADC program.

Raymond Hilliard, director of Cook County Welfare who administers the ADC program in Chicago, said: "More than half of the 52,000 children on ADC rolls, here are illegitimate." One social worker found one woman receiving checks for four children by four different men, but was not sure who the four fathers were.

Getting ADC checks for children born out of wedlock is 'big business' for crafty, unscrupulous mothers, who receive $37.50 monthly for each child under state care. One official stated: We have several mothers who receive over $200 a month and one who gets almost $400."

One "mother" who told investigators: "I hain't seen my ol' man in months and months," was abashed and shocked when two other operatives caught the 'ol man rushing out the back door, cramming an unfinished pint of gin into his pants' pocket.

Another of these misguided "mothers" who specialize in the animalistic birth of children — without the benefit of clergy — was mildly indignant when the interviewer's visit interrupted a torrid love scene on her TV set.

The "mother," plainly 'in her cups' answered all queries in monosyllables, but reluctantly admitted that she already had three ADC children, with "another on the way." She also regarded as a "personal matter," all questions about the paternity of her children.

Finally, as her interviewer walked to the door, she gave him this sarcastic bit of "motherly" philosophy: "Well, after all it's better to stay home and have babies than to go out looking for a job."

ALBERT G. BARNETT

Defender

Round-Up Of Globe News

Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 4-13-57 P. 10

Mississippi, Dunghill State Of The Union Expounds Philosophy of Present-Day South

MISSISSIPPI CAN WELL LAY CLAIM TO TWO DUBIOUS DISTINCTIONS—stronghold of the Old South and Dunghill State of the Union.

It's one of the states where Cotton is still King and where living is easy for the whites, because Negroes do all the work. More than half the populaton makes its living off the soil and big industrial plants are not made welcome because the "Crackers" are too busy Jim Crowing and throttling Negroes, in the age-old effort to "keep them in their place."

As the hotbed of bigotry, prejudice and segregation since Reconstruction Days, Mississippi is the Jim Crow Capital of America, and its vile message of hatred for Negroes has thundered across the other 47 states by the vicious Bilbos and Vardamans of the past and the Senator Eastlands of the present.

Today's journalistic mouthpiece in the dissemination of rancor and hate, is the Jackson Daily News, published in the state's capitol, and directing its attack not only against Negroes, but also against liberal whites who insist that Negroes should be accorded first-class citizenship.

Here's a sarcastic comment by a News columnist on the recent African goodwill trip made by Vice President Richard Nixon:

"Vice President Nixon has been made a tribal chief of one of the jungle districts in Liberia. Here's hoping he will take a deep liking for the new job and give it his full time and attention. We would hate to lose Nickie, of course, but the Liberians probably need him much worse than we do."

But the columnist 'goofed.' Mr. Nixon was made chief of a tribe, but not in Liberia. It was a tribal district outside GHANA, sovereign state just admitted to the British Commonwealth of Nations.

When you consider the threats and beatings, the reprisals and lynchings inflicted by mobs on helpless Negroes of Mississippi (and other Cracker states) you can readily see why some of the present-day Negro 'leaders' are 'meek as Moses,' and subdued, timid and brow-beaten, hate the NAACP as meddlers and do "anything the white folks tells us to do."

Here's a case in point — a Feature Story with pictures, appearing in the Jackson Daily News on March 17, written by John R. Ford and titled in bold type: "Doesn't Want Integration: Negro Educator Has Built School, Wants to Keep It."

The 'educator' is Prof. J. H. Harvey, Negro superintendent of an all-Negro school in Smith county. Here are some Harvey quotes:

"My students are content . . . They don't want to go to an integrated school . . . nor do my teachers want to teach in an integrated school.

"What does the Negro want? Negroes want to live to themselves, go to their own schools, ride their own school buses; eat in their own lunch rooms and worship God to themselves.

"Let us not mix and mingle our blood as so many people would have us do; not in the backward roads and hills of the country; not in the slums of our great cities, but let our blood mix in faith with

the common denominator of all men — Our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ."

ALBERT G. BARNETT

Defender Sat. 4-20-57 P. 10 31a Negro

Round-Up

Of Globe News

Chicago, Ill.

Catholic Mission House At Selma, Ala.; God's Oasis In A Land Of Hate

THE DE-SEGREGATION ISSUE IN THE SOUTH—like politics—has made strange bedfellows and created a new type of mores and behaviour patterns never before observed below the Mason-Dixon Line.

Whites fight Negroes openly; Negroes fight whites, openly or covertly; Negroes fight Negroes for not "standing up for their rights"; whites fight whites (and bomb them) for advocating de-segregation and fair treatment of Negroes; Negroes fight the NAACP (their best friend) as a meddling, trouble-making organization and still others declare openly they don't want integration, because "we are not ready for it and it makes our good white folks mad."

Negro leaders and liberal whites criticize President Eisenhower for not openly condemning acts of violence directed against Negroes in the South; for sending billions of Relief Dollars to Europe and welcoming foreign refugees, whose first word of English taught them is "nigger."

Church denominations — both white and Negro—are rebuked for increasing the foreign missionary effort because of the rising tide of nationalism in Africa, when Negro homes in the South are bombed and helpless families mobbed by vicious Crackers, simply because they want first class citizenship.

It's very complicated and confusing, but, so far as the church is concerned, the one ray of sunshine in Dixie for — Negroes — is the Roman Catholic church, which has not only integrated its schools, but speaks out boldly against the unholy, frightful terrorism directed against Black Americans.

The greatest harbingers of good will and Christian brotherhood in the Jim-Crow South are the white missionaries of the Edmundite Mission House at Selma, Ala., maintained by the Fathers of St. Edmund and directed by the Very Rev. E. P. Galligan, S. S. E.

Despite the sarcasm, scorn and taunts directed against him by bigoted white Protestants, the Catholic Missionary of Edmundite House, makes his daily rounds of the Negro section—ofttimes on bicycle—to bring joy to many and material needs to most.

This kindly, Catholic missionary tells you that at Good Samaritan hospital, NO ONE is refused admittance as the sick must be cured, even in the case of overcrowding—which, all the often, happens.

And, all those being treated by the doctors, nurses, and Sisters of Mercy, are Negroes—who couldn't get in a white hospital, even through the backdoor.

As you visit the Home for the Aged and see the tender care bestowed upon the men and women of advanced years, your missionary guide will tell you that the old, like the young, need a helping hand to lessen the burden of creeping years.

And they are just completing construction of the new, modern Home for the Aged to care for more needy

Father Galligan needs help at his Mission House. Send him a contribution, of whatever size. Send it to Fathers of St. Edmund, Edmundite Mission House, Selma, Ala., Father Galligan, director.

ALBERT G. BARNETT

Defender P. 10 31a Negro

Round-Up

Sat. 3-1-57

Of Globe News

Chicago, Ill.

Anchorage, Alaska, Negro Newspaper Asks: "Do We Really Want Integration?"

MANY OF AMERICA'S 15 MILLION NEGRO POPULATION are grasping both time and distance by the forelock and moving far afield to carve new careers and grasp from Mother Nature the prime essentials of life—food, shelter and clothing.

A generation or so ago, if you were told there was a sizeable community of Negroes in frigid Alaska, you'd have probably thought your informant was slightly "teched in the head," as it's a far cry from the cotton fields of Dixie to the interior of Alaska, where temperatures have been known to register 78 degrees below zero.

But many of our Negro youth today, rugged and determined, have developed the pioneering spirit in an effort to get away from the congested "Black Belts" of metropolitan cities and the "dog eat dog" existence of slum firetraps and overcrowded, unsanitary 'kitchenettes'.

These young pioneers also know that Negroes can stand the rigors of the frozen North, and that the first man to REACH the North Pole was a Negro — Matthew Henson — companion of Admiral Robert Peary, who is generally credited with that distinction by white historians.

Canned salmon is still the biggest industry, with mining and fur trapping next in importance. Since 1867, when the U. S. bought Alaska from Russia, for $7,200,000, the combined resources of the country have returned more than 3 billion, 500 million dollars worth of products to America.

Largest city, where most of the Negroes live is Fairbanks, metropolis of the Territory, with a population of about 32,000, an estimated 800 to 1,000, of them Negroes.

Leaders of the Negro community are a determined lot, and though soft-spoken and mannerly, wield a Big Stick against bigotry and intolerance. Their mouthpiece edited and published in Anchorage by George C. Anderson, and a member of the Associated Negro Press.

The SPOTLIGHT has no patience with Negroes who howl like a wolf against segregation and prejudice but do absolutely nothing to remedy the situation. Here's a recent SPOTLIGHT editorial:

"DO WE REALLY DESIRE INTEGRATION?

"With all the hue and cry about 'integration' these days, and the indifference of most of our folks — here in Alaska at least — to public functions to which they are invited and welcome to attend, a person is inclined to wonder if we, as a race, really want integration, or if we just want something to gripe about.

"It is not unusual here, to attend a public reception, or public meeting, and find fewer than a dozen Negroes present. Even those who like to be considered 'leaders' stay away. In organizations interracial in character, all too often any Negro is likely to be 'the only Negro' present.

"That situation is so pronounced that one good lady went Stateside and announced that she was 'the only Negro member' of a certain group, and left the impression that our folk are generally barred from membership in the organization.

"It is high time that we begin to take part in all public affairs of the community. Integration has nothing to do with it — it's our duty as citizens. A good movement, it seems to us would be to persuade our folk to take part in all public affairs."

ALBERT G. BARNETT

31a Negro

Round-Up

Of Globe News

Death of Ernest Oppenheimer Recalls Diamond Smuggling Racket In Africa

THE RECENT DEATH in Johannesburg, S. Africa, of Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, international diamond tycoon and last of the original founders of South Africa's mining industry, recalls the fabulous career of this uncrowned emperor of a vast African empire, which, likened to an octupus, stretches its tentacles to the leading nations of the world, including America.

Defender P. 16 3-1-57 Lightfoot

Diamonds and gold in West, East, Central and South Africa; copper in the Rhodesias and Belgian Congo; tin in Nigeria and many other basic commodities throughout the African continent, were some of his business interests, which combined with his services to South Africa and the British Commonwealth, resulted in his elevation to Knighthood.

An expert in sorting and evaluating diamonds, Opperheimer, at the age 21, was sent to Kimberly, S. Africa, by London's leading diamond merchants, Anton Dunkelsbuhler and Co., as agent for the firm.

He later "went out on his own," and by degrees bought the controlling interest in various mining enterprises which enabled him to regulate and control the diamond and gold markets of the world.

At the time of his death, at the age 77, the German-born Oppenheimer was chairman of DeBeers Consolidated Mines, Ltd.; chairman of the Anglo-American corporation; developer of South Africa's rich gold fields and chairman of several mining companies with monopoly holdings in the copper belt of Rhodesia.

Last year these combined companies, headed by Sir Arthur, operated 43 different mines in Africa and produced minerals worth more than 500 million dollars.

Independent, "outlaw" African miners were reported digging the gems from Sierra Leone soil, then selling them to Syrian and Lebanese tradesmen, who in turn would 'peddle' them at a handsome profit to waiting buyers in Monrovia, Liberia.

The Sierra Leone Selection Trust was the duly accredited mining agency recognized by the British Government, but so plentiful were the precious stones that illegal digging by the Africans could not be curbed and as a result they reaped a harvest in good, negotiable 'coin of the realm.'

But, some African and British newsmen said the Selection Trust was merely an 'agent' of the Diamond Corporation, headed by Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, and that the quota of the Selection Trust was only about one-fourth of all the gems mined in Sierra Leone.

Aim of the Oppenheimer monoply, say these newsmen, is to control all the diamond-producing areas of the world, and thus to regulate the price of diamonds all over the world.

It all adds up to the fact, say these informed observers, that the African natives — tired of seeing their soil gutted of the precious diamonds — turned brigands, racketeers and smugglers — and started grabbing some of the glittering wealth for themselves and for their families.

ALBERT G. BARNETT

Defender 31a p. 18

Round-Up

Of Globe News

Chicago, Ill.

"The Butcher Workman" Pays Tribute To Amalgamated's Top Negro Official

Sat. 7-13-57

NEGRO READERS OF WHITE NEWSPAPERS have long protested the "playing up" of Negro crime and the "playing down" of news favorable to members of the race, including their progress — against great odds — in all lines of human endeavor.

For a Negro to make the front page of the Dixie daily press, he must be involved in a crime, and if the "headline" on the story doesn't say so the lead paragraph will tell of the "vicious attack by a big, burly Negro."

Showing their contempt for the race in general, and for the individual in particular, Southern dailies have a "Colored Section" in which they record happenings of the Negro community.

In that section they prefix names with "Mr.," "Mrs." or "Miss," but in the front part of the paper "Mrs. Mary Smith, (Negro)," is just plain "Mary Smith," no matter if she's been married 50 years, has 10 living children and countless grandchildren, even great-grandchildren.

On the obituary page, deaths with the courtesy and respect due the deceased, but when a Negro man, woman or child dies, the name is listed in a column at the bottom of the page, titled "Negro Deaths."

In Memphis, the citizens tried unsuccessfully for more than five years to have the daily Commercial Appeal change its policy towards news about Negroes.

They have now formed a Citizens Improvement Committee and launched a protest movement, asking Negroes to stop reading the paper.

Leading residents on the committee include Frank Kilpatrick, Dr. I. A. Watsin, James T. Walker, Rev. D. Warner Browning, Rev. R. W. Norsworthy, Dr. J. E. Walker, A. Maceo Walker and Miss Willa A. McWilliams.

The committee states the following reasons for the protest movement: 1—Failure of the Commercial Appeal to use titles of respect for Negro women. 2—The editor's answer to the various committees, that "Negroes are immoral and that less than 10 percent are legally married."

3—The degrading editorials concerning national Negro leaders and organizations formed for the uplift of the Negro group. 4—Slanted news concerning Negroes and the race designation attached when Negroes figure in the crime news.

The committee this week reported the protest movement is 70 percent effective and gaining momentum.

The printed word comes in various forms and appears in a wide variety of publications. Among Trade journals, this Column "doffs its cap" to the Butcher Workman, official organ of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, AFL-CIO, headed by Earl W. Jimerson, president, and Patrick E. Gorman, secretary-treasurer.

Published monthly, The Butcher Workman is ably edited by Mr. Gorman and its columns express the admirable spirit of cooperation and brotherhood so typical of Amalgamated, which has always been organized labor's top ranking spokesman for the constitutional rights of all minority groups.

At Amalgamated's Chicago headquarters, 2800 N. Sheridan rd., mural paintings decorate the walls, depicting the oneness of mankind, and showing the various races working together in complete peace and harmony.

The August issue of The Butcher Workman features an article by Editor Gorman, titled: "He Never Takes 'No' For an Answer," in which tribute is paid to a high ranking Negro officer — Holford Harris, Amalgamated vice president and member of the International's Executive Board. Editor Gorman speaks:

"The election of Holford Harris to the International Executive Board during the 1948 general conference in Chicago marked another milepost in the history of the Amalgamated.

"While Negro members had served the organization in various capacities ranging from committee men, shop stewards and local officers, to special and general organizers, Holford was the first of his race to be elevated to the executive board, the highest policy-making body of the International Union. . .

"International Vice President Holford Harris has always been in the forefront in the fight for civil rights and last year, he and International Vice President Leon Schachter led an Amalgamated delegation in Washington to urge Congressmen to work for speedy enactment of civil rights legislation. . ."

ALBERT G. BARNETT

Defender p. 18 31a

Round-Up

Of Globe News

Chicago, Ill. Negro

Sat. 9-7-57

"Tenure," Controversial Issue, To Be Settled At NBC Conclave In Louisville

BAPTIST AMERICA WILL WITNESS another threat of schism (split) in its ranks, on Sept. 4-8, when the National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc.—with a total membership of more than 4,500,000 — holds its annual convention in Louisville.

The big "split" of course came in 1916, when the "Boyd Baptists" withdrew from the parent body under the leadership of Dr. R. F. Boyd of Nashville. This group, known as the National Baptist Convention of America, also meets Sept. 4-8, at the Embassy. And itorium in downtown Los Angeles. Dr. C. D. Pettaway of Little Rock, Ark., assuming the presidency on the death of Dr. G. L. Prince of Galveston, Texas.

The denomination has an estimated membership of 2,750,000, in some 12,000 churches. Dr. Henry A. Boyd of Nashville, son of the founder, is secretary of the National Baptist Publishing Board.

The parent body, NBC, USA, Inc. was organized in Montgomery, Ala., in 1880, and for years was headed by Dr. D. V. Jemison of Selma, Ala. Distributed among some 30,000 churches, NBC, Inc., boasts nearly 4,800,000 members largest Protestant denomination in the world.

Present head of this great religious body is Dr. J. H. Jackson of Chicago brilliant scholar and pulpiteer and minister of Chicago's Olivet Baptist church, one of the largest in America, (largest, Abyssanian Baptist of New York City, pastored by Adam Clayton Powell, who is also a Representative in the U. S. Congress.)

Dr. Jackson was elected NBC president in 1953, has therefore served a four-year term. The "fly in the ointment", which has developed into a controversial issue, is the NBC constitutional amendment, adopted in 1952 and which limits a president to a four-year term.

The anti-Jackson forces are adamant in their stand that Dr. Jackson is not eligible to be a candidate for a fifth term, and say they will 'fight, tooth and nail', at Louisville, to uphold the tenure law in NBC's constitution. Among the supporters of tenure are the Revs. W. H. Borders, Georgia; Roland Smith, Arkansas; J. C. Austin, Illinois; U. J. Robinson, Alabama; Sandy F. Ray New York; J. Pious Barbour and Marshall Sheppard, Pennsylvania; S. A. Owens, Tennessee; T. M. Chambers and L. B. Moss, California and others.

These "tenure" supporters quote the NBC Constitution as stating:

"A president of this convention shall not be eligible for re-election after he has served four consecutive years — until at least one year has elapsed." Delegates to the convention are termed "Messengers" and it requires a two-third vote of all messengers at the convention, to change the NBC constitution. If the Jackson forces can get this two-third vote, Dr. Jackson can be re-elected for a fifth term. That, says his boosters, is their objective.

Included among the Jackson supporters are some of the nation's outstanding Baptist clergymen and lay leaders. One of the most ardent and vocal is Dr. Thomas S. Harten, pastor of Holy Trinity church in Brooklyn and vice president of the convention, who stated in a recent press interview:

"We need Dr. Jackson more than he needs us. In less than four years he has led the convention to tremendous success, and he has not yet given to the fullest capacity of his leadership of the denomination and of America."

Other Jacksonites, each a power in his own state and community include the Revs. E. D. Billups and A. L. Davis, jr., of Louisiana, S. T. Alexander, Texas; H. H. Humes, Mississippi, and a host of other Baptist State leaders.

Heading a long list of Baptist laymen, who are solidly in the Jackson camp, are Andrew Means of Gary, Ind., and Henri O'Bryant of Los Angeles. Mr. Means is one of the leading building contractors of Gary, and in 25 years has built more than 500 homes. He is a Tuskegee alumnus, member of the NAACP and Urban League, the Community Fund, and of both the Gary and U. S. Chambers of Commerce.

Henri O'Bryant is proprietor of a church robe and garment manufacturing company, bearing his name — reportedly the largest in America, owned and operated by Negroes. He also is a candidate for president of the National Baptist Laymen's Movement and his many friends, north and south, predict his election at the Louisville convention.

ALBERT G. BARNETT

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31A
Chicago Ill. P.10

Round-Up Of Globe News

Sierra Leone Makes News Again In Lucrative Diamond Smuggling Racket

SIERRA LEONE, A BRITISH COLONY on Africa's West Coast, and "next-door-neighbor" to Liberia, is still making front-page news in both London and Monrovia, because of its alleged connection with a vast diamond smuggling racket which robs Britain of millions of dollars annually.

Writing in the Liberian Age, Reporter A. Nwana Obi, stated recently that it is now clear that the big diamond rush to Sierra Leone, by native Liberians is causing a serious labor shortage in the African republic.

Some villages in the hinterland, Obi states, have been depopulated in the mad rush 'to get rich quickly.'

Base of operations is Sierra Leone, known as the "commercial diamond mart of the world," where Duncan Webb, reporter for The People, British newspaper, said a husky man with a good shovel could go in the dense swamps of the interior and dig enough diamonds in one day to give him a lifetime of ease.

Sierra Leone has long been a haven of refuge for Negroes, as in 1788, it was ceded to English settlers as a home for Negroes discharged from the British armed forces, and also for runaway slaves who had found asylum in London.

The natives there, who know every foot of the judge are the diamond diggers, who smuggle them into Freetown, capital of Sierra Leone and there sell their loot to Syrian and Lebanese "merchants" who, in turn dispose of the gems at fabulous profits across the border in Liberia.

Webb says that a stone bought in Freetown by a Syrian for 5 pounds (roughly $13.75), would be worth 50 pounds ($137.) when he gets it to Liberia.

Webb's first contact with the racket was at the airport in Freetown, when a small boy sidled up to him and whispered: "Master, you buy Number One Stone? I got very good stone." And the urchin showed him the stone — an uncut yellow diamond worth $225 in London.

The British reporter's subsequent investigation over a period of weeks revealed various ramifications of the racket. It's like a Tinker — to Evers — to Chance historic baseball play.

In Sierra Leone's diamond racket, it's from swamp — to Freetown — to Liberia. Still another center where the gems are bartered is Beirut, in Lebanon, where the market is 'wide open.'

Asked how do they get away with such a collossal racket, Webb explained: "Most of the Syrian and Lebanese smugglers are legitimate dealers, licensed by the Lebanon and Sierra Leone governments.

"Their license requires them to sell the stones they buy from the natives, to the Diamond Corporation, which regulates the price of the gems throughout the world.

"There, of course, is the loophole. As a cover for their operations, they sell one diamond in five, legally. The other four go on the smuggling trail out of Sierra Leone — to earn fortunes on the black market."

ALBERT G. BARNETT

Defender Sat. 8-17-57
31A
Chicago Ill. P.10

Round-Up Of Globe News

Lutherans Top List Of Churches Practicing Fair Treatment Of Minorities

MEMBERS OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH — with its eight important branches practicing as well as preaching tolerance and brotherhood — have long advocated fair treatment of minority groups, (Negroes), and have not needed the stimulus of Supreme Court decisions to prompt them to do their Christian duty.

Two largest branches (Synods) of the church are the Lutheran church — Missouri Synod — leading conservative group of the denomination — with a membership (1955), of 2,004,110, and the United Lutheran Church in America, which is a union of the General Synod, the General Council, and the United Synod of the South, with a membership of 2,175,726.

Latest effort on the part of Lutherans to fucus their ministry on the pressing interracial problems of today, has been to co-sponsor the 8th annual Valparaiso University Institute on Human Relations, which ended July 28, on the school's campus. Official name of the church's co-sponsoring group is the Lutheran Human Relations Association of America.

Major essayist at the Institute was Dr. Herman Long, faculty member at Nashville's Fisk university, who quoted some of the findings of a study conducted by the National Opinion Research Center. He stated:

"Although two-thirds or more of the white population of the nation believed that Negroes were treated fairly, only about one-half of the white American public was willing to accept Negroes of the same income and education as themselves, in the residential areas which Negroes did not traditionally occupy."

Then, pointing out the responsibility of the church, Dr. Long summarized:

"The churches can address themselves to this issue in terms of their own moral and Christian commitment; but they can only make a real difference, it seems to me, by addressing their concern to breaking up the sentiments and practices of neighborhood exclusiveness which are present at the doorstep of the local church and reflected in the attitudes of its members."

Rev. Walter Heyne and Dr Andrew Schulze, president and executive secretary respectively of the Lutheran human relations group, stated that more than 100 delegates, from California to New York, were registered for the Institute.

Another forceful speaker was the Rev. Clemonce Sabourin, pastor of Mt. Zion Lutheran church Manhattan, who, in a biting indictment, stated:

"I am convinced that the greatest roadblock to the progress of the Gospel today is the sin of white arrogance and racial prejudice. People pray one way, then act as though our black fellow citizens are not worthy to share the abundant goodness which God has bestowed upon us. . .Like a mighty army dragging its feet, the church has let the forces of evil get the upper hand. Today, more than ever before, we hear good Christian people — with fear and trembling — advocating gradualism."

ALBERT G. BARNETT

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Round-Up Of Globe News

MEDICS WOULD DENY AID TO THE AGED, THE HALT AND THE BLIND

A GREAT HULLABALOO IS BEING RAISED by the Medical Profession, aimed solely at the aged, the lame, the halt and the blind. It all stems in the edict by the American Medical association, voicing determined opposition to any federal legislation intended to provide medical benefits and hospital care, under the Social Security Act.

Defender Chicago Ill. Aug. 22-1957

The Act, as workers, young and old, should know was originally passed in 1935, has since been amended six times, is administered by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and both workers and employers pay for the workers' insurance.

The overall Social Security coverage embraces 11 programs, the two main ones being federal old-age and survivors insurance and federal - state unemployment insurance.

The other nine provide federal grants-in-aid to the states for needy person who are aged, blind or permanently disabled; for dependent children and for services in behalf of maternal health, child health, crippled children, child welfare, public health and vocational rehabilitation.

The proposal to include medical care and hospitaliation for those covered by the Social Security program, is embodied in House of Representatives Bill No. 9467, introduced in the recently adjourned session of the 85th Congress by Rep. Aime Forand, Democrat of Rhode Island.

Marshalling forces against the Forand Bill, Dr. David B. Allman of Atlantic City, president of the American Medical association, states:

"Enactment of this legislation will permit the Federal government to withdraw Social Security taxes on a compulsory basis from almost the entire working population and use those taxes to reimburse hospitals and physicians for services rendered to all persons eligible to receive old age and survivors benefits.

Of the present estimated U. S. population of 170 million persons, approximately 12 to 13 million receive Social Security benefits. And spokesmen for the latter group are as insistent in their support of the Forand Bill as AMA is, in opposing it.

All in all, it's a big program, of vital importance to a large segment of U. S. population and while a break-down of those receiving public assistance in the various states is not readily obtainable, the State of Illinois offers a basis for comparison.

A report to Gov. William G. Stratton from the Illinois Public Aid Commission, showed that in September, 281,951 persons received $13,672,004, in the following categories:

General assistance: 71,974 persons received $2,736,654, for an average of $38.02, per recipient; Old Age Assistance: 85,115 persons received $5,725,804, an average of $67.27; Blind Assistance: 3,343 received $239,698, an average of $71.70;

Disability assistance, 13,131 persons received $1,069,362, for an average grant of $81.44, and Aid to Dependent Children, 108,902 persons received $3,900,486, for an average of $35.82.

While the above figures are inconclusive, they give some idea of the magnitude of the combined Social Security-Public Assistance programs. It also shows why recipients of Social Security benefits, especially those over age 65, will "pressure" their Congressmen to have the Forand Bill become the law of the land.

ALBERT G. BARNETT

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Sat. 11-16-57 p. 1-8

THE GREAT PROBLEM OF MODERN INDUSTRY: "WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE AGED?"

U. S. INDUSTRY IS FACING a serious problem — what to do with the aged, how to discharge its obligations to senior citizens and how industry can benefit from the wisdom and experience of oldsters who are nearing or have reached the three-score-and-ten mark, but are still able to turn in a full day's work for a full day's pay.

Recent advances in the medical profession, vitamins, sulpha and other wonder drugs, air-conditioning, food preservation and the other refinements of modern living have all combined to increase life expectancy, and today, a man at 70, may have the reflexes, blood pressure and general physical condition of a man, aged 50.

And, according to insurance statistics, a man reaching the age of 60, has an even chance of living to be 75, even 80 years old.

As a result, industry, working on the theory "old men for counsel, young men for war," is pondering how best to take advantage of the skills mastered and experienced gained by oldsters, and to use them to mutual advantage.

In industry and in big business, it's generally agreed that it's a waste and extravagance to jeopardize our expanding economy by telling a man at the age 65, or older, that he's "through," and thereby lose the skill and know-how he had acquired through the years in his particular line of endeavor.

The best way of course, to get due recognition for employable oldsters — that vast reservoir of strength for U. S. industry and business — is through Act of Congress, which:

Number One, would raise the voluntary retirement age from the compulsory retirement age from 70, to 75, and Number Three use active, physically able crafts men past 75, as counsellors and instructors to young trainees thereby giving the latter, in capsule form, mastery and perfection that otherwise would take years of study and hard work to acquire.

Credit for the first move in this direction goes to Rep. Joseph W. Martin, jr., of Massachusetts, Republican leader in the House. Addressing a luncheon meeting of the Lions Club in Attleboro, a fortnight ago, Rep. Martin called on Congress to prevent oldsters from becoming "forgotten Americans in this age of progress and prosperity." Continued employment of these people, he says, has become one of the nation's major problems.

Rep. Martin concluded: "I hope the next session of Congress will give serious consideration to this problem, as ie is one of our most pressing economic dilemmas."

A vote of thanks to the Speaker of the House. But, if you give gainful employment to an oldster, he should also have a place to live.

And if he hasn't a home of his own, one should be made available at a rental fee comparable to his income.

Realizing this, the town of West New York N. J., has become the first community in the metropolitan area to obtain a pledge of federal aid for a low-rent apartment house exclusively for the aged.

Construction will begin next Spring and the project, to be known as Sun Set Gardens, will be a seven-story brick elevator building, with 40 apartments. More than 360 persons, 65 or older, have already applied for the 40 available units, according to Herman D. Hillman, director of the New York regional office of the Public Housing Administration in Washington.

By simple deduction therefore, you realize that only one out of nine oldsters, can get an apartment in Sun Set Gardens. You realize, also, how vast is this Army of the Aged — men who have worked like slaves all their lives, not to get an old-age pension in their declining years, but to stand erect and with resolution, demand from Life, its own fulfillment.

For the 70-plus oldster knows that the man who has no Cross will never wear a Crown, and the flower that follows the Sun, does so even on cloudy days.

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Sat. 11-2-57

A. P. RANDOLPH TAKES BROTHERHOOD TRADE UNIONISM TO COLONIAL AFRICA

THE COLUMN THIS WEEK pays tribute to A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and vice president of the AFL-CIO, a world-renowned leader of trade unionism, keen strtegist, convincing speaker, gentleman and scholar. An uncompromising realist — a man of few words but great deeds.

And when you speak of Randolph, the leader, you call to mind the names of his top associates through the years — Milton P. Webster, Ashley L. Totten, Bennie Smith, E. J. Bradley—all tried men and true, whose devotion to the Brotherhood is the saga of modern unionism.

To this writer, ace high among members of the Randolph Cabinet, is Milton P. Webster of Chicago, ardent foe of mediocrity, second - class citizenship and the "Uncle Tom," "Aunt Jemima" type of Negroes.

Webster was this writer's classmate at Chicago's old South Division High school (Class of 1903,) and Illinois College of Law, (Class of 1911.) The spirit of leadership demonstrated by Webster during his high school and college career stood him in good stead as Randolph's associate in that rugged period preceding birth of the Brotherhood in 1925, and it was this writer's great privilege to be numbered among the few U. S. newsmen who championed the cause of BSCP and gave both voice and expression to its fulfillment.

Randolph, Webster and their coworkers have always felt keenly their responsibility in demanding social, political and economic justice for Negro workers and the first victory to crown their efforts after a hectic period of blood, sweat and tears was the recognition given the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 27 years ago, as an International Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

But great social changes do not die aborning and their leaders must face the challenge of constantly widening the scope of their power and influence — even to the countries of pagan Africa now tween colonialism and independence.

Recording some of his impressions in the October American Federationist, George Meany, editor, Writer Randolph states:

"Africa represents the battlefield for the souls of 85 million people still in the grip of paganism, out of her total population of 200 millions and for the souls of generations who will one day inhabit that great continent.

"... In East Africa, affiliations of trade union organizations are found in Madagascar, Tanganyika Uganda the Rhodesias and Nyassaland.

"... In West Africa trade unions are organized in Ghana, Sierra Leone, British Cameroons, Gambia and Nigeria. . .In truth, because of the psychological acceptability of AFL-CIO trade union forces especially in various areas of colonial Africa the international role of the AFL-CIO in cooperation with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions is indispesable in this period when nationalist revolutions are sweeping that continent."

ALBERT G. BARNETT

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World Students Set Pace For Progress In Human Relations

SEVERAL DECADES AGO, when the words South America, Europe, Asia and Africa were mentioned, the average reader—especially those in the lower-income bracket — would consider them as remote, inacessible spots on the earth's surface, somewhat akin to familiar names in the planetary system.

But all that has been changed, thanks to the United Nations Assembly; lower transportation costs on ocean liners; the Telephone, radio, TV and cablegram; and finally the Overseas Airlines of the U. S., and various foreign countries which shrink the map and bring the peoples of the world together in a few short hours of flying time.

First continent to succumb to the new order of travel was South America; then came Europe, with the speed-up occasioned by World Wars I and II, and now Asia, Africa, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Russia), with its area of nearly 9 million square miles and estimated population of some 250 million peoples, of all types and kinds.

Just a fortnight ago, Russia flew its 70-passenger, jet commercial air liner from Moscow to Manhattan in less than 24 hours flying time — a trip that by boat and train, would take at least three weeks.

And it's the restless, inquisitive young people of the world — students of psychology, history, the arts and sciences, who, through travel and personal contact seek to promote fellowship with all races and nationalities.

They seek, also, a remedy for the wide divergence in human relation which arrays caste against class; white against black; gentile agaist Jew and one ethnic group against another.

Just last week, in Ibadan, Nigeria, metropolis of that country, (capital, Lagos) 200 students from 60 countries and five continents, attended the International Students' Conference, held in Trenchard Hall of University College.

It was the first time the Conference of the National Unions of Students was held on the continent of Africa. It was sponsored by the Students' Union of Leiden, Netherlands.

The Prime Minister of the Nigerian Federation, Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, greeted the visiting students, stating, in part:

"This, for many of you, perhaps for most of you, is your first visit to Africa — and the ways of Africa and her inhabitants are strange and new to you. Try to understand her, her virtues and her faults, her aspirations, her successes and failures. It is your duty to your own country that you should do this.

Addressing the Nigerian Students, Prime minister Balewa, advised:

"Your country looks to you to represent her to your guests worthily. As we approach self-government, we begin to understand what that word involves. It involves hard against the promptings of our better instincts.

"Responsible government requires responsible men and women to make it work. You, the undergraduates of University College, Ibadan, will be the brains of what will be in a few years, and independent Nigeria; see that you do not fail her."

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ANCHORAGE, ALASKA, "TOURISTS PARADISE" TO GET NEW CHURCH OF THE AME FAITH

THIS COLUMN, ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS, has stressed the fact that Negroes have developed the pioneer spirit and are migrating far afield in search of economic security and first-class citizenship.

Special mention has been made of the trek to Alaska, where sizeable communities of Negroes have been established, and where all phases of modern city life have been transplanted.

In Anchorage, for instance, where the Alaska Spotlight—edited and published by a former Chicagoan, George C. Anderson — is the official mouthpiece for the Negro community, you'll find a local branch of the NAACP, a Masonic Shrine Lodge and other fraternal groups, social organizations and all types of business, operated by Negroes, and typical of any American metropolitan city.

The Ancient Order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine and the Elite Social and Charity club, recently sponsored Philippa Duke Schuyler in a piano recital at the Anchorage High school auditorium, and the Souvenir Program for the event carried eight pages of ads inserted by owners of various Negro business enterprises.

These included four 'Top' lounges and night clubs; a real estate office; a friendly Cafe, featuring home-cooked foods; a barbecue and lounge; beauty shops and barber shops; an auto 'body clinic': the Club International, where you can dine and dance; a Photo Salon, Chicken Shack, women's dress shop, and last but not least, an [illegible] from the Shiloh Baptist [illegible] inviting you to listen to the broadcast, each Sunday, direct from the church over station KFQD, 730 kilocycles on your dial.

Also welcome news was the recent announcement that the House Armed Services Committee has allocated $41 million to Alaska, to be split three ways — to the Air Force, the Army and the Navy.

Latest news, of interest to AME churchgoers was announcement of the arrival in Anchorage of Bishop Frederick D. Jordan and Mrs. Jordan of the Fifth Episcopal District, to establish their second African Methodist Episcopal church in the Alaska Territory. Last year they founded a church in Fairbanks, and the couple will revisit that city before returning to the Puget Sound area, where Bishop Jordan will hold his first annual conference.

The prelate welcomes all races into the AME membership, and last year at Fairbanks, Negroes, whites and Eskimos all joined in founding the new church.

Migration and the installation of branches of the Armed Services have combined to make the populations of Alaska grow by leaps and bounds and thousands of Negroes are pouring into the Territory each year to seek fame and fortune in this great land of opportunity.

Brochures proclaim Alaska as the richest per capita market in the world; the fastest growing business and industrial center on the North American Continent; America's richest resevoir of natural resources and the "golden heart of the land of golden opportunity."

ALBERT G. BARNETT

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Round-Up Of Globe News

SCHOOL INTEGRATION? "LET THE KIDS ALONE," THEY'LL SOLVE THE PROBLEM

IF YOU'VE BEEN KEEPING UP with various phases of the 'Little Rock incident,' you have probably noted that many of the adults who slugged and pummeled Alex Wilson of the Memphis Tri-State Defender, and the photographers and reporters for LIFE and TIME magazines—were fathers of Central High students who didn't want their children 'contaminated' by brushing elbows with students of the Negro race.

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You have also probably noted that when 'enforced integration' became a reality, there was a gradual lessening of hostility by the whites against their fellow Negro students.

Then, on the fourth day of the 'incident' one photo given wide circulation in the nation's newspapers, showed white and Negro girls playing a softball game, with National Guardsmen keeping the score.

All of which goes to show — as one Little Rock observer stated— that if you 'let the kids alone,' they'll settle their problems in their own way and in a manner acceptable to all concerned. And, if not goaded on by their parents and other adults who are childless but vicious, the white students soon put aside their racial fears and animosities as a lot of hokum, and begin to evaluate fellow-classmen on the basis of merit rather than color of skin.

About 15 years ago, a noted liberal, who was editor of a white daily newspaper, visited the editorial offices of the Chicago Defender and asked to meet the Staff.

Ths writer — at that time the Defender city editor — sat in on the brief, but interesting conference, and pointedly asked the distinguished Southerner what the possibilities were, of resolving racial differences in the 17 Dixie states.

He answered that succeeding generations of the youth of the South would solve the problem, each generation becoming more tolerant and forebearing than the one previous. His statement somewhat paraphrased the one made famous by Dr. Booker T. Washington, who said: "No man can make me lie in the gutter without staying down there with me."

But here's the bell-ringer, showing that the pendulum swings both ways: In Raleigh, N. C., members of the North Carolina Student Legislature, recently held its 21st session, attended by some 212 collegians, white and Negro from 21 colleges in the State, and the meeting was held in the House and Senate chambers of the Capitol.

And, in those hallowed precincts of the Deep South, the main piece of legislation acted on, was a mock bill, sponsored by Duke university Woman's College delegation, to 'legalize' interracial marriages!

After heated debate the Bill was approved by the Student House of Representatives, in a one-sided vote — and it squeezed through the Student Senate by a vote of 21-16. Shades of 'Ol Jeff Davis, Bilbo and Vardaman!

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Round-Up Of Globe News

WHY ENGLAND CAN'T STOP THE AFRICAN DIAMOND SMUGGLING RACKET

A READER, INTERESTED IN RECENT DISCLOSURES of the diamond smuggling racket in Africa, asks: "Why is it that Britain, with her admitted resources of money, manpower and military might, can't stop 12,000 Africans from stealing $40 million in raw diamonds annually from British-owned mines?"

The answer is simple but first the reader must understand the topography of that humid, tropical land, teeming with almost impenetrable jungles; their flora and fauna; vines, creepers and prickly bushes; swamps with deadly quicksands; deep ravines and monstrous sharp gashes in mammoth rocks; stealthy leopards and lions and venomous reptiles, coiled in the underbrush, waiting to strike their victim.

The Colonial Office in London knows that the scene of the diamond mining — and subsequent smuggling — is in the jungle area near Yengema, in the Kono district of Sierra Leone and 200 miles inland from Freetown, capital of the British West African colony.

It's a remote, fearsome and Godless country, familiar terrain to the native but a deadly hazard to the Caucasian. Natives know the mysteries of the jungle: their weird shrieks and catcall noises of dawn and twilight and can "sniff" the presence of wild animals and the loathsome, slimy bugs, insevts and snakes of the underbrush.

It would be a virtual suicide for a white man to make that 200-mile trip from Freetown, alone, to the 'happy hunting grounds' of the diamond country — to corral the gems that drive white men mad— but are dug from the jungle swamps solely by rugged African natives who thrive in the tropical sun.

Sat. 10-19-57

Britain is gravely concerned over the diamond situation as Sierra Leone is a Crown Colony, but despite the efforts of police and troops the traffic has gotten out of hand, with not much hope of controlling it in the foreseeable future.

Just a fortnight ago the British government called a state of emergency and sent native troops wit white officers to the Kono district, where the Arican diamond diggers had run riot for 12 hours, taking complete control of the mines, fighting and pilfering, mashing equipment and breaking into the diamond vaults to steal thousands of the precious gems.

Scene of the rioting were mines owned by Alfred Chester Beatty's Consolidated Selection Trust in London and its subsidiary, the Sierra Leone Selection Trust, where officials said that the properties "were attacked by a large number of illicit diamond miners."

Those familiar with the African scene say that the world monopoly on the marketing of diamonds is held by the Diamond Corporation and subsidaries, headed by mulitmillionaire Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, who also controls other organizations engaged in exploiting the

NEGRO (ALBERT G. BARNETT)

ALBERT G. BARNETT

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Round-Up Of Globe News

A SYRIAN MERCHANT IN HANHATTAN'S HARLEM district, specializing in women's lingerie and other feminine finery, writes this column, challenging the statement made several months ago that Syrian traders in Sierra Leone, British African Crown colony, are key figures in a gigantic diamond smuggling racket, in which an estimated $40,000,000 of the gems are smuggled out of Sierra Leone every year, with Britain on the losing end.

This column holds no brief for Syrian merchants in U. S. metropolitan cities, for they are invariably found in Negro districts where they set up shop and in their indifferent, detached way, grow prosperous from Negro patronage.

These merchants, with their colorful window displays and shrewd selling tactics, get most of the neighborhood's business — especially on paydays — while a Negro, handling the same type of merchandise just a block away, is forced to close up shop.

Syrian merchant in Chicago, several years ago, was "caught off base" by Uncle Sam's Internal Revenue Dept. and hauled into court on income evasion charges. He had scheduled just a modest sum, but government investigators revealed that for the taxable year in question — he had an income in excess of $20,000. He had no Negro employes, and made all sales himself, with the aid of is wife on Saturdays and Sundays.

As to the African diamond smuggling racket, a recent United Press dispatch from London stated:

"The British government has called in troops to stop 12,000 Africans from pilfering millions of dollars worth of raw diamonds from a British - owned mine in West Africa, Sierra Leone) . . . The Africans are mining diamonds illicitly from works owned by the Consolidated African Selection Trust at the rate of thousands of dollars a day."

The London Daily Express has a circulation of nearly 4,500,000, and one of the star reporters is Frederick Ellis, who in a recent issue, told of the part played by yrians in the smuggling of diamonds. Reporter Ellis speaks:

"Sierra Leone is a smuggler's paradise. . .The big money is made by the 'middle men' who get the stones out of the country, traveling among the illicit diggings with case loads of notes (British Pound Notes). . .

"They are largely Syrians who virtually control the up - country trade of the Colony. The Syrians handle the stones with complete indifference to the local police force.

"So highly organized is the racket that light aircraft land in secret jungle airstrips to ferry the stones out, mainly to the Negro Republic of Liberia. . .When I was in Monrovia, last, there were at least 20 known diamond dealers living in the town.

". . .But the shadowy Syrian merchants are making fortunes. For one big stone, half the size of a matchbox, the African digger receives the local fortune of about $750. That stone is worth $135,000, in America.

". . .Although the majority of stones find their way to the Middle East, America is still the best diamond market for gem stones."

Albert BARNETT

Phoenix, Arizona, Takes Lead In Fair Employment Of Negroes

PHOENIX, ARIZON has the unique distinction of being one of the few municipalities in America, where all three governmental agencies — State, County and City —are located within its boundaries.

As a result, Phoenix, "Vacation Land of the Nation," is also the metropolis of Arizona, whose population, according to the 1956 census, is 1,040,000, a remarkable growth in the short space of 44 years For Arizona is the 'Baby State of the Nation,' having been admitted to the Union in 1912.

Population of the Phoenix metropolitan area is 460,000 — 52 percent of the total population of the state. A census breakdown of the Phoenix population shows white, 87 percent; Negro, 13 percent. Mexicans are considered "White," and Indians, for the most part, dwell in reservations and their census is apparently restricted to those areas.

One-seventh of all Indians in America live in Arizona, on land set aside for their use by the government and totalling more than 20 million acres.

As compared with the millions of Negroes living in other U. S. metropolitan cities, the colored population of Phoenix (13 percent), is small, probably not more than 5,500, and although they earn a living in much the same way as do their brethren in other cities, new avenues of employment are being opened to them.

Many now work in the cotton and cattle industries and in service establishments, such as laundries, food marts, chain stores, barber shops and other businesses catering to the general public. The school system also has its quota of efficient Negro teachers and there is a notable increase in the number of highly-qualified professional people, lawyers, doctors, dentists and real estate specialists.

Less than a decade ago, Phoenix adopted the integration policy and opened the doors of employment, which, before that time were closed to Negroes. Today, in the governmental agencies, for instance, competent, qualified colored workers find employment at all administrative levels —state, county and city — most, if not all, doing a creditable job in various capacities.

It was heart-warming for this reporter to visit the State House, City Hall and County offices, and find Negroes, Mexicans, whites and Indians, all working in full harmony and accord and holding positions according to their ability and experience.

Maricopa is the county seat of the Phoenix metropolitan area and great credit for this marked advance in human relations goes to the County Board of Supervisors, headed by James G. Hart, chairman; Supervisors James E. Lindsay and James T. O'Neil (called the Three Jameses) and County Manager Tom Sullivan.

Among the first public institutions to employ personnel regardless of race or creed, was the Maricopa County General hospital, which last year treated more than 90,000 persons in the hospital and clinic.

Here are just a few top hospital positions now being held by Negroes, through efforts of the County Board: Henry Jones chief X-ray technician; Daniel Myers, bacteriologist, first of his race to hold that post, and Bill Mills, civil engineer in the highway department. And there are scores of other colored men and women who have measured up to all requirements and are now trusted employes in the various plants, offices and buildings of Maricopa County.

Albert BARNETT

Setting The Record Straight On The Indians And Resources Of Arizona

WHEN YOU MAKE A STATEMENT — especially if it's to be printed — it's always wise to be sure of your premise, so that if challenged later, you have the facts and figures to back up your statement.

Recently, it was this writer's good fortune to spend a month in Arizona, the trip centering on an interesting fortnight in Phoenix — seat of state, county and city governments — and a memorable visit to Ray, Arizona, where he was guest of his daughter, Florence, and son-in-law, Jerome Bert McDonald.

Returning, some of the impressions gained on the journey were featured in this column, one of which was a thumb nail sketch of Arizona's Indians, and the other a brief mention of the state's extensive resources.

Now comes a letter from a full blooded Apache (Rainbow River), now living in Chicago under his Americanized name, Richard J. Tonto. A graduate of an Eastern college and a school of engineering, he seems well informed and his letter states, in part, as follows:

". . . I read your column on Arizona with interest and while it has some merit, it seems to me than an uninformed reader would gain the impression from your statements, that all Arizona Indians now dwell on reservations located in Maricopa county. Also that most of the state's revenue is gained from tourist trade — in winter at Phoenix and Tucson, and in summer, in the northern forest lands of the state . . ."

". . . For instance, what about the Navajos? I have many friends among them. Don't they deserve mention?"

Now, to set the record straight. Arizona's Indians are divided into 13 separate and distinct tribes, as follows: Paiute, Havasupai, Hualpai, Mohave, Chemehuevi, Maricopa, Cocopah, Papago, Navajo, Hopi, Apache, Pima and Yaqui.

The Navajo reservation, largest in the nation, is located on Arizona's high northern plateau, and extends into New Mexico and Utah.

The proud Navajos still lead the nomadic life of their ancestors, specializing in the raising of sheep. They are also famous for the blankets, rugs and other products woven from wool, and for the silver and turquoise jewelry, fashioned by their artisans.

Arizona's economic income is extensive and come from a variety of sources. Forty percent of all the copper produced in the nation is mined in Arizona, the leading mines being located at Ray, San Manuel, Morenci, Bisbee, Ajo Superior and Miami. In 1955, the state's income from mining was in excess of $360,000.

Cotton is the main agricultural crop, having an annual yield of more than 1,000 pounds per acre, largest in the nation. Vegetables are next in importance, then fruit — melon, grapefruit and oranges. Then alfalfa, barley and wheat. All these crops and others account for more than $250,000,000 a year in the state's economy.

The livestock industry produces an annual income of $80,000,000, two-thirds of which comes from the cattle which still graze on the state's vast open ranges. The other third of income is derived from hogs, sheep, dairy and related products.

Arizona's manufactured products bring an annual income of more than $350,000,000. These include electronics and airplane parts (Hughes and Douglas Aircraft plants at Tucson); lumber, cement, cotton seed oil, agricultural chemicals, air conditioners, sheet metal, precision machinery and allied products.

Last year's 900,000,000 visitors account for Arizona's high rank as the "Vacation Land of America." This important industry brings an annual income of more than $175,000,000 to the state, and the sum total of all resources noted above has been achieved in 46 short years.

Albert BARNETT

Greensboro Reader Gives "bow-Down" On King Saud Of Saudi Arabia

IT'S INTERESTING TO NOTE the various comments — some light and humorous, others derogatory and caustic — resulting from the official visit to America of His Majesty, King Saud of Saudi Arabia, where American engineers sank oil wells and brought a backward, decadent country to a position of prominence where it may well be the deciding factor for peace in the Middle East — and the world.

The present monarch, 55 years old, a 6 ft., 3, giant with streamlined frame, is the eldest son of former ruler, King Ibn Saud, ace propagator of his Arab kingdom, who sired 40 sons (each a Prince) and innumerable daughters who can't become Queen Rulers, so nobody took the trouble to count them.

King Saud, U. S. visitor, ascended the throne in 1953, after the death of his father, Ibn Saud, popularly known as the Old Lion. Focal point of interest for the reigning monarch is the vast territory outside Dhahranm where wells of the U. S.-owned Arabian American Oil company brings in millions of gallons of the golden fluid and annual income in excuss Saud an annual income in excess of $300 million.

King Saud and his brother princes, each a chieftain of a desert tribe, are kindly disposed toward America because this country follows a 'hand off' policy in Saudi Arabia's affairs of government — where the rules and customs of public and private life today, follow the desert traditions of centuries long past.

One subject in Arabian royal households that is strictly "taboo," is slavery, a vicious trade, reportedly directed by the monarch and his minions, and which still exists, despite repeated condemnation by Western nations.

From Greensboro, N. C., comes a letter from Jackson Drew Johnston who apparently is familiar with conditions in Saudi Arabia. Johnston's letter was sent to Director Claude Barnett of the Associated Negro Press, and passed on to this writer for comment. It states, in part, as follows:

". . . There are a half-million slaves in Saudi Arabia, according to a recent LIFE magazine article on "History of the Negro Race," and it is described as one of the few remaining slave markets, mainly absorbing hundreds of young Negro girls, gathered in Africa by bribing tribal chiefs and then transported across the intervening Red Sea.

"The New York Times' magazine section for Jan. 20, '57, had a feature article, titled "About Slavery," from which is culled the following: 'Not so long ago in Saudi Arabia, 12 kidnaped Baluchi slaves, three of whom were the personal property of King Saud, made a bid for freedom. They were followed across the desert and caught. Nine were beheaded on the spot and the other three in the Square before the King's' palace in Riadyh, as an example to other would-be escapees.'

"King Saud, a devout Moslem, has 85 brothers and sisters, and like his late father, has four wives

permitted him by the Koran, and many concubines. It is common gossip among Arabs and employes of American-Arabian Oil company that Saud has sired 71 children.

"The numerous royal relatives and harems of the lesser Emirs and chieftains numbering about 8,000 households, together have devoured about 75 per cent of the King's 280 million dollars in oil royalties he received last year

". . . It is incumbent upon Negro public opinion to strike a blow to free the slaves. To a self-respecting colored American, lodging the lecherous Arab despot in the room where Honest Abe slept is desecration, as it also is to welcome the royal slave owner into the House, where Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation."

Albert

BARNETT

Herald Chicago, Ill.

Reader Asks: "What Was Saudi Arabia's Income Before U. S. Royalties In Oil?"

Sat. 2-23-57

AN INTERESTING letter comes to this column from F. G. (for Granville) Beauchamps of Seattle, Washington, who wants to know what was the economic status and annual income of the desert kingdom, Saudi Arabia before the Americans struck oil there, as a result of which King Ibn Saud has won the dubious distinction of being the most profligate, money-spending monarch in the world.

Writer Beauchamps also wants to know what are the moral standards of the lower caste Arabians, as compared with those of their king, who, in addition to his four 'legal' wives is reported to have 54 concubines and other 'ladies of the court,' who at various times in his adult life, have borne him 36 sons.

The Seattle reader's letter is in response to a previous one printed in this Column and sent several weeks ago, by Mr. Jackson Drew Johnston, of Greensboro, N. C., in which Mr. Johnston deplored the pending visit of King Saud to America and termed it a "desecration" that Saud should be welcomed into the house where Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation.

In answer to Mr. Beauchamp's first query, the annual income of Saudi Arabia, before they struck the ocean of Black Gold beneath its barren wastes, was estimated at 100,000 English pounds—$350,000 in U. S. money.

Harold Hutchinson, of the London Daily Herald, recently returned from Saudi Arabia, describes it as "A kingdom where a poverty-stricken, illiterate and diseased population ekes out the hardest and most hopeless existence in the modern world."

Today, when America's giant oil installations are bringing in millions of barrels of the precious fluid, U. S. petroleum experts estimate that one-sixth of the world's oil supply lies beneath the desert kingdom of Saudi Arabia. All this means that King Saud's annual income from royalties paid by America's oil men is world's oil supply lies beneath the fabulous sum of one million English pounds, a cool 350 million dollars in U. S. money. That, for Mr. Beauchamps' information is Saudi Arabia, before and after—oil.

As to the morals of the lower caste Arabians, they are under constant scrutiny by the vengeful minions of the law and woe betide the married man who takes unto himself a mistress. Adultery by the lower orders is punishable by public beheading and the errant love thief has his right hand chopped off and the wound cauterized in boiling pitch. Such is the 'love code' inflicted on the masses as compared with dissolute, licentious practices of the monarch and the 322 Arabian 'princes of the royal blood.'

King Saud rules his country with an iron hand. He takes the royalties and despite his near-sighted vision, makes no mistake when it comes to counting the 'loot.' He also lays down the rules for all American oil workers and other Nationals to follow. Writer Hutchinson states these regulations:

"No Jew may be employed by the oil company or at the Air Force base. No liquor may be imported or drunk. No American may smoke in public places. No book may be imported. No American wife may drive a car. No Christian worship is allowed.

"Texas oil drillers working in Arabia are sometimes driven to desperation by the desire for a drink and some feminine company—and revulsion at the corruption and cruelty of the Sheiks.

". . .But, if one of the boys breaks the rules and is caught by the vengeful Saudi police, he is put in an airplane and flown to the British Protectorate of Bahrein — where he is in no danger of losing his head."

Albert

BARNETT

Herald Chicago, Ill.

Writer Says Saudi Arabia Slaves Are Well Treated, Enjoy Their Captivity

Sat. 2-16-57

THERE ARE ALWAYS two sides to every question of national interest and import, so, in order to give a fair appraisal of the subject at issue, the 'pro' and 'con' should be given equal prominence.

This Column recently discussed the infamous slave trade in Saudi Arabia — fabulous land of oil, Cadillacs and harems. Authenticated reports from newsmen of various Western countries and from United Nations' observers, linked His Majesty King Saud directly with the nefarious trade.

Now comes a rebuttal from Theodore Kaghan, who, writing in the New York Post, issue of Jan. 31, gives the 'pro' version in an article titled "Slavery and Saud."

Writer Kaghan says treatment of slaves in Saudi Arabia is regulated by mandates of the Koran — Bible of the Mohammedans —and they are adhered to religiously. He explains as follows:

"The Koran says a master must treat his slave with humaneness, feed and clothe him as he would the members of his own family, find a wife for him and take care of any subsequent progeny.

"This, according to the cognoscenti in the 'bone trade,' as the dealers in human beings are known in the business, is more than most slaves could expect in the African villages from which they came, or in the flea-bitten oasis of the Persian Gulf from which they were snatched."

It's difficult to give an accurate estimate of the number of slaves in Saudi Arabia, but from surveys made by the British and French, also the United Nations, estimates vary from 500,000 to 750,000.

"The system is well organized, with its center at Mecca. Indeed, as one reporter puts it, Mecca is to slavery what Wall Street is to finance. What, with the Saudi Arabians having become somewhat shy about the thing, Mecca is said to be the only city now, where you can buy slaves on the open market. But just the run of the mill stuff is displayed.

"The more desirable female slaves are reserved for special private showing and bring up to $1,000 or $1,100 — provided they are virgins."

Other prices, set in 1953, at Mecca, according to a French report from Jiddah, were, about $400 for men under 40; $400 for female harem slaves; about $105 for "old" women and about $600 for religious slaves.

"Religious slaves' are special merchandise and go into a separate consumer channel reserved for spiritual needs. The Koran says that every pilgrim to Mecca, if he wants to save his soul, must buy the freedom of another soul.

"Some people take a slave along to free him, others sell theirs as a sort of human traveler's check to pay expenses of the trip . . . To hear the Saudi Arabians tell it, slaves do the same work as hired servants, and the only inconvenience they suffer is deprivation of mobility — freedom. But, since the slaves allegedly realize that they never had it so good, they stay put.

"Investigation into Saudi Arabian slavery began after the British warship Flamingo, on duty in the Red Sea in the summer of 1952, picked up a dhow (boat) with 84 men and women tied up in the hold. The incident led to the first of three inquiries by the UN, none of which ever got anywhere.

". . .The U. S., withholding its indorsement, expressed its pious opposition to slavery and the matter was left in the hands of Saudi Arabia and Yemen, to settle as a domestic problem, without outside interference."

ALBERT G. BARNETT

Defender P.10 31a

Round-Up
Of Globe News

Chicago, Ill.

Philadelphia Among Nation's Leaders In Practicing Real Brotherhood

Sat. 5-25-57

MARKED PROGRESS H A S BEEN MADE in recent years — especially since May 17, 1954—in SOME of the nation's key cities, where municipal officials cooperate with welfare and community organizations whose aim and purpose to promote tolerance and understanding among all segments of its citizenry.

A noted change has been broadening of the term "Race Relations," to "Human Relations," thereby extending community contacts and service to the people of different racial, religious and nationality backgrounds.

A city long distinguished for its fair treatment of ALL citizens is Philadelphia, metropolis of Pennsylvania and U. S. ship-building and heavy industry center, located at the junction of the Schuylkill and Delaware Rivers.

Official agency of the city in this commendable work is the Commission on Human Relations, one of the best organized welfare groups in the country, with central offices in Philadelphia's Commercial Trust building.

Commission members will tell you that their program aims at implementation of the principles of equality of opportunity in the various communities, so that race, color, religion and nationality will not be deterrents to their full enjoyment of the privileges and benefits of citizenship.

To accomplish its overeall objective, the commission directs its energies into six major channels: Employment, Community Relation, Tension Control, Housing, Information and Education and Fact Finding Services. Taken in order, here's how they function:

Employment: The commission administers and enforces the Fair Employment Practices Ordinance and other local as well as State laws which prohibit discrimination based on race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry. It investigates and corrects violation of these anti-discrimination laws.

Community Relations: The commission conducts a broad program of community services, including close cooperation between the police department and citizens' groups; a church human relations Sunday program and an educational and information service for youth, conducted in cooperation with the public schools, to prepare youth for expanding employment opportunities.

Tension Control: The commission carries on a comprehensive program to cope with, and ease any tense situations which arise in the city.

Housing: This Commission objective is to bring about a free and open housing market, where sales are not restricted on the basis of racial or religious factors.

Information and Education: The Commission, by means of these services, provides a means by which the public understands and supports equality of opportunity, and is carried out throughout the year. It also includes the preparation of special literature, exhibits, publications, films and other visual aids, and supplies speakers and consultants to groups and individuals within the community.

Fact-Finding Services: The Commission's research program covers a broad field, including employment, minority housing, integration in public housing, availability of jobs for minority workers, population trends and intergroup relations.

ALBERT G. BARNETT

Defender 31a

Round-Up
Of Globe News

Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 6-8-57 P. 10

Alabama Citizens' Council Prints Filthy Tirade Against Negroes

THE MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, ADVERTISER, on Sunday, May 12, came out with a full-page ad, inserted by the Citizens Councils of Alabama, which maligned and lambasted all in general and the NAACP in particular, as undesirable citizens and the scum of the earth. In glaring, red type, the ad stated:

"On the eve of the March on Washington by the NAACP led by Martin Luther King, jr., this page is being reserved to tell of the NAACP conspiracy to destroy our Southern way of life.

This article tells the white people of Montgomery and the South what the NAACP has done to us and what they seek to do, unless we defend our rights."

The ad also carried a reprint of an article appearing in an earlier issue of the Advertiser, signed by Judge Walter B. Jones, and titled: "Off The Bench — I Speak For the White Race." The Judge concluded:

"So, when you call the roll of the world's noble and useful spirits, the men and women of the white race stand up in honor and glory with a just pride in the race's achievements. We have all kindly feelings for the world's other races, but we will maintain at any and all sacrifices, the purity of our blood strain and race. We SHALL NEVER SUBMIT TO the demands of INTEGRATIONISTS. THE WHITE RACE shall forever REMAIN WHITE."

The ad was signed by Sam Engelhardt, jr., executive secretary of the Council and concluded at the bottom of the page:

"Hear Roy Harris, former Speaker of the House, in the Georgia Legislature, speak at 7:30 p.m. May 16, at Fort Dixie Graves Armory: Citizens Councils of Alabama, an organization of 100,000 white Alabama families united to maintain segregation. P. O. Box 3006, Eastbrook Station, Montgomery, Ala."

But the above is only half of the vicious attack on Negroes, whose blood from Crispus Attucks to Dorie Miller, is mingled with the Red Stripes on our Star Spangled Banner. Read now, the White Citizens' Council "Preview of the Declaration of Segregation," as stated by them and circulated at a former meeting. You'll see why the Communists give us the 'horse laugh' whenever 'civil rights' are mentioned. Here's the "Declaration":

"When in the course of human events it becomes necessary to abolish the Negro race, proper methods should be used. Among these are guns, bows and arrows, sling shots and knives.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident — that all whites are created equal with certain rights; among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of dead niggers.

"In every stage of this boycott, we have been oppressed and degraded because of black, slimy, unbearable, juicy, stinking niggers. Their conduct should not be dwelt upon because behind them they have an ancestral background of pigmies, head hunters and snot suckers.

"My friends, it is time we wised up to these black devils. I tell you they are a group of two-legged agitators, who persist in walking up and down our streets protruding their black lips. If we don't stop helping these African flesh eaters, we will soon wake up and find Rev. King in the White House. LET'S GET ON THE BALL, WHITE CITIZENS!"

ALBERT G. BARNETT

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Round-Up
Of Globe News

Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 6-15-57

In The U. S. Discrimination Race Jews Run Negroes A Close Second

P. 10

TO THE AVERAGE READER, the words "bias," "prejudice," and "segregation," and the hated term "third class citizenship," have but one meaning — the inborn, age-old contempt and hatred of Negroes by rabble - rousing 'states' rights' Dixiecrats throughout the South and their deceitful, conniving first cousins in the North.

But Negroes do not have a monopoly on prejudiced-inspired acts — whether overt or camouflaged. In the Jim-Crow race, Jews run Negroes a close second.

A national survey — first of its kind — recently concluded by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, shows that religious discrimination practiced against Jews, is glaringly apparent in hotels, especially those in spas, recreation spots and popular resorts

The League survey covered more than 3,000 hotels in the U. S., Canada, Mexico, Hawaii, Alaska and the Caribbean. The finding was that ONE out of every FIVE resort hotels in the U. S.— either openly or evasively — do not accept Jews as guests.

Bernard Nath, chairman of the national executive committee of Anti-Defamation League, addressing a group recently at New York's Waldorf Astoria hotel, stated that the survey made direct contact with 1,065 'name' hotels, and of that number, 237, or 22.2 percent, definitely bar Jews as guests.

The other 828 were classed as non-discriminatory, but 11 per cent of that number had refused Jews as patrons in the past.

Managers of 1,900 hotels refused to say whether they did or did not, bar Jews, but of this number, 500 in the past, have refused to admit them, the inference being that they do not want Jewish patrons, even though they make no definite committment. Mr. Nath said the Leagues survey pin-pointed two main conclusions:

1 — Vigorous enforcement of State laws against discrimination in public accomodations is the principal key to elimination of the problem of hotel bias.

2 — Discrimination (against Jews) in the U. S. is less than in Canada, but greater than in Mexico or Hawaii.

In Canada, 28.2 per cent of the hotels bar Jewish patronage, while in Mexico — even though pre-dominately Catholic, the bias figure is only three per cent. The country most hospitable to Jews is Hawaii, where only one of the 14 leading hotels bar the sons and daughters of Israel.

In New York State, the anti - Jewish score is only 8 per cent but in Arizona, the resort state, 44 per cent — nearly half — of the hotels bar Jews as guests. In Florida the figure is 24 per cent.

It's hard to believe, but in the Midwest — Minnesota, Michigan and Wisconsin—consistently refuse to admit Jews as guests in their vacation spots. The score: Michigan, 48.7 per cent; Wisconsin, 29 per cent and Minnesota, 20 per cent.

ALBERT G. BARNETT

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Round-Up
Of Globe News
Chicago, Ill.

Practical Nursing Offers Lucrative Field For Women, 17-55 Years Of Age

Sat. 6-27-57

AN INTERESTING HIGHLIGHT of the May Biennial Convention of the National League of Nursing, held in Chicago at the Conrad Hilton hotel, was the interest shown by middle-aged women in the field of practical nursing.

Many wanted to know the duty and function of the practical nurse, how much training was needed to qualify for service, what pay one could expect to receive and how the services compare with those of registered, professional nurses?

Answers to these questions — and many more — are found in the great public service being rendered by the Chicago Council on Community Nursing, pioneers in the field, whose practical nurse training program has won nationwide approval and emulation.

As a result of getting a full year's training by professional nurses, in schools approved by nursing and educational authorities, the practical nurse of today shows that she is capable of performing many of the duties handled a generation ago, by registered nurses.

The National League for Nursing (professional) defines a practical nurse as follows: "A person trained to care for selected convalescent, sub-acutely and chronically-ill patients, and to assist the professional nurse in a team relationship, especially in the case of those more acutely ill." A practical nurse works only under the direct orders of a licensed physician or the supervision of a registered professional nurse.

As to training, the effective program sponsored by the Chicago Council on Community Nursing and directed by the Board of Education, has set the pattern for similar schools in other metropolitan cities.

Starting in 1948, with a single class of 25 students — ranging in age from 17 to 55 — the tuition-free program has spread to three schools in different sections of the city, all offering full-time programs. To date, more than 1,600 practical nurses have been graduated, and for the protection of the public, the graduates must take State Board examinations to become licensed Practical Nurses.

The license evidences the fact that the practical nurse has had four months' classroom study; has attended lectures in anatomy, physiology and hygiene and has learned the fundamentals of child care and home management.

It also shows that she had eight months of clinical training in hospitals and health agencies, where she has received practical experience, under supervision, in the care of medical, surgical, obstetrical anl pediatric patients.

Now, as graduates, these new practical nurses will be welcomed as "life-savers" by thousands in the Chicago area who urgently need their services — the mother with a newborn baby, the convalescent, the aged, the chronically ill — in hospitals, health agencies and in private homes.

The rigid training program has proved its worth as the Board of Education's Practical Nurse Training Program, sponsored by the Chicago Council on Community Service is the only approved course in the city. It offers a rewarding career for women from 17 to 55. with a 'take home pay' comparable to that of the registered nurse.

The teenager, now in training, will, when she graduates, be equipped for a field where opportunities are expanding every year. If she marries, her training will be useful as wife and mother, and she will have a career to which she can return at any time.

ALBERT G. BARNETT

Defender 31a
Round-Up
Of Globe News
Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 7-6-57

Always Be Sure Of Your Facts When You Write For Publication

IT'S ALWAYS WISE, WHEN MAKING A STATEMENT in the public Press to be sure of your premise, to check your date closely and to be able to present conclusive evidence as to the authenticity of the subject under discussion.

In a recent Column this writer stated that there is a highly organized and lucrative traffic in the smuggling of diamonds into the Republic of Liberia from the adjacent colony of Sierra Leone. Top brass in the racket are the shrewd hard-driving Syrians and Lebanese who brow-beat the black natives into digging the precious gems from the creeks and marshes of Sierra Leone, then buy them from the natives at a mere fraction of their real value.

A reader, who signs himself J. (for Jasper) Droken Bowman, takes issue with this statement, says he doubts its veracity and asks verification. Fortunately, this writer has first-hand information that can clarify the issue. It comes in the form of a story printed in the April 12, 1957 issue of the Liberian Age, published in Monrovia, Liberia.

The headline reads: "Labourers Desert Plantations for Diamond Rush." Then the sub-head: "Get Rich Quick, Produces Problems." Government Said to be Studying Situation." Then the by-line: "From A. Nwana Obi, Liberian Age Reporter." Here's the story:

"It is now definitely clear that the big diamond rush in Cape Mount area is rapidly causing labour shortage to several concessions and companies in Liberia. Even some villages in the hinterland have been depopulated — some almost deserted. Why? Because of the on rush to get rich quickly.

"The situation as at preesent is such that demands government intervention. The Firestone Rubber Plantations company, the root of Liberia's rubber trade has lost more than 1,000 labourers.

"Last year the Liberian Age revealed some awful situations in the diamond area of Cape Mount and areas adjacent to it. The survey brought to light the dangers in which the miners exposed themselves. Scarcity of food, over population and crowded huts, lawlessness involving loss of lives, etc.

"The fact is that not all the people in the diamond area possess diamond creeks. The unfortunate and idle ones roam about, causing havoc, while they themselves continue to remain unemployed. The Age understands that government is studying the problem and steps to ensure complete order in the diamond area, will soon be taken."

That's Reporter Obi's by - line story. Another, in the same issue is captioned: "Police to Use Motor Boats to Track Smugglers." It states, in part: "Because of the lack of highways on which police cars or motor cyclists could patrol, to track down the increasing number of diamond gangsters in Cape Mount County, a decision has been reached by police authorities to provide motor boats to patrol the seas and lakes.

ALBERT G. BARNETT

Defender 31a
Round-Up
Of Globe News
Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 7-13-57

An Humble Reporter Turns Philosopher On His 50th Wedding Anniversary

FORTNIGHT AGO — ON JUNE 22, TO BE EXACT — this writer and his wife (Hulette) had the rare experience of observing their 50th wedding anniversary, highlight of which was a dinner, planned and prepared by their three daughters, and attended only by members of the immediate family.

In that period of relaxation, so soul-satisfying after a hearty dinner, a question was directed to this writer which stated in substance, as follows:

"What is your philosophy of life after 50 years of marriage and what advice would you give a young husband, 21 years old who is just embarking on the Sea of Matrimony?"

That was a pretty large order to fill as the average man can lay no claim to being a phiosopher, because as the great Cousin said: "True philosophy invents nothing; it merely establishes and describes what IS."

However, some observations, based on a half-century of experience, were given the young Benedict. Among them, the following:

1.—Any many can consider himself fortunate who takes to wife a woman who has been the good daughter of a good mother; a girl who has never brought tears to the eyes of her mother because of some folly or indiscretion she (the daughter) has committed.

2. — Accept, with grace, your duties and responsibilities as head of the family, but don't be a sourpuss

3. — Don't forget that a man may build a HOUSE, but it takes good wife to make it a HOME.

4. — Live a sensible, clean life, because after you have passed the meridian, you either profit or lose by your manner of living

5. — Never argue with your wife over trivialities, as you haven't got a Chinaman's chance to win. The molehill soon becomes a mountain — and she was probably right in the first place.

6. — Be moderate in all things. Temper your zest for the frivolities of youth, with judgement and reason. Don't try to eat all the food; drink the liquor, or cast wistful eyes at every pretty ankle you see —

7. — Live your married life on a give and take basis; don't bring home the 'gripes' you have had during the day and try 'to take 'em out on your wife,' as they only lead to tensions and quarrels.

8. — Esteem and honor your wife be affable, tolerant, discreet and loyal; above all be patient, because patience not only sweetens the temper and muffles the tongue, but gives you the pause that strengthens the spirit and refreshes the soul.

9. — If you can invent or devise a better code of ethics than the Golden Rule, adopt it. But, to date, none such has ever been found.

10. — At home and abroad, cultivate a spirit of humility, for God dwells in the hearts of the humble and the more a man realizes his own inadequacy, the closer is he to true righteousness.

11.—And, finally in your humbleness, be tolerant at all times and maintain an even keel in dealings with your family and with your fellowman —

Around the U. N. 31a.n.

Courier p.9
Sat. 3-23-57
Pittsburgh, Pa.

By Marguerite Cartwright

Finance in Israel

EVER since the creation of the new state of Israel the yearly trade deficit has been in the neighborhood of $250,000,000—about $80,000,000 of which is tied up in long-term capital investment. At first glance the inability to cut the deficit would appear to be lack of progress, but during the same period there has been a population increase of from 850,000 in 1948 to 1,800,000 at last count, so the fact that the deficit figure has not increased with the population rise is instead a considerable achievement, especially in view of the fact that many of the new immigrants were unskilled, and almost all arrived destitute. This has been accomplished through the rapid increase in production, the industrial expansion, plus a major plan whereby the new immigrants were discouraged from settling in the already crowded urban areas. Even European Jews who'd been tradesmen and white collar workers were settled on sparsely populated or non-populated land.

Dr. Cartwright

■

BUT IN SPITE of all this, undeniably the state could not have survived without U. S. Government grants, Export-Import Bank loans of over $135,000,000 and sterling balances of 150,000,000 pounds. Moreover, the end of the need for outside aid is not yet in sight—for in the next fiscal year about $50,000,000 will be needed from the U. S., $80,000,000 from world Jewry, $40,000,000 from outside private investment capital, plus $70,000,000 due in West German reparations.

Ever increased development of the industrial and agricultural means of production, ergo, more capital investment, will be required for a long time to come.

It is hoped that tourism will cut the deficit, and there will be increased savings from the new small arms industry that has gotten under way. The amount and type of weapons have been kept secret, but the fact that beginnings have been made in this direction is a source of pride.

The major difficulty is the gradual inflation, which has proceeded at about the rate of 5 per cent yearly. The government has restricted credit and worked within a balanced operating budget, plus making strenuous efforts to hold salaries down. However, strong pressure has been brought by the influential Histadrut trade union, with the result that 15 per cent wage rises were promised. However, increased tensions required greater military expenditures and wages were raised considerably less than half that amount.

■

SOME ISRAELIS contend that the deficit can be wiped out in less than 10 years, given some measure of peace, or at least a non-shooting war. Being technically at war with the Egyptians, Israel has always had the Suez canal closed to her ships. This, plus an Arab boycott, is estimated to cost her about $30 to $50 million a year.

There must continue to be wise fiscal management and restricted immigration (though they could safely exceed the present rate). Among the hopeful factors are—first, the determination of the people, then the manufacture of their own fertilizer, saving almost $10,000,000 yearly. Also, within a year they will be self-sufficient in cotton, and they are now able to export almost 40 per cent of their new groundnut crop.

Around the U. N. 31a.n.

Courier p.5
Pittsburgh, Pa.

By Marguerite Cartwright

Who Are Americans?

LAST WEEK (May 12) was officially designated "I Am An American Day." The meaning of this symbol of patriotism came into my thoughts the other day when I saw a small child with golden curls run screaming off the playground of a mixed housing project. She fell into her mother's arms, and cried between sobs, "He hit me, he threw sand!" Then she pointed to four small boys playing in the sand box.

Dr. Cartwright

"Who did?" excitedly asked the mother as she brushed the sand from the child's hair.

"The boy did, that boy there."

"Which one was it—the Jew, the colored boy? Or was it the American?"

MOST OF the children in the yard were under seven years of age, so the chances are excellent that they were all Americans. Any person born in the territory we know as the United States of America, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, is an American. This geographical area has been defined for us by the Supreme Court as the combined areas of the states of the union, the territories which Congress has incorporated into the union, and the dependencies.

On this basis, American citizens include those born or naturalized in any of the 48 states, the District of Columbia, or any of our non-contiguous territories and possessions, including the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, Guam and many other small Pacific islands, plus Puerto Rico, which in 1952 became a self-governing commonwealth.

Many still do not realize that being an American is not a matter of appearance, religion, custom or race. Basing Americanism on nativity, the Negro certainly has an excellent claim to it. At the time of the first census in 1790, there were 757,208 Negroes out of a total population of 3,921,214, or 19.3 per cent. (It is interesting to note that the percentage has decreased steadily and is now only approximately 9.6 per cent, according to the last census.)

■

THERE HAVE been many philosophical definitions of an American, but for a true definition it is necessary to distinguish between "American" and **being** an American. The former is merely the result of an accident of birth; the latter, as it is commonly used, requires certain mental and moral qualities. Some "real Americans" have not even been born here. Alexander Hamilton, Judah Benjamin and Carl Shurz were all born in other lands. Some of our best and most prominent Americans were born in the British West Indies.

There are many qualifications that might be listed in answer to the question, "Are you an American?" Courage, effort, achievement, respect of laws, of the rights of others, love of country, and a willingness to defend it against all enemies, might be one such list. Service, loyalty, faith—might be another. True Americans have come from every country, religion and race. No group has a monopoly on being an American or on advancement toward that still unfulfilled vision and ideal.

World Backdrop . . . . . By Marguerite Cartwright

Courier P. 9
Sat. 6-1-57
Pittsburgh, Pa.

GHANA: CBS television (Fab—Strike It Rich) gave W. O. Manish, Ghana press officer, a chance to tell about a new project, possibly of interest to readers of this column. It seems that the need and desire in Ghana are for books. An arrangement has been worked out whereby those who wish to give books can send them c/o "Books," Admiral Walker of the Far-Lines, 33rd St. Pier, Brooklyn 32, N. Y., and they will be shipped free of charge to book - hungry Ghana.

Dr. Cartwright

■

BERMUDA: In one of Prime Minister MacMillan's recent appearances in Parliament, he was asked by a member, "what inquiries he had made during his visit to Bermuda into racial discrimination . . ?" The PM replied that "there is no right or privilege controlled by law which is not equally available to all Bermudians." This answer did not satisfy his questioner and he was asked if the Mid-Ocean Hotel "was open to all potential customers." The PM replied that he had, himself, while in Bermuda, "entertained both white and colored guests" and had "heard no complaints of any treatment which bore unjustly on colored citizens of the island." It was pointed out to him that guests brought by the PM would be accepted, but that the normal practice was to exclude colored people, however distinguished they might be.

■

ISRAEL: Vivian Mason, president of the National Council of Negro Women, is scheduled to visit Israel and the Holy Land in June.

■

U. S. A.: Everyone should read the little stay-in-school handbook (Office of Education, Washington 25, D. C., free). It seems that 40 per cent who enter high school fail to finish, with a very much greater percentage among Negro young people. The average high school graduate will receive $50,000 more in salary during his adult years than one whose formal education ended at the 8th grade, and $30,000 more than the high school drop-out.

■

EGYPT: When UN's Dag Hammarskjold and Ralph Bunche returned they brought with them the "declaration on the Suez Canal and the arrangements for its operation," to be registered with the UN as requested by Colonel Nasser. In effect it proclaims that Egypt will run the canal and collect all tolls. An attempt was made to bring Egypt's position closer to the objectives of the UN, but it was largely unsuccessful.

■

UNITED KINGDOM: It is now formally announced that the ten commonwealth nations will meet on June 26. Nkrumah will attend and be the first Negro member in history. This conference is, of course, not to be confused with the Nigerian Constitutional Conference, which opens May 23 and will be attended by the three regional Nigerian Premiers: Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Chief Obafemi Awolawo and Alhaji Ahmado, the Sarduna of Sokoto. For many, the most interesting conference of all will be the one scheduled for October and called by the African Prime Minister, Nkrumah. Invited will be only African countries and their concerns will be African foreign policy, economic cooperation, the safeguarding of their sovereignity, where they are independent states, and what steps are to be taken to secure independence of those countries still under imperialistic powers. the challenge of the future." The challenge, of course, is the peaceful transference from colonial status to independence and freedom.

Dr. Cartwright

■

SUDAN: An election is due in the Sudan next November and close watch is being kept on party financing. The generous Egyptian contributions to the Sudanese National Union party in the 1953 election became a public scandal when the facts were brought before the courts. Now, with Sudanese currency and restrictions on Egyptian exchange, this method of influencing internal politics may be eliminated.

■

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA: The Minister of Native Affairs is now empowered to bar Negroes from churches, clubs, hospitals, schools, places of public entertainment or meeting outside of their own residential areas if he thinks their presence undesirable. What is undesirable is left to his own opinion, not subject to review by the courts, and he need not say how his opinion was formed.

Opposition promptly came from church groups, who held that the law interfered with religious freedom, and some tempering safeguards were finally won. It is required that (1) a hearing be granted before Negroes are banned from white congregations, (2) the availability of other facilities for native worship must be considered, (3) action can be taken only with consent of the local the native Africans, and it would be difficult to find a test case. In secular gatherings the white sponsors and Africans alike are liable to punishment.

The South African Institute of Race Relations also raised objections to the measure, noting that such laws "give the Minister powers of dictatorship over the lives of citizens."

Opposition also came from the South African Black Sash movement. In Pietermaritzburg, Mrs. Ruth Foley said that the eventual solution must be in a change of heart rather than a change of government. It was public opinion that dictated these policies. The present regime could not fail to see that it had offended every responsible body of people in the country, she said. "The schocking travesty of government which imposed apartheid in religion has mobilized South African opinion as nothing else ever has," she added.

World Backdrop . . . . . By Marguerite Cartwright

Courier P. 9
Sat. 6-29-57
Pittsburgh, Pa.

NIGERIA: The opening of the Nigerian Constitutional Conference was on the eve of Empire Day which, noted the British Secretary of State for Colonies, "We not only rejoice in the past but take up gladly

ection of a Southern devil's
etter, whose name this paper
vithheld, making fun of you
nd especially our women,
Johannesburg, declared that the
law gave the power to determine who shall or who shall not worship in any particular church, and that it was the church's duty to disobey. However, direct penalties fall on

World Backdrop . . . . . By Marguerite Cartwright

Courier P. 9

DOWN THE hall from the well-advertised disarmament meeting, one of the most far-reaching occurrences in African history has taken place in London's historic Lancaster House. The Nigerian Constitutional Conference was to decide the fate of some 35 million people, the future composition of British Empire and the ultimate strength of the Commonwealth — that strong support of parliamentary democracy.

Dr. Cartwright

Just a few months back we were in Lancaster House—then it was the scene of the first Suez Conference, also during times which tried men's souls and which since have had world-wide reverberations.

Lennox Boyd, Secretary for Colonial Affairs, set the stage for his role in the meeting when he noted in the opening speech that: "The prosperity, good government, and unity of Nigeria" would be the object of any suggestion he might put forth by way of proposal or counter-proposal. Of course, he was to referee, and reconcile the opposing views of the various factions. The Colonial Office also made it plain that regional self-government was acceptable only if it did not damage the unity of the Nigerian Federation. Likewise it was soon apparent that the issue of separate states would for a time have to be by-passed in favor of the more far-reaching objective of regional self-government, even though it also was on the agenda.

■

MR. LENNOX-BOYD had no apology to offer for the role of the U.K. in Nigeria. "The past is here for all the world to see in the rule of law that prevails throughout Nigeria, in the justice, in the devotion of the public service, in the freedom of speech—in the protection of minorities, in the material prosperity and in the sense of unity which should enable Nigeria to grow into a great and respected nation."

This same unity theme was sounded in the words of Sir James Robertson, who called attention to the interdependence of various parts of the country, urging that provision be made for just treatment of the civil service "upon whom the business of making the constitution work will fall."

Of course, they had more than unity among Nigerians in mind here—Brtiish civil servants will be needed for some time to come, and premature attempts at Nigerianization were to be avoided. Discussions on the future of these British civil servants were extended, and a working committee was set up composed of representatives from the three regions, the Cameroons and the Colonial Office.

Actually, the problem of agreement among the various regions in Nigeria was no longer the issue that it had been during the elections and during the anxious days preparatory to the London meeting. Before leaving Africa, unquestioned agreement had been reached on the major issues:

1. Regional self-government;
2. Independence by 1959;
3. Interim changes in the central government leading to complete transfer of power; and
4. A constitution that would insure unity.

■

THE PROBLEM was how the attainment of these objectives could be reached. Realistically, Dr. Azikiwe expressed the hope that the constitution would make allowance for "the diversities which are a feature of our various communities." Such a constitution must also preseve the corporate existence of Nigeria as a political entity, he said, and regretfully added: "Erroneous ideas about our differences in customs, habits, languages, traditions and ways of life have been widely disseminated, but it is our supreme duty in this conference to prove that that which unites us is stronger than that which disunites us."

A practical note was struck by Dr. E. M. L. Endeley with whom we recalled having a discussion during his brief visit to New York last year. Now leader of government business in the House of Assembly in the Southern Cameroons, he noted that his delegation hoped a way would be found to further development of the country. They had been "grossly neglected in the past," and now must be protected, and they must have peace.

SOON NEGOTIATIONS were under way on the details of the agreed outlines of early self-government in the Western and Eastern Regions—(the northern region was not pressing for immediate self-government, though it had joined the other two regions in demanding all-Nigeria independence in 1959).

An interesting development was the enthusiasm shown by all three premiers for membership in the commonwealth when they became independent. Dr. Azikiwe seemed to express the view of all in his radio address. Membership in the commonwealth would, he said, assist their economy and contribute to their defense. Then, significantly, he noted that in this modern world many countries would dangle promises before an independent Nigeria, but their course would be to remain with the friends they knew.

World Backdrop . . . . . By Marguerite Cartwright

Courier

UNITED NATIONS

DR. RALPH BUNCHE introduced our course: America's Stake in Africa, at the New School for Social Research. Stressing the importance of African studies, he commended those students who had the wisdom to engage in this study.

Dr. Cartwright

In the UN the importance of Africa is clearly apparent from the increasing number of items placed on the agenda relating to this part of world. He predicted that within the next few decades the use of atomic power for peaceful purposes would revolutionize humanity's way of living to a greater extent than the industrial revolution, and especially for Africa this will open up immense possibilities, because large-scale industrial development will then become possible.

■

NIGERIA

Michael Bank-Anthony was another of our class guests. An OBE (Order of the British Empire) and the foremost Nigerian businessman, he enthralled the group with his answers to questions regarding business opportunities in Nigeria. His interests include insurance, road building, trucking, film distribution, ownership of a chain of movie houses and importing. One of the students expressed concern about Nigerian climate, but was told that New York was at that time hotter than it was in Nigeria.

■

UNITED KINGDOM

"We have traveled 4,000 miles in quest of freedom," said Dr. Azikiwe in a lecture at Oxford, "but if Britain fails to grant independence to Nigeria in 1959, we will seek it outside of the Commonwealth."

■

FRENCH TOGOLAND

The celebration in honor of the United Nations Visiting Mission was enlivened by the demonstration by members of the Juvento opposition party. The new French Togoland flag had just been run up when a group of boys shouting anti-government slogans rushed up and ripped it to shreds. During the melee stones were hurled and they were beaten back only by rifle butts in the hands of the army.

■

GHANA

A smiling, confident Nkrumah stepped off the steamer at Liverpool en route to the Commonwealth Conference which opens on the 24th. He reassured the Britons that his government would remain in the Commonwealth "as long as its members were dedicated to the settlement of disputes by peaceful means." The process of political development in Ghana was the primary modern example of peaceful and effective cooperation, he said.

■

NIGERIA

Something new has been added to fashion-conscious New York with the appearance of Lady-Chief Elizabeth Adokogbe and Lady-Chief Wura Assan. Garbed in their native cloths at the UN, they stole the show from even the Begum Ali Khan of Pakistan and sari-draped delegates from India. All were attending the conference of the International Council of Women and will remain in New York for four days.

■

BRITISH CAMEROONS

During the recent constitutional talks in London, the British Cameroons came in for much discussion. Administered as an integral part of Nigeria, the structure of government in its legislative, administrative and judicial aspects is determined by the Nigerian Constitution. The Northern Cameroons form part of the Northern region and the Southern Cameroons, formerly a part of the Eastern Region, are now a quasi-federal territory possessing its own separate executive and legislative organs of government.

Around the U. N. . . . . .

by Marguerite Cartwright

Courier p. 9
Sat. 1-19-57
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Visit to Golda Meir

WE WERE admitted to the apartment of Israel's Foreign Minister, Golda Meir, by a young woman who greeted us in Hebrew and then disappeared. While waiting, I glanced at the grimy little card on which I'd written the questions I planned to ask. I was momentarily annoyed that I'd been so amateurish as to write my questions down, but I wanted to take no chances. (After all, I was an amateur at interviewing Foreign Ministers, and perhaps this would help me lose my amateur status!)

Dr. Cartwright

"I think she is coming," said the man from the Foreign Office who had accompanied me. I took one final look at my notes and stuffed them in my purse.

"I am sorry to have kept you waiting," said Israel's Foreign Minister as she entered the room. "Imagine! She is sorry to have kept me waiting!" I thought, but told her that we had arrived early. I shook her extended hand.

■

FROM THIS point on, she was no longer a Foreign Minister, but just a pleasant, hospitable woman who had invited an out-of-towner in to lunch. I would surely prepare dinner for her when she visited my town, I thought.

I recalled hearing her described as a plain, bustling woman, and was rather surprised to find that, although she appeared to me as being a bit matronly in dress and figure, she exhibited too much ease and dignity to be described as "bustling." In appearance, she was rather like one of Rembrandt's substantial, wholesome-looking Dutch women—possibly even a

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Pittsburgh, Pa.

seemed more aimed at provoking conversation than to interrogate me. Several of her sentences seemed to begin: "Tell me about." Yet she did not appear to be trying to deprive me of my interview, but just to be genuinely interested, and I discovered that I wanted to tell her all that I could. Suddenly and embarrassingly, I realized that I was doing all the talking.

"Many still think of you fondly as a Milwaukee school-teacher," I said. "That was a long time ago—35 years," she replied slowly.

■

LUNCH WAS served. Snowy linen, shining silver, and a beautifully prepared, leisurely meal. Afterwards, coffee was served in the sitting room—and the visit continued. My eye happened to catch my watch. I had been with one of the busiest women in the world for over 3 hours!

She inquired as to how extensive were my travels in Israel, and suggested that I be taken to see this and that. As time passed, I began to worry. Surely, it had been agreed as to how much of her valuable time I could take, and it would not be necessary for me to make the first move.

Shortly afterward the visit terminated quite naturally, and goodbyes were said without my knowing how it came about.

Around the U. N. . . . . .

By Marguerite Cartwright

Courier p. 9
Sat. 3-9-57

Christiansborg Castle

Pittsburgh, Pa.

THOSE who are fortunate enough to attend the Gold Coast Independence celebration will visit, among other things, one of the great historic landmarks in the new Ghana, Christiansborg Castle. An impressive white stone structure originally built by the Swedes in 1657, it is located on the edge of the ocean at Osu, a short ride from the center of Accra. The original site, according to some historians, was occupied by the Portuguese. It is known that, around 1500, King John II of that country set up the Ghana Trading Company and occupied a spot then called Osu Lodge. They remained until driven out by the Swedes, who were, in turn, overpowered by the Danes in 1659.

Dr. Cartwright

■

TWO DECADES later, the Danish Governor was murdered and the castle sold to the Portuguese, who named it St. Francis Xavier. However, in 1682, the Danes repurchased it, and remained until 1693. The castle was then seized by a canny African, called Asameni, who had earlier been a cook for the commander. A member of the Akwamus tribe, which ruled the Accra region, when Asameni discontinued his service in the castle, he became a trader, often entering into bartering agreements, or being middle man, between his fellow-tribesmen and the Danes.

On this occasion arrangements had been made for 80 of his men to secure guns in exchange for gold and ivory. As was the custom, on the day appointed each buyer appeared personally to examine his purchase. The Danes did not know that each of the wily Africans had brought ammunition with them, and that they planned to turn the guns on the sellers and in this way gain possession of the castle. The plan worked, and the terrified commander was compelled to flee for his life to nearby Fort Ussher.

ASAMENI remained in the castle a year, then apparently grew homesick for more familiar surroundings, and sold it back to the Danes for 1,600 pounds.

Today Christiansborg is remembered chiefly for the part it played in the vigorous and profitable slave trade, its dungeons providing the way-station where the human cargo was "stored" as ships were awaited to carry it beyond the seas.

In the early 19th century, Denmark abolished slavery and her trade declined. Not long thereafter, they sold all of their African interests, including the embattled castle.

During the Poll Tax riots of 1852, the Africans once more tried to gain possession of Christiansborg, but a British warship easily drove off the attackers and reduced the simple villages to rubble.

Later, the castle was severely damaged by earthquake, once by fire, and at one period was used for an insane asylum. Refurbished, it has been the British-appointed Governor's official residence for the past half-century.

Around the U. N. By Marguerite Cartwright

Courier

Party Line History

Pittsburgh Pa. Sat. 5-27-59

SOME TIME back an article appeared in the American Scholar called "Party Line History." Dramatic and timely, it deplores the intellectual sterility and tragic fate of the Russian historian, and it is deplored by scholars in other parts of the free world. It is with fitting contempt that we regard history as it must be produced in the U.S.S.R. today.

Dr. Cartwright

But I could not help reflecting that, as one reads, tsk-tsks, views with alarm and righteous indignation, a wee small voice keeps reminding of parallels rather close to home—at least as far as the Negro is concerned. Russian historians, under dire threats, must produce history in economic terms; American historians must record the past in terms of white supremacy. Strong Southern sympathies and out and out bias have permeated the writings of even so-called liberals. Not the work of the "emotionally vagrant fringe" or younger chroniclers, but our historical titans—Commager, Harlow, Rugg, Falkner, et al.

■

"COMPLIANCE, ideological plasticity and realigned historical thinking" pay good dividends here. Omissions are specific goals, vulgar sociological generalities, and schomatic deductions are granted academic respectability, and there is no one to protest, even as the Russian Mints did.

According to these historians, slavery was a benevolent, patriarchal system—necessary, logical and efficient. "A good thing and a blessing to both races," rhapsodizes Commager as he writes about how the slave "sang at his work." Prof. Ralph Harlow writes: "When the master was kind, those black people lived very happy lives . . . most planters treated their slaves fairly . . . they were not harshly treated. The owners were kindly, humane men. The Negroes had to be encouraged to work because many of them were irresponsible if not lazy."

On the other hand this kindness seemed to escape travelers in the South at the time, such as Dickens, Burnaby, Martineau, de Toqueville, and others. Moreover, one is forced to question a system that found it necessary to pass laws to prevent a master from "willfully cutting out the tongue, putting out the eye or depriving any slave of limb or member."

■

THE END of slavery is described as a severe economic injustice, in an effort to explain the South's backwardness which persists to this day. (True causes, of course, are the institution of slavery itself plus discrimination and white supremacy.)

The subversive activity that was the Civil War has been recorded as noble defense of Southern home and property (though the property consisted of human beings). They fought for what they believed, but the same can be said for the Nazi storm troopers, fanatical Communists and Japanese kama kasis. Southern traitors, fifth columnists and subversives, who took up arms against their own country and tried to overthrow the Government by force of violence, have been, by history, glorified.

It indeed rquires "exhilarating somersaults" and "historical gyrations" on the part of these ready-to-serve white supremacy historians to come up with the contented slave myth. However, one would "lack ideological perception" if he were to describe slavery as the filthy, degrading, immoral, diabolical system that it was—harmful to slave and slave-holders alike, producing economic blight and chronic warfare in the necessity of guarding one-third of its population.

■

'The path of the Soviet historian is thorny"; that of the general run of American historians is not, for they toe the white supremacy line and remain unchallenged.

Around the U. N. By Marguerite Cartwright

Courier Sat. 5-11-59

Pittsburgh Pa.

OF INTEREST to teachers is the UNESCO study on the effect of examinations on teaching. It has been found that certain educational systems lay more emphasis on preparing pupils for their examinations than in teaching subjects of use later on.

According to the UN statistical yearbook, there is one doctor and 300 daily newspapers for every 1,000 inhabitants, while in the least advanced countries only one copy of a daily newspaper per 1,000 people and one doctor per 5,000 inhabitants.

Dr. Cartwright

The statistics on book production were also of interest: The USSR, Japan, UK, West Germany, France being the first five in that order.

World Health Organization reports that death by arteriosclerosis (hardening of the arteries) is increasing in all countries, representing between 20 and 40 per cent of all deaths of people over 40. It is more frequently the cause of death in men than in women.

FOREIGN SERVICE examinations are held June 24. Several hundred new Foreign Service officers are needed in the coming year. Starting salaries range from $4,750 to $5,350 plus certain allowances.

In the Belgian Congo, for the first time, an African woman has been elected to an advisory body. She is Mme. Josephine Siongo. She is married, has six children and is a member of the Leopoldville City Council.

Trans-World Airlines is training flying and ground personnel for the Ethiopian Airlines under terms of the contract signed recently with the ICA. Ten specialists were sent to Addis Ababa to set up schools for the training program.

The Human Relations Committee of the National Council of Women has published a compilation of source material and service organizations on intergroup relations in the U. S. The chairmen are Mrs. Sophie Jacobs and Mrs. William T. Andrews, both Urban League board members.

THE NEW permanent Ethiopian representative to the UN is Ato Haddis Alemayehou, who replaces Zaude Heywot, who was appointed ambassador to the USSR. At one time the new ambassador was first secretary to the Ethiopian legation in Washington, and in 1956 was appointed permanent representative to the United Nations.

Letter received from Andrew Foster, director of the Christian Mission for Deaf Children. His special concern is the deaf children of Africa, whose "educational and spiritual needs are deplorable." His appeal to UNESCO, he writes, met with no success. WHO referred him to the regional director in Brazzaville, from whom no reply had as yet been received. The organization is undenominational.

In the report to ECOSOC it was noted that awareness of the UN is growing, but the two major hindrances still remain the lack of adequate preparation of teachcers and lack of suitable teaching material. In some remote and undeveloped places there is even no exact translation in the local language of the words "United Nations." In many places it is translated as "the organization in the U. S.," or "in New York."

The UN Demographic Yearbook reports the five largest cities as being New York (12,300,000), London (8,300,000), Tokyo (6,300,000), Shanghai (6,200,000), and Paris (4,800,000).

World Courier At Large

Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 1-12-57

By Horace R. Cayton

THIS column is reprinted in dedication to the men and women of the South who are making history.

P. 10

April 3, 1943.

This is a conversation I heard between a Negro and a white liberal. "Beginning tomorrow," said the Negro, "I am going to stop acting like a colored man."

Mr. Cayton

"What do you mean?" asked the liberal, "stop acting like a colored man?"

The Negro said, "It takes two to maintain a color line. The Negro has to act like a Negro and the white man has to act like a white man. I was just thinking that if all Negroes would stop acting like colored men, maybe white men would stop acting like white men, and then we would have a real democracy around here."

"What would that involve?" inquired the liberal. "We are all Americans, aren't we?"

"Well, yes and no," said the Negro. "But here is what I will do. When I get hungry I will just go into a restaurant—any old restaurant, not just a Thompson's—and eat. When I am in a strange city I will stay at a good hotel whether it happens to be run by Negroes or whites. When I meet a white acquaintance on the street, I will just say 'hello,' not 'good morning sir,' and tip my hat. I I might even apply for a job running a street car. That's all I mean."

"That," declared the liberal, "is passive resistance. It is dangerous—especially during a war."

"Oh," replied the Negro, "I didn't even know it had a name. I just thought beginning tomorrow I would start acting like an American."

"Don't you know," the liberal retorted excitedly, "that sort of thing will endanger the war effort? It will lead to bloodshed and violence. It is all right to talk about this idealism, but you and I know that we have to face social realities. This race problem wasn't developed in a day and it won't be solved in a day. Besides, we've got to whip Hitler first. Do you want to lose the war?"

"Why do you say that?" said the Negro. "What war are you talking about, anyway? The present military engagement with Hitler, or are you talking about the war which has been going on through centuries against entrenched interests for a decent society in which all men are free? Or are you talking about the next war which we are laying the groundwork for by Negroes acting like Negroes and white people acting like white people?"

"What you propose to do might spread," said the liberal, "so that no Negroes would act like Negroes, and then white men couldn't act like white men, and then we would be in an awful mess."

"Just the same," said the Negro, "beginning tomorrow I am not going to act like a Negro or even like a white man. I am just going to act like an American because that is the only way Ibelieve America will be saved."

World Courier At Large

P. 10

Pittsburgh, Pa.

By Horace R. Cayton

Sat. 1-26-57

THE NEW YORK POST has broken a story about the White Citizens Councils of the South. Some of the material is shocking. Take, for example, the first paragraph of one of the series called "Dixie Dynamite":

"Can you imagine a Jew joining an anti-Semitic organization? Or a Catholic joining an anti-Catholic organization? It happens in the South today. Many join the Citizens Councils."

Mr. Cayton

The article goes on to point out that the organizations are primarily aimed at the Negro, but they distribute considerable anti-Semitic literature. In Tennessee, one Council member was arrested while he was passing out such literature in the very Knoxville courtroom where 16 other members were standing preliminary hearing for sparking the Clinton riots. Millard Grubbs' Kentucky Citizens Council passed a resolution, the article states, saying, "The Zionist Atlantic money mob has control of both the Democratic and Republican parties."

■

HOW DO THE Jews who join these councils feel about being members of organizations that not only are anti-Negro but anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic as well? It is hard to say, but when they occasionally complain, they usually get one of two answers:

"It was a horrible mistake. It won't happen again."

Or:

"We don't mean you, Joe. We mean those Northern and foreign Jews."

Why do Jews, a minority which has been persecuted for 2,000 years, feel as they do toward segregation? The problem is indeed complex. In the first place, there are many Jews in the South today who have acted courageously. These have tended to be those who live in the larger cities. There are some instances where Jewish rabbis have refusel to compromise.

■

SOME WHO join the Council do so against their own will: as a group, the Jews, more than any others, have steered clear of the Councils. But there are others, especially in the small towns, who have cooperated with these white citizens' groups. Then there are the dyed-in-the-wool Negro haters among Southern Jews. The Post reports that one of the Mississippi Citizens Council's prized propaganda pieces is a pamphlet entitled "A Jewish View on Segregation." It was written by a Jewish merchant born and bred in upper Mississippi. Sometimes the Jew in a gentile society outdoes the Southerner to gain acceptance.

The situation is tragic, in a sense larger than just the segregation issue. When one minority can be turned by a racist majority against another, the institution of democracy is not safe. It is reminiscent of the early Hitler days. For the Jew, it is more fateful than for the Negro, for in view of the logic of history, the number of Negroes and non-white peoples of the world, the Negro will solve his problem long before the Jew.

World Courier At Large

Sat. 3-23-57

By Horace R. Cayton

Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE United States has decided to break with imperialism. For years this country has overlooked the empires of France and England. Now the U. S. has determined to go it alone. This is necessary to win the favor of colonial peoples.

P. 10

There are a number of factors which operated to make the United States change. Perhaps the most powerful influence in shaping foreign policy is this country's fear of Russia. To cope with this danger the Atlantic Alliance was formed. But past events have shown that this alliance is not as powerful as it was once thought. An English political writer makes severe judgment of the alliance. Barbara Ward, writing in the New York Times, states: "An Atlantic Alliance—but the chief allies did not consult; a Middle Eastern settlement, but general war was avoided by a hair's breadth; adherense to the United Nations Charter—but the two most stable powers of Europe used the veto to flout the Security Council's decision: so the list might continue. The upshot is to reveal an Atlantic Allaince facing, virtually without policy, a revolutionary and dangerous world.

Mr. Cayton

The dangers are not new. Communism, checked in Europe, is probing among the splits and feuds of Asia for new areas of advance and the Middle East has proved a very fruitful ground. What is new is the obvious lack of concerted allied strategy to counter Communist infiltration."

■

THE UNITED STATES has decided to approach nations of the Middle East and Africa directly. Vice President Richard M. Nixon's trip to Africa is a case in point. The fact that the Vice President represented this country at the birth of Ghana indicated to the world that the U. S. was going to make direct overtures to Africa, just as the President had made overtures to the Middle East countries.

Besides visiting Ghana, the Vice President stopped at seven other African countries. In Liberia, Nixon said, "In my opinion, we must do a more effective job, and in my opinion, we will."

Mr. Nixon also said that "American prestige is at stake" in Liberia and that United States aid to that republic, founded by American Negro freedmen more than a century ago, should be intensified.

■

PREVIOUSLY the Vice President had visited Morocco. Our relations with that country have improved since the Suez affair, while Morocco's ties with France have deteriorated. The next stop for the Vice President was Addis Ababa, to try and mend our relations with Ethiopia.

The reason for this new policy is clearly stated by Mr. Nixon. "There is no doubt," he said, "that Africa is a major target of the international Communist movement because of the continent's resources and its 200,000,000 population."

World Courier At Large

Sat. 3-16-57

By Horace R. Cayton

Pittsburgh, Pa.

GHANA, the new African state, did not invite Egypt to her freedom celebration, although most of the members of the United Nations were invited. Ghana was "in the middle," caught between her desire to please the British Commonwealth (that hates Nasser because he took over the Suez Canal) and the African-Asian bloc (which is strongly pro-Nasser, or at least anti-English imperialism). This writer thinks that the young state made an error in this pointed exclusion of Egypt.

Mr. Cayton

P. 10

In an interview with Gbedemah, the Minister of Finance of Ghana, just a few months ago, he indicated just how seriously the new nation would regard lining up with the power structure in the United Nations. Ghana wants to build the Volta River Dam, which would give her a more unified economy. The money for this gigantic project is to come from England and Canada and perhaps the World Bank. Ties to the commonwealth are strong and part of those ties are mutual economic assistance. Therefore Ghana does not want to offend England, and being friendly with Egypt might do just that. That is one pull which the people of Ghana cannot ignore.

■

THEN THERE is the pull of the African-Arab-Asian bloc. As

Ghana is a black nation and located in the continent of Africa, there is a community of interest with that power bloc. On this point Mr. Gbedmah was on shaky grounds. He told this reporter, "I do not think that Ghana will be a member of the African-Arab-Asian bloc. We have little in common with Arab countries except that some are located in Africa. They are different from us."

Certainly there is some fear on the part of Ghana that Egypt might want to become the spokesman for the African continent. But it seems almost impossible for the new nation not to line up with the African-Arab-Asian group on many issues, especially the colonial issue. In any case, this is another pull and one in the opposite direction from England. Did this consideration operate in her making a point of leaving Egypt out of her company?

Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE SLAP at Egypt seems too direct not to have a strong motive. If she wants to placate England it would not have been necessary; other commonwealth countries, especially India, have given support to the Egyptians and remained in the commonwealth. If she is afraid of Egypt and fears that that country has a few imperialistic drives of her own, the slight is not good diplomacy. It would seem that this relatively young group of statesmen are just not well enough seasoned in power politics to play the game.

Certainly the omission comes as a shock to American Negroes, who almost without exception have been delighted at England's having been kicked out of the big ditch.

World At Large

Courier P. 10
Sat. 4-27-57

By Horace R. Cayton

Pittsburgh, Pa.

CLOSE on the heels of the liberation of Ghana, new and exciting things are happening in West Africa. In one of the largest areas of colonial Africa, the French have come up with popular elections in a region about five times the size of Texas, with a population of 20,000,000. The road to self-rule is now being opened and although it may take time to reach the end of the road, the start has been auspicious.

Mr. Cayton

The task of giving this large territory self-rule will be dificult. There are eight separate political divisions and fifteen well defined ethnic groups.

■

MOST OF the population is Negro, but Mauritania is strictly Arab and at least two other areas are of mixed origin. There are 120 distinct languages. As one paper put it, "This is no homogeneous little area with a literate population fighting for independence. It is a sprawling segment of a great continent in which the stirrings of the desire for self-rule are just beginning to be felt."

But as diverse as are the elements of the population, there is the feeling of all that they want to control their own fate and do not want to be subservient to France.

France is apparently making some efforts to meet this rise of nationalism. A rather loose-jointed "federation" that tries to bring the diverse elements together is being talked about. Within that framework she proposes to give the area all the concessions to home rule that are possible at this stage.

■

WHAT could have come over the French to make even these concessions. In Indo-China she fought a colonial war which lasted over seven years and bled her country white of men and money. In North Africa she is at present endangering her position as a great power by holding on to Algeria. Why this sudden enlightenment about the urges of colonial peoples for political freedom? Perhaps England's treatment of Ghana showed her the folly of trying to subordinate and exploit millions of people which has ended in defeat and hatred. The English way is so much wiser that French people have been forced to make concessions and retain some goodwill from their former subjects or face the possibility of becoming a fourth- or fifth-rate power.

The United States is anxious to move into this power vacuum. At the present time there is no love lost between the U. S. and France over the Suez affair which affected France's hold on North Africa. With this present plan for a form of self-rule, the United States will be dealing more and more with Negro Africans in the area rather than European administrators. But racial prejudices in the American South are an impediment to friendly relations between the United States and the expanding educated class of Africans.

It is a mixed-up picture. The Africans want to be free from France. They are also suspicious of the United States.

World At Large

Courier
Sat. 4-20-57

By Horace R. Cayton

Pittsburgh, Pa.

AFRICA is big news today. The headlines of the two major papers in New York blazoned the Vice President's report on his tour of the continent and his recommendations that African independence is a prime necessity.

P. 10

Africa, the Vice President believes, "could well prove to be the decisive factor in the conflict between the forces of freedom and international communism." National interests as well as moral reasons necessitate the supporting of the freedom of the continent. His concern about possible Communist invasion of Africa he likened to the mistakes which were made in China years ago: he was pleading for prompt action lest the same thing that happened in China might happen in the continent of Africa.

Mr. Cayton

After his 20,000-mile trip he filed a lengthy report to the President.

THIS TRIP was a frank attempt to win Africans to the American cause. On the trip Mr. Nixon shook hands with many men and women on the streets and along the roads of the African cities he visited. He also reported that he had made special efforts to talk with leading labor leaders in every country and that he had suggested the United States diplomatic representatives should do likewise. It was frankly a selling campaign.

Why this sudden interest in Africa? A number of reasons come to mind. First and foremost is the fear of communism, that Africa would become another China. Nixon knows the intense nationalism which is sweeping the continent. He knows too that if imperialism is not abolished, the Africans in their desperation will turn to the East. He knows that the colonial powers cannot for long keep the Africans down. He is willing now to endanger the wrath of our allies—Great Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal and Spain—who, he thinks, are declining powers, for fear of letting develop another huge continent which might fall in the orbit of Russia.

THEN THERE is another reason. America wants to exploit the natural resources of Africa. This continent has been the special province of European countries. Besides the military advantages, American big business is out to make money out of the wealth of the continent. There is a cold war in the economic area between the old European countries and the giant United States.

What will this mean to the American Negro? Nixon found that racial discrimination in America is played up and distorted by anti-American elements to make Africa's colored people distrust the U. S. "We cannot," said the Vice President, "talk equality to the peoples of Africa and Asia and practice inequality in the United States." He concluded that discrimination must end in this country.

It would seem that gradually some of our statesmen are beginning to realize that two-thirds of the world is non-white and that the day of white domination is nearing its end.

World At Large

Courier Pittsburgh Pa. Oct. 8-17-57

By Horace R. Cayton

IF YOU HAVEN'T NOTICED — and I don't see how you could have missed — there is a new trend, or shall I say "kick" on television. It is the hard-boiled interview where a personality is put on the spot and willingly is cross-examined about his beliefs, his foibles, his prejudices — in fact, is supposed to lay his soul bare; why, I will never know. The new gimmick, which has come to rival the give-away programs, was first introduced in New York by a cynical, half-wise fellow by the name of Mike Wallace. He has now taken the program to the networks. Recently he had Senator Eastland of Mississippi on the hot seat, and this is what came up.

Mr. Cayton

The essence of what the distinguished Senator had to say amounted to this: Southern Negroes like segregation, but don't like to vote. Here is a partial text of the program.

Wallace: If a Negro maid or nurse is good enough to care for a white infant in the South, live with that infant, feed that infant, et cetera, why is not that same Negro maid allowed to eat in the same restaurant with Southern whites? I want to know the reason behind it.

Eastland: It's a matter of choice.

Wallace: Choice by the whites?

Eastland: No. It's a matter of choice by both races.

Wallace: The Rev. Martin Luther King told us for nearly a year 75 per cent of the Negroes in Montgomery, Ala., walked or rode in car pools rather than ride in segregated buses.

Eastland: No, Sir. That wasn't a fact. The trouble in Montgomery started because of mistreatment on the buses. Now there is no law to date that would force segregation on buses, and yet the races segregate themselves on buses.

Wallace: Are you suggesting that the Negro in the South wants segregation?

Eastland: Oh, but certainly.

Wallace: The Negro in the South wants segregation?

Eastland: Ninety-nine per cent; yes, Sir.

The technique of Senator Eastland is familiar. It was used by Hitler. It is the strategy of "the big lie." If you tell a big enough lie, if you speak with total and complete disregard for the truth and reality, the enormity of the lie may be believed. It happened in Hitler's Germany and it happened in Italy. It is the weapon of the Fascist, but it can also be used, as Eastland did, as a defense for the desperate, dying South.

World At Large

Courier P.10 Sat. 8-10-57

By Horace R. Cayton

Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE role and leadership quality of the Southern Negro minister is highlighted by the activities of Martin Luther King in Montgomery, but is evident in many places in the South. There have been many instances of Negro ministers being arrested and put in jail. And Negro ministers as a group have often taken the lead to break the barrier of segregated seating in buses before they instructed their congregations to do so.

Mr. Cayton

It has not always been like this. Ofttimes in the past the Negro ministers have been the handkerchief heads of the community, the go-betweens between the powerful whites and the Negroes. The ministers advised their people to look forward to justice, kindness and equality in a world to come. Now, these ministers, at least a certain proportion of them—especially in urban centers—have become the militant leaders. Whether they have been pushed to a more aggressive attitude by the grass roots upsurge of indignation by their congregation, sincere religious convictions, a greater perspicacity of the world crisis of color, or a ferocious feeling within themselves of race pride is hard to tell.

■

THE NEGRO MINISTER at one time was the natural and powerful leader of the Negro community. The church was the strongest organization in Negro society. From the personal point of view, it was perhaps the only avenue open for those who wanted to be educated and hold an important prestige position in the group.

Then there was a period with the rise of a new class—the doctors, the lawyers, the dentists and businessmen—when Negro ministers lost out in social esteem and leadership. A recent study by H. Richard Niebuhr, a noted researcher in church matters, stated when commenting upon theological education in America for Negroes: "A family may be willing to sacrifice savings and other good things to assist a son who is going into medicine or law, but will give only verbal blessing to one going into the ministry."

■

BUT SOMETHING new is happening. There is a resurgence of prestige, power and leadership of the Negro minister. Dr. Martin Luther King epitomizes this change.

A recent study of the power structure of a large Southern city, "Community Power Structure," by Floyd Hunter, comes to the conclusion that Negro leadership in that city—Atlanta, Ga.—has shifted over the last decade to the Negro industrialist and professional. But Rev. King now makes policy decisions with Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and with A. Philip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters powerful union. It is hard to reconcile these two points of view. But one thing is certain: the Negro church and the Negro minister are regaining lost prestige and power.

World At Large

By Horace R. Cayton

31a Negro

POLITICS makes queer bedfellows. The New York Times comes out this Sunday with a cartoon showing the Republican party with the civil rights issue growing from a small acorn to a mighty oak. Editor Prattis last week in his column was strongly for the Republican party. It is not often that the Pittsburgh Courier and the good, old, gray Times see eye to eye.

Mr. Cayton

The Democratic party has shaken itself to pieces on the civil rights issue. This must cause a lot of grief to my old friend Senator Paul Douglas of Chicago: a good man. But it is a fact. And as far as the Negro vote is concerned; well, it will go to Nixon or Knowland, and that is that.

Pittsburgh Courier P.10

■

THE BIG CITIES of the North with their large Negro populations have saved the Democratic party from utter defeat. But that is over now. Negroes are mad and they are going to show it at the polls when the time comes. Besides, the Democrats are fighting over a lot of other matters. It is an unholy marriage between the old South and the largely Catholic working class of Northern cities. It has got to go and the Negro civil rights issue will be the straw that breaks the camel's back.

It is true that there are a few liberals in the Democratic party. Senator Kennedy, Eleanor Roosevelt, Paul Douglas. But what can they do against Eastland and Russell. There are some strong Negro leaders also; Brown of New York, Dawson of Chicago. They have done some good work, but they can't buck the Dixiecrats. The time for political realignment is now.

Pittsburgh Courier 8-24-57

I have been for the Democrats since the depression. I have always thought they were the party of progress in spite of the South. But I have begun to change my mind. I heard Eastland in television. I could not stomach being aligned with him poltically. If I feel that way, I figure that a lot of other Negroes feel the same way. That is why I think things are going to change.

The Republican party is no prize. I think they are reactionary. They are against a lot of things I believe in. I believe they are the party of big business which is not especially for "the little man"; and I am a "little man." But things on the civil rights issue have become too thick. The Democrats as they are now constituted just have to go.

World At Large

Courier Sat. 8-31-57

By Horace R. Cayton

Pittsburgh, Pa.

LANGSTON HUGHES once wrote a play called "The Sun Do Move," a title taken from an old illiterate minister who was trying to establish the fact that God was good and all was working toward a better world. Well, in race relations, the Sun Do Move, and we have some facts and figures.

Mr. Cayton

The National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago, over the past 14 years, has asked people in many parts of the country their attitudes on three kinds of segregation. The questions asked were:

1.—Do you think white students and Negro students should go to the same schools or to separate schools?

2. Generally speaking, do you think there should be separate sections for Negroes in streetcars and buses?

3. If a Negro with the same income and education as you have moved into your block, would it make any difference to you?

The answers give us some notion as to how white people feel toward Negroes in the USA, as of 1956.

■

IN THE country as a whole, 60 per cent of the whites interviewed favored integration on public transportation facilities. Fifty-one per cent did not object to living near Negroes. But only a minority of 48 per cent supported school integration. Of course, there were regional differences. In the North, a majority favored integration in all situations, and in the South the majority opposed it in all situations.

As you might suspect, the South was pretty unanimously unfavorable to school integration. The analysis showed a consistent relationship between public opinion and the actual status of school integration—(1) in the areas where the South had integrated their schools; (2) in the areas where had taken tentative steps, and (3) and finally in areas that had announced their intention to resist the Supreme Court order. In the first case, 31 per cent of the white population endorsed integration. In the second case, where some steps had been taken, 17 per cent of the whites favored integration. And in the third case, where open resistance had been avowed, only 4 per cent approved of integration.

■

BUT BEFORE we get on the South too hard, a curious fact should be stated. Southerners were generally less resistant to living next to Negroes than were Northerners, and the most resistant Northerners were the affluent upper middle class. This pattern of racial discrimination, if you will forgive the phrase, is not a "black and white" thing.

World Courier At Large

Sat. 5-18-57

By Horace R. Cayton

Pittsburgh, Pa.

DR. de KIEWIET, president of Rochester University, is a well-known student of African affairs. His book, "The Anatomy of South African Misery," makes this statement:

"The future of South Africa is so obscure and opaque that the wise man can do no other than contemplate it with fearfulness, but with a determination not to lose hope."

Mr. Cayton

Dr. de Kiewiet is determined that the manner in which the West handles Africa will widen or lessen opportunities of the Communist powers, and influence the degree of Asia's reconciliation with the West."

A reviewer of the book states, as one of its values, that it "links the South African situation to the rest of Africa and warns that developments elsewhere must be seen in relation to it. South Africa has the most urbanized and sophisticated Negro society in Africa, and this alone has a powerful bearing on thought and feeling in other African territories."

■

SOUTH AFRICA will certainly determine the future of much of the southern body of the continent up to and possibly including the Congo. The Union's economic domination and the influence of its political ideas, both African and European, will assure this. It has already pushed the Rhodesian copper belt—the major source of Central African's income—toward upheaval and crisis. Then there are powerful groups of resident Afrikaners in Kenya, the Rhodesias and the Portugese territories who take their cue from their nationalistic cousins in the Union.

Prime Minister Nkrumah of Ghana, himself, has said that no African policy can be evolved that is not based upon a thorough and shrewd appraisal of the trend of South African events and their effect upon the rest of Africa. One reason why the Prime Minister was anxious to stay within the British commonwealth of nations was for the protection that the commonwealth might give his country against South Africa.

■

THERE WAS encouragement from that Vice President Nixon's tour of Africa and the setting up of proposals for an African bureau with the State Department was heartening. But one writer raises the question of what our attitude toward Africa will be.

He says: "Is there to be a separate policy for the Union, the Congo, and the Rhodesias, center of vast American investments as well as of vital strategic interest? How will Mr. Nixon equate his pledge of shared ideals to north and west Africa with a continued common cause in the south?"

South Africa has again and again defied the United Nations in its attempt to investigate apartheid. The Boers are as fanatical in their belief that the Bantu is inferior and not subject to human rights as is the white ruling class of Georgia or Alabama. Is America, who is making determined steps by such actions as the Supreme Court decision on segregated schools, still willing to play ball with South Africa?

World Courier At Large

31a

By Horace R. Cayton

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 6-8-57

FRANCE HAS not moved into the Twentieth Century. That sick nation still wants to hold on to her colonies. She cannot realize that the non-white people of the world are desperate for freedom. It's peculiar, too, because most Negroes have thought of France as a land without race prejudice. But that's not the case when her non-white colonials are striking out for independence.

Mr. Cayton

She fought a seven-year war with Indo-China, bled herself white of men, materials and money and in the end, lost. You would have thought that that would have taught her some sort of lesson, but it didn't. The same thing is now taking place in Algeria.

■

NORTH AFRICA desperately wants her freedom from European domination. In the United Nations, France fought Tunisian and Moroccan freedom and finally had to give in. But she claims that Algeria is a part of metropolitan France and wants to hold on to the bitter end. She knows that Algeria is a source of great wealth, and France could not live at such a high standard of living if she lost that province.

What she doesn't know is that the day of colonialism is gone and that North Africa will never stop her struggle until independence is hers. France doesn't realize also that American policy has changed. She was indignant at Nixon's trying to woo Africa to friendship, and resents bitterly what she considers U. S. policy toward throwing over old allies and making a choice for colonial people.

■

THE WAR with Algeria is as costly as the Indo-China fiasco. In 1955, France spent 137 million dollars on this war; in 1956, 900 million dollars, and in 1957, an estimated 1,080 million dollars. Her economy simply can't support such expenditures. The cost in men is equally as teling.

What a diference between France and England! England realizes when the game is up; that African people will not be suppressed. And she has adopted a totally different technique. When she knew that she could not hold Ghana, she gave it its freedom and kept it in the commonwealth. England realized that it was better to lose gracefully and retain the goodwill of the African colonies. France will lose Algeria just as she did Indo-China, and at a terrific cost. Whether she will realize it or not, the people of Africa will have their freedom.

Like I say, France has not moved into the Twentieth Century.

World Courier At Large

Pittsburgh, Pa.

By Horace R. Cayton

Sat. 6-15-54

COLOR prejudice—so inherent in the heart and soul of the American—has caused a crisis between us and our Chinese allies in Nationalist China. The particular incident was that of an alleged "Peeping Tom" who was shot and killed by an American sergeant. The man was tried and acquitted by an American court martial. Not only that but witnesses testified that the conduct of the Americans in the courtroom was anything but decorous. When the verdict was read in a courtroom which held about 200 persons with three-quarters of the spectators Americans, some 150 Americans rose to their feet and cheered, clapped their hands and encouraged one another. The widow wept silently. The senior officer of the court martial made no effort to restore order. This demonstration was deeply resented by the Chinese.

Mr. Cayton

■

AMERICA HAS been pouring money into Nationalist China and is her mainstay for independence as a nation. She is, in fact, a creature of America. Many high-placed Chinese are abject to her will. But there have been many other forces which stimulated the riot and caused the attack on the American embassy, the trampling of the Stars and Stripes, and the attacking of American citizens. Although accepting American aid, the Chinese cannot forget the former attitude of white Europeans. There were times when signs in parks stated that no Chinese or dogs would be allowed. In spite of the fact that many of Nationalist Chinese are anti-Communist, they cannot help but be inspired by the independence and dignity vis-a-vis white Europeans and Americans which has been achieved by Red China. The military and financial aid which has gone to Nationalist China has done little to help the lot of the ordinary Chinese. But the nationalist stirring which is sweeping over the non-white world and finding expression in India, Africa, and the Middle East has not left Nationalist China untouched.

■

LIKEWISE, the gains of Red China in the economic sphere have acted to point up in sharp contrast the corruptness of Nationalist China. There is undoubtedly the feeling that America is using Nationalist China under the guise of the slogans of democracy while maintaining its real feelings of racial arrogance. Large sections of Nationalist China resent this, having been caught up with the spirit of the Bandung Conference. They may not be Communists but they are anti-imperialistic and fanatically nationalistic. Self-respect as humans is beginning to overweigh the dubious gains from the paternalistic and racial superiority attitude of their American benefactors. Undoubtedly, the days of dictator Chiang Kai-Chek, who is not only corrupt but has failed to fully comprehend the extent of nationalism among the peoples of Africa and Europe, are limited.

World Courier At Large

Pittsburgh, Pa.

By Horace R. Cayton

Sat. 7-6-57

THERE ARE A FEW courageous Europeans in South Africa whose work should not be underestimated. One of these is Father Trevor Huddleston, an Anglican priest of the Church of England, whose uncompromising fight against white supremacy caused the Church to call him from the country. The zeal and passion of his opposition to South Africa's racial segregation led him to denounce it in sermons and lectures, in interviews and articles during his 12-year-long effort to sensitize the Church's sluggish conscience on apartheid and all that it means.

Mr. Cayton

■

FATHER HUDDLESTON has written a book on his experiences. In it he makes clear his position of absolute opposition to apartheid. "What I shall try to avoid," he says, "is the most common and persistent error in all such accounts—the attempt to be impartial. By this I mean that I shall write this book as a partisan, for I believe that Christians are committed in the field of human relationships to a partisan approach . . . Any doctrine based on racial or color prejudices and enforced by the State is an affront to human dignity and ipso facto an insult to God Himself. It is for this reason that I feel bound to oppose not only the policy of the present Government of the Union of South Africa, but the legislation which flows from this policy . . . there is no room for compromise or fence-sitting."

■

THE CHRISTIAN community, Father Huddleston believes, is largely in error on this racial question. He says that the policy of the Government is basically sub-Christian and imposed by motives which are clearly intent on racial supremacy "but this policy could not be imposed, neither could the Government which imposes it remain in power, if the majority of white South African

Christians did not approve of it. The doctrine of 'white supremacy' is common to both Afrikan (Dutch settlers) and English sections of the population."

To Father Huddleston the danger to the Christian Church is imminent.

The immediate future he finds dark. "There is no sign whatever," he writes, "that there is a weakening in the application of the apartheid policy: just the reverse."

World At Large

Courier 1-18 Pittsburgh Pa. Sat 7-27-57

By Horace R. Cayton

THE CHURCHES of South Africa are defying the African government's church segregation law. This law, which became effectively recently, restricts Negro worship in white churches and gives the government the power to ban Negro attendance in a white church. It is a part of the apartheid program of the government.

Mr. Cayton

But this latest incompatibility between Christianty and racial discrimination has precipitated an acute conflict between the Churches and the South African government.

Last week, 14 Anglican Bishops called for defiance of the segregation law. The Bishops' stand was contained in letters read by priests from their pulpits.

The statement read in part:

"We believe it's morally wrong to follow a policy which has as its object the keeping of any particular racial group in permanent position of inferiority, and we believe that racial discrimination practiced in this country is directed to this end."

■

THE ANGLICANS — the Church of England—are not the only Christian body to defy the law. Twenty-five Roman Catholic Bishops denounced segregation as "evil and un-Christian." Rev. C. K. Storey, president-elect of the Methodist Church in South Africa, said: "The churches of South Africa have tried anxiously to avoid a head-on clash with the state, but the series of apartheid laws has made the present class inevitable."

The Baptist Union has adopted a resolution deploring "social and economic injustice and the breaking of solemn pledges given to non-whites." The Congregational Union of South Africa has stated that the government's apartheid policy has no sanction in the New Testament and is diametrically opposed to the teaching of Christ. The Presbyterian Church has found apartheid morally indefensible. Only the Dutch Reformed Church—the church of the Afrikanders—supported the government.

■

CHRISTIANITY IS on trial throughout Africa. Many Africans have identified Christianity as a white man's religion. Others have felt that Christianity has meant white supremacy. The strong surge of nationalism in many parts of Africa has been accompanied by the rejection of "the white man's religion."

But in South Africa, where violence in the form of race war is a growing possibility, Christianity stands its most crucial test It is possible that some future revolt of the African masses might abandon the teaching of the Christian Church in their desperate struggle to rid themselves of the white man's rule.

The Church is perhaps the last line of communication between whites and blacks in the country. With that gone the road to violence is opened wider.

TARHEEL BEAT

Journal + Guide

Injunction Sought For Integration In Raleigh

Sat. 9-7-57 P. 8

Norfolk, Va.

By CARL E. DeVANE

RALEIGH, N. C.—The Raleigh schol board took a paradoxical move in its special meeting on Aug. 28. For the second time the application for a transfer to a nearer school by Joseph Holt Jr. was denied. The denial has put off integration in Raleigh, and it also sets the stage for Federal action. Both of Holt's parents have given approval to the lawyers representing them to file a temporary injunction in Federal court asking that the denial be set aside on the grounds that it violates the constitutional rights of the young Holt boy. The complaint also asks that a permanent injunction be granted by the Federal court to restrain the Raleigh school trustees from further discrimination against colored children in similar situations.

DeVANE

One of the members of the subcommittee which was considering the appeal stated that the recommendations of the subcommittee to sustain the former denial of the board was only for a year.

Take Court Action

White parents in Greensboro and Charlotte have gone to court seeking injunctions against their respective school boards charging them with violation of state public school laws in ruling on integration favorably for this fall. Legal counsel for the Greensboro board has answered the charges by stating that the emergency laws passed by the State Legislature and voted on by the people as constitutional amendments, gave people the privilege to apply for tuition grants, and even to hold a referendum to close schools, but it did not give parents the right to block integration where so far the proceedings have been in good faith and orderly.

Violence Illegal

A press conference query to Governor Hodges as what he would do in cases of violence in areas where integration had been approved, was answered in general terms to the effect that violence against persons and property was illegal, and the Governor's office would use whatever power legal and necessary to preserve law and order.

Down in Hyde county, a special superior court session has been called to settle school problems involving members of the majority group. This is interesting because it shows that public school problems are inevitable, and can involve any group of persons, and not just the minority group. The problem in Hyde county at a village called Swan Quarter, is the liquidation of a high school in the Englehard school thereby leaving it an elementary school. The high school students were transferred to West Hyde high. Fifthy-four students are involved.

Their parents claim the board should not transfer the children to the other school. The county superintendent of Hyde schools answered the charge that it was for the best interest of the students and that the changes made for a more efficient administration of the schools. The interesting thing about this case is the white parents are caught in the vague, evasive provisions of the General Statutes which were drawn up by the legislature in an attempt to give local school authorities enough discretionary power to continue segregated schools.

Missed The Point

Two North Carolina daily newspapers editorially missed the point in the Levittown, Pa. riot against colored people moving into an area where people of the majority only had previously been living.

The Durham Morning Herald stated that what happened in Levittown shows what can happen when one goes too far too fast. It pleaded for moderation and good will. The Charlotte News used the Levittown incident to point out the fact that prejudice was national. Both papers however, omitted the point.

LEVITTOWN shows first, that the fanatical prejudice which some southern whites carry with them, does not subside when they move North and East. It also shows that the law enforcement agencies in Levittown did not surrender to the mob like southern officials do in a 'racial' crisis, in most cases, North Carolina notwithstanding. The school board's answer to the Levittown incident was to appoint two colored teachers in the Levittown school district.

TARHEEL BEAT

Journal & Guide

N. C. Integration Looks Good In Headlines—But . .

Norfolk, Va.

Sat. 9-14-57

By CARL E. DeVANE

RALEIGH, N. C. — The fact that some integration took place in three public school systems, and one Catholic school in North Carolina looks good in the headlines. But, the circumstances under which it took place are something which leaves one with mixed emotions.

DeVANE

In Greensboro, with the exception of a few cat-calls and jeers, the first few days went along smoothly. In Winston-Salem a lone colored girl reassigned hardly makes a complete news story. In Charlotte, more trouble was evidenced than at the two other places. Also, in Charlotte one of the colored girls was struck and spat upon.

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THE OFFENDERS against the colored girl were arrested and charged with criminal conduct by the police. The assaulted girl was interviewed by the press, radio and TV. In the course of her interview, she stated that the welcome remarks, and pleasant conversation with some of the students, offset any indignation caused by the ones who had assaulted her.

Cases Appealed

The Raleigh case is on the way to Federal District Court. Nine applications in Durham have been turned down. There is a possibility that they will be appealed. Over 40 applications in McDowell county are on the way to Federal District Court the second time.

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IN SWAIN county around six applications are pending before the school board. Some 30 applications in Caswell county are pending between the denial of the school board and an appeal by the parents

Kasper's Visit

The tension in the three places where integration in some form in public schools took place, can be looked at first in terms of the courage and dignity of both the school officials, law enforcement personnel, and especially the colored students and their parents. This same tension cannot help but be looked at in terms of the incitement gestures of John Kasper, who visited each area and laid a nest egg for White Citizens Council chapters.

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ONE OF THE local Charlotte Council executives was the one who encouraged the white students to spit on the colored girl. This executive was on hand directing the disturbances.

Charlotte's chief of police went to her home after the storm was over and warned her if she continued such actions, he would take out a peace warrant against her. The lady is said to have said she was going to resign from the Council because she was "ashamed" of the "white" race.

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THERE IS plenty of evidence that not only Kasper accentuated the tension, but some unfortunate statements were made by our governor which in all probability aided in exciting the white students, in what could have been a normal readjustment. The N. C. chief executive in an address before the N. C. Associated Press Broadcasters' annual meeting, took the occasion to "Report to the People," not just give an appropriate speech for the occasion.

Governor's Plan

His general address was a review of the past 12 months of his administration. However, he concluded with about two pages on "Voluntary Separate School Attendance."

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THIS SAME theme brought to him some antagonism by the student body at A. and T. College about two years ago. This time he stated that he was not taking either side in what the three integrating N. C. school boards had done. But, after that he repudiated his alleged neutrality by stating that he personally opposed integration.

Then he castigated the colored citizenry for following a "few" of the "Negro" group who were not cooperating in "voluntary" segregation and thereby "endangering" the education of all children in the state.

TARHEEL BEAT

Journal & Guide

Segregation Topic Ruled Out At Methodist Meet

Norfolk, Va.

Sat. 11-16-57

By CARL E. DeVANE

RALEIGH, N. C. — White Methodists of the state have a $5 million dollar program on to raise funds for the benefit of five of their colleges in the state. The program was approved at a recent meeting in Fayetteville. Funds were not the only item on the session agenda. A lay delegate from Warrenton put a resolution before the conference that it state specifically what the policies were of non-white Methodist colleges in admitting colored students. The presiding officer ruled the resolution out of order, since the purpose of the particular session at hand was not for such resolutions.

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THE BISHOP also said that student admission policies were the duties of the trustees of Methodist colleges. And, that each college had competent trustees who could solve admission policies. Bishop Garber concluded by stating that such subjects were not out of order for Methodists to discuss, but should be brought up at the proper place and proper time.

New "Rights" Test

Seven Negroes in Durham have appealed a segregation suit involving a question of law which may very well revolutionize civil rights law, provided they win the case before Federal courts. The case has now been appealed to the State Supreme Court. The case grew out of a group of colored people who went into an ice cream parlor and attempted to get service.

The management ordered them out and had warrants drawn against them on the grounds of trespassing. The colored people insisted in Recorder's Court that they entered the place in good faith since the business had advertised that it was opened for the public.

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N. C. LAW states that an intruder cannot be convicted of trespassing unless he is on private property without a permit, or is not invited. It is unlikely that the State Supreme Court will reverse the lower court conviction. However, if the Federal courts would set the lower court conviction aside, it might be the beginning of the end of jim-crow services along the line in the state.

There are at present 39 different sections of state laws providing for various segregated services according to 'race'. Then there are several other jim crow practices which are not legal, but are done because of custom, based on indirect legal segregation acts.

The New Era

Dr. James M. Nabrit, lawyer-teacher, from Howard University speaking before the sixth annual "Race Progress Day" celebration in Winston-Salem, told his 2,000 member audience about the new Negro emerging in the South. He said this new citizen is resolved to be a first-class citizen. He will sacrifice his jobs, his efforts, his brains, even his life for this cause.

Press Conference

At the latest Governor's press conference, the integration issue was side-tracked momentarily in order to get the views of the chief executive on two other important issues.

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ONE DEALT with an insinuation made by a Raleigh public relations expert that the "liquor for lawmakers" scandal brought out in the past two sessions of the N. C. legislature resulted in a cover up job when two of the defendants charged in the case were convicted. This conviction did not reveal any names other than the men so charged.

This public relations man held that these men took the rap and did not expose people high up in public office in the state and top politicians in the Democratic Party. The governor said he knew of no one involved which was not exposed.

THE SECOND important item dealt with partisan politics. The governor said he was pleased to have had Adlai Stevenson as a house guest a few days ago. He said that if Adlai ran again he would support him. Hodges was of the opinion that this country would eventually turn its sights into the Deep South for Presidential timber, but not likely as early as 1960.

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Non-Racial School Plans Moving Slowly But Surely

Journal + Guide P. 8 Sat. 10-5-57 31a negro Norfolk Va.

By CARL E. DeVANE

RALEIGH N. C. — The school non-racial reorganization plans are moving slowly but surely. This time we can announce 14 requests for transfers in Durham, 42 at Yanceyville in Caswell County. Twenty-four of those turned down in Charlotte are asking for a hearing before the Charlotte City School Board to see why the requests were not granted. A spokesman for the group said he wanted to know why his child was not transferred as requested. He said the board just told him by letter the request was not granted. Since the Raleigh Board meets before our next press release, it is hoped we can let you know what the board in the capitol city does.

DeVANE

* * *

BOTH IN CHARLOTTE and Raleigh the Patriots, a pro-segregation organization, has expressed to the parents and to the school boards its opposition to non-racial school assignments. Patriots' letters in Raleigh were not signed. Those in Charlotte were signed by the local leader of the Patriots.

Our temporary backset has taken place in school assignments. Our west in Swain County, Bryson City to be exact, the board turned down the requests of colored children to enter the nearer school. These colored children have to travel 40 miles round trip daily to another county and attend a non-accredited school. They were asking to transfer to Bryson City in order to be able to walk to the nearer school.

THE ANSWER the board gave for not approving the requests for transfer was that the board was "acting in the best interest" of the colored children by continuing the daily travel of 40 miles to a 'colored' school. The board stated that the parents would no doubt ask for a hearing, and the board would elaborate more on the reasons behind their decision to keep the status quo.

Official Comment

More top officials have made recent comments on the moves made by the three boards who have so far made integrated decisions. Atty. Pearsall who led the forces for the legislation to close schools, if necessary, has stated that these local boards had the authority to do what they did and he hoped that their decisions were the right ones.

* * *

THE GOVERNOR made a limited statement of a neutral nature while on vacation to the effect that the three integrating boards were acting on authority in each local board. He reiterated this statement at his August 1 press conference.

Blames Governor

One of the contestants for governor in the last Democratic primary. Thomas B. Sawyer, of Charlotte blames the integration in Charlotte, Winston-Salem and Greensboro on Governor Hodges. He claims that Hodges had agreed to integrate behind closed doors but put the Pearsall Plan out to defraud the public Mr. Sawyer stated that a little integration was merely the beginning of wholesale acts in this direction as time passes on.

A TOP STATE Republican, John A. Wilkinson of Washington, N. C., stated recently that the Pearsall Plan might as well be abandon. He said the purpose of the Plan was to keep down any integration at all, and that now since some integration had been ordered in the state, the Plan was useless.

Mr. Wilkinson also disagreed with Atty. W. T. Joyner, another Pearsall Planite that some integration had to take place in order to save the Pupil Assignment Act. Joyner feels some integration is inevitable and that if a little is allowed, then the Pupil Assignment law might stand. The latter measure he feels will keep integration in public schools at a low minimum.

FORMER SENATOR Frank P. Graham feels that the three integrating boards have paved the way for an orderly arrangement of resegregation in North Carolina. He spoke before the Summer meeting of the American Teachers Associaiton in Durham. Dr. Graham also stated that voting rights were as sacred as jury trial rights.

College Problem

North Carolina's three community colleges at Wilmington, Charlotte and Asheville have been encouraged to develop technical institutes under the auspices of the N. C. State College in Raleigh. The state already has a two-year teachnical institute at Gastonia. A few colored have been trained here.

THE PROBLEM, however, in the state technical school idea is that the two colored branches of the state's community college system, one at Wilmington and another at Charlotte, are not in on the ground floor in planning the programs neither are provided with curricula found in the other branches.

TARHEEL BEAT

Journal + Guide. Norfolk, Va. P. 8 - Sat. 10-12-57

Gov. Luther Hodges— The Domestic Diplomat

31a negro

By CARL E. DeVANE

RALEIGH, N. C.—Hodges the domestic diplomat, is a befitting title for our governor, if one notices what he has attempted to do in the Eisenhower-Faubus controversy. The committee of southern governors headed by the governor of North Carolina, who met with the President, thought they had a workable solution. But, the third party, Faubus, did not reciprocate to the satisfaction of the President and, therefore, Mr. Eisenhower has not yet decided to remove the troops from Little Rock.

DeVANE

The Hodges Committee was shrewd somewhat in getting an unprecedented commitment from the Chief Exexutive. Never before has a President agreed behind closed doors to a bargain as to how he would or would not use his material law powers. The facts of the situation in Little Rock should determine what the President should do, not what these southern governors can tactfully extract from the President.

* * *

THE DAY OUR governor was meeting with the President our state witnessed a bombing in the yard of two children in Greensboro. So far, no incidents have been reported in Winston-Salem. But Charlotte and Greensboro have both had some types of overt demonstrations against, or towards, integrated colored students.

Dorothy Counts decided not to try Harding High again. She is now enrolled in a private school in Philadelphia. Her father will not disclose her location, since he asserted he and the family were through with the situation and were trying to forget it.

* * *

FOURTH DISTRICT Congressman Harold D. Cooley has joined the ranks of Tarheel politicians sounding off against the troops in Little Rock. Mr. Cooley wired the Governor recently that he felt the troops order was unprecedented and dictatorial.

Cooley also said he wondered if the President was aware of the fact that he had promised that he would not use force to accomplish the objectives of integration, even under court order.

* * *

THE FIRST in a series of the Shaw University public forums was presented recently to the college community. W. D. Merrifield of the industrial education department of the Chrysler Corporation, spoke on industrial trends and job opportunities.

Mr. Merrifield said that in 1957 only one out of ten people lived on the farm; whereas, two out of three people lived on the farm in 1857. He further indicated the trends which industrial development would take in the future.

He stated that there would be a shortage of skilled workers for the next few years in this country since jobs were increasing faster than births.

HE REMINDED the Shaw students that more colored students were in college in the United States than there were college students in the whole of the British Isles, colored and white included.

He also said the rate of the increase of colored students in college now was increasing faster than the rate of white students.

He was of the opinion that colored students should improve their usefulness in an industrialized society, and that more and more skill and not color dictated who would get the job.

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THE DATES October 10 through 13 are set for the State NAACP Conference in Charlotte. The theme this year is "De-Segregation Moves Freedom Forward." Top NAACP leaders will be on hand, including Thurgood Marshall and Roy Wilkins.

The Baptist State Convention has announced the appearance of Dr. Martin L. King, Jr., as its main speaker during the convention meeting this year in Fairmont. Previous attempts to get him in the state have failed. He was the leader of the celebrated bus boycott in Montgomery.

TARHEEL BEAT

Journal & Guide

Hard Time In Charlotte

Norfolk, Va.

And Proud N.C. Governor

Sat. 9-21-57

By CARL E. DeVANE

RALEIGH, N. C. — All is not quite clear in the N. C. desegregation picture. Miss Dorothy Counts, a lone colored girl in one of the integrated schools of Charlotte, has had some rough days. She claims that she has been the object of eraser and crayon throwing. She has also been spat at and upon. A car in which she has been riding as a passenger, had the back window broken out as the car came by to pick her up for a luncheon trip.

DeVANE

The school principal has called the student body in and told the entire group in an assembly to return to normalcy. The chief of police also told the students that the assaulting type of hazing was criminal and would be dealt with if it continued. Last reports were that the girl had dropped out of school.

* * *

AT A RECENT press conference, our governor stated that he was proud of North Carolina because it kept its head during the opening of schools throughout the state, a few integrated and no one suffered any serious violence. He omitted the minor threats, embarrassment and petty assaults.

He did not single out the colored people for their wise restraint in the midst of prejudice mobs. Had he taken a different course of action himself, thought more and said less, he would have a state where three public school units would have integrated without any disgraceful incidents.

One is, how could the young man killed be the "mysterious" telephone caller since he had just arrived in town from summer work at the beach in Virginia? Was it the motive of the deceased to contact the decoy car anyway?

Shaw Expands

Shaw University has expanded its teaching personnel in the area of hiring members of the majority group to its faculty. One such person is in the Division of Social Science, another in the area of languages, and a third in the School of Religion. The lady in the language arts area is a native of France.

Florida's Senator Smathers gave the Young Democrats a challenge in his speech at North Wilksboro in all respects but one. He talked realistically about finances, the farmer, and some aspects of foreign affairs.

* * *

HE WAS less effective, and got little applause when he paid tribute to Senator Irvin as the one who had done so much in the recent session of Congress to stop the "Republican" sponsored civil rights measures.

A Precedent

A Raleigh non-support case has set a precedent. For the first time under the new state non-support law a husband has been jailed. He can get daytime release if he works, and return to jail at night. The Domestic Relations Court can collect so much of his salary earned in the day for payment to the person whom he is to support.

IF THE case goes to the State Supreme Court, it will be the first time the court has been called upon to decide, or interpret, the new law which was passed during the last session of the legislature.

TARHEEL BEAT

Journal & Guide p. 8

Old South Shocked By

Norfolk, Va.

Student Racial Measure

Sat. 11-23-57

By CARL E. DeVANE

RALEIGH, N. C.—A clear example of the old South vs. the new took place at the session of the Student Legislature held here recently. Among the many resolutions passed by this mock legislature was one calling for a repeal of Article XIV, Section 8 of N. C. Constitution prohibiting interracial marriage. The measure passed the lower house by a large margin, and was also passed in the senate but by a smaller vote. This resolution was introduced by delegates from the Women's College of Duke University. Congressman Harold Cooley of the Fourth Congressional District spoke before the assembly at its closing session on the very day the headlines were revealing the student anti-miscegenation repeal resolution. Mr. Cooley took time out from his prepared speech to reprimand the students by telling them he was shocked by some of the measures they had passed. He also accused the students of arousing the shameful sensibilities of "their" people. Governor Hodges, in his recent press conference, scolded the leaders of the Student Legislature for being reckless and careless, plus being irresponsible leaders.

DeVANE

THE PRESIDENT of the student body of the University of North Carolina, who is also a leader in this mock session, was critical of the way the press handled the interracial resolution of the students. He said the press had missed the point in that the resolution only concerned the matter of freedom of choice of people in matrimony. This student leader also said the students had discussed and passed many measures worthy of note by their elders, but had passed over them trying to analyze something they could not understand unless they had a copy of the resolution, and had heard the debates on the proposal.

A second student leader at the North Carolina State College in Raleigh held a press conference on the matter and explained what was behind the measure and also took the press to task for bad reporting of the activities in the first instance. He further stated that the students debated the measure with concern and calmness. His concluding remark was that if only the adults could get together as the young people and iron out difficulties without screaming headlines and animosity, the whole southern situation would be better.

ANOTHER STUDENT resolution which also caused some controversial reporting dealt with the legalization of prostitution. This measure was killed in both houses by overwhelming majorities.

A former dean of the School of Education at the University of North Carolina told the state's white principals at their annual meeting in Asheville that the South is in the throes of prejudice and fear and these two things were threatening the very existence of the region and the individual. This gentleman is Guy B. Phillips who is now a member of the State Board of Education. Things are pretty bad in the state, but one is surprised at an educator making such a statement. He did not talk like this until he got this political appointment. Perhaps if Dr. Phillips were younger he could discover some people who are working hard to solve problems, not using exciting words to further frighten some already nearly "scared" to death individuals of both groups.

SOME CHARGES were made at a hearing recently before the National Labor Relations Board in Washington which could be damaging to the new Westinghouse meter plant on the outskirts of the Capital City. The International Union of Electrical Workers accussed management of circulating a picture of electrical union head dancing with a colored woman on the eve of an election to decide whether or not the shop would be unionized. The union was defeated in the election.

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The Baptist State Convention has announced the appearance of Dr. Martin L. King, Jr., as its main speaker during the convention meeting this year in Fairmont. Previous attempts to get him in the state have failed. He was the leader of the celebrated bus boycott in Montgomery.

TARHEEL BEAT

Journal & Guide Norfolk, Va. Sat 9-21-57 p8

Hard Time In Charlotte And Proud N.C. Governor

By CARL E. DeVANE

RALEIGH, N. C. — All is not quite clear in the N. C. desegregation picture. Miss Dorothy Counts, a lone colored girl in one of the integrated schools of Charlotte, has had some rough days. She claims that she has been the object of eraser and crayon throwing. She has also been spat at and upon. A car in which she has been riding as a passenger, had the back window broken out as the car came by to pick her up for a luncheon trip.

DeVANE

The school principal has called the student body in and told the entire group in an assembly to return to normalcy. The chief of police also told the students that the assaulting type of hazing was criminal and would be dealt with if it continued. Last reports were that the girl had dropped out of school.

* * *

AT A RECENT press conference, our governor stated that he was proud of North Carolina because it kept its head during the opening of schools throughout the state, a few integrated and no one suffered any serious violence. He omitted the minor threats, embarrassment and petty assaults.

He did not single out the colored people for their wise restraint in the midst of prejudice mobs. Had he taken a different course of action himself, thought more and said less, he would have a state where three public school units would have integrated without any disgraceful incidents.

One is, how could the young man killed be the "mysterious" telephone caller since he had just arrived in town from summer work at the beach in Virginia? Was it the motive of the deceased to contact the decoy car anyway?

Shaw Expands

Shaw University has expanded its teaching personnel in the area of hiring members of the majority group to its faculty. One such person is in the Division of Social Science, another in the area of languages, and a third in the School of Religion. The lady in the language arts area is a native of France.

Florida's Senator Smathers gave the Young Democrats a challenge in his speech at North Wilksboro in all respects but one. He talked realistically about finances, the farmer, and some aspects of foreign affairs.

* * *

HE WAS less effective, and got little applause when he paid tribute to Senator Irvin as the one who had done so much in the recent session of Congress to stop the "Republican" sponsored civil rights measures.

A Precedent

A Raleigh non-support case has set a precedent. For the first time under the new state non-support law a husband has been jailed. He can get daytime release if he works, and return to jail at night. The Domestic Relations Court can collect so much of his salary earned in the day for payment to the person whom he is to support.

IF THE case goes to the State Supreme Court, it will be the first time the court has been called upon to decide, or interpret, the new law which was passed during the last session of the legislature.

TARHEEL BEAT

Journal & Guide p8 Norfolk, Va. Sat, 11-23-57

Old South Shocked By Student Racial Measure

By CARL E. DeVANE

RALEIGH, N. C.—A clear example of the old South vs. the new took place at the session of the Student Legislature held here recently. Among the many resolutions passed by this mock legislature was one calling for a repeal of Article XIV, Section 8 of N. C. Constitution prohibiting interracial marriage. The measure passed the lower house by a large margin, and was also passed in the senate but by a smaller vote. This resolution was introduced by delegates from the Women's College of Duke University. Congressman Harold Cooley of the Fourth Congressional District spoke before the assembly at its closing session on the very day the headlines were revealing the student anti-miscegenation repeal resolution. Mr. Cooley took time out from his prepared speech to reprimand the students by telling them he was shocked by some of the measures they had passed. He also accused the students of arousing the shameful sensibilities of "their" people. Governor Hodges, in his recent press conference, scolded the leaders of the Student Legislature for being reckless and careless, plus being irresponsible leaders.

DeVANE

THE PRESIDENT of the student body of the University of North Carolina, who is also a leader in this mock session, was critical of the way the press handled the interracial resolution of the students. He said the press had missed the point in that the resolution only concerned the matter of freedom of choice of people in matrimony. This student leader also said the students had discussed and passed many measures worthy of note by their elders, but had passed over them trying to analyze something they could not understand unless they had a copy of the resolution, and had heard the debates on the proposal.

A second student leader at the North Carolina State College in Raleigh held a press conference on the matter and explained what was behind the measure and also took the press to task for bad reporting of the activities in the first instance. He further stated that the students debated the measure with concern and calmness. His concluding remark was that if only the adults could get together as the young people and iron out difficulties without screaming headlines and animosity, the whole southern situation would be better.

ANOTHER STUDENT resolution which also caused some controversial reporting dealt with the legalization of prostitution. This measure was killed in both houses by overwhelming majorities.

A former dean of the School of Education at the University of North Carolina told the state's white principals at their annual meeting in Asheville that the South is in the throes of prejudice and fear and these two things were threatening the very existence of the region and the individual. This gentleman is Guy B. Phillips who is now a member of the State Board of Education. Things are pretty bad in the state, but one is surprised at an educator making such a statement. He did not talk like this until he got this political appointment. Perhaps if Dr. Phillips were younger he could discover some people who are working hard to solve problems, not using exciting words to further frighten some already nearly "scared" to death individuals of both groups.

SOME CHARGES were made at a hearing recently before the National Labor Relations Board in Washington which could be damaging to the new Westinghouse meter plant on the outskirts of the Capital City. The International Union of Electrical Workers accused management of circulating a picture of electrical union head dancing with a colored woman on the eve of an election to determine whether or not the shop would be unionized. The union was defeated in the election.

31a 1957

First Colored Graduate From Integrated School

Journal + Guide P. 8
Sat. 7-6-57
Norfolk, Va.

By CARL E. DeVANE

RALEIGH — The integrated high school in Raleigh, Catholic Cathedral Latin High—has graduated this year, its first colored pupil. The honor goes to Betty L. Hinton. Several others who started out with Miss Hinton three years ago transferred to Ligon, the colored public high school.

DeVANE

Miss Hinton won a first prize in an oratorical contest while she was in her first year in high school. She claims no incidents of a 'racial' nature happened to her during her high school career at Cathedral. Her plans now are to continue her education at St. Augustine's College in Raleigh, an Episcopal school.

A few "things" to come can be seen in public school official action in places where colored people have asked for reassignment to the nearer public school. Some of the board officials in Charlotte, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem have been in a two-day semi-secret session recently, along with their lawyers.

* * *

THEY SAY the reason is to plan to take uniform action in whatever they do about the pending applications before them. If school operation is a matter of local option now, then what does Greensboro have to offer Charlotte and Winston-Salem? Also, the school assignment law is very simple in what it says. If the school officials in these towns meant to do the right thing, they would not meet in semi-secret sessions with lawyers.

Greensboro's Golf

Greensboro has also made the news in that the golf course there has shut down suddenly rather than submit to the ruling of Judge Hayes that they admit colored golfers. The club house was damaged by fire Sunday night. Incidentally, Judge Hayes has resigned as the presiding judge of the Middle Federal District Court. He will remain available though for special assignments.

* * *

THE GOLF course decision was Judge Hayes' first and only decision ordering integration. He ruled against integration in cases involving the University of North Carolina, only to be reversed by higher federal tribunals.

The final item from Greensboro is the harassment and annoyance to Dr. Gist, a colored teacher in Greensboro, who sought swimming pool privileges at a public pool. So far she has not received any bodily harm—just threats.

Flags Lowered

Currently flags in the state capitol are flying half way in honor of former Governor R. Gregg Cherry, who has passed. Perhaps the minority group in the state remembers him for not allowing the North Carolina delegation to walk out of the 1948 Democratic Convention along with Mississippi over Truman's civil rights proposals.

* * *

HE ALSO called out the state patrol in an emergency which perhaps avoided a lynching in the latter 40's in the "Buddy" Bush case. He further exhausted his administrative remedies as governor in trying to get a bill of indictment against the men charged with breaking into a county jail and abducting Bush. Cherry was also cool to Thurman the Dixiecrat candidate for President in 1948.

In fact, he did not attend the Dixiecrat rally in the Wake County Courthouse, nor did he extend the courtesies of a visit to the mansion to Thurman while the latter was in town on his presidential speaking tour. Thurman at the time he was seeking this third party bid to the White House, was governor of South Carolina.

Methodists Act

N. C. white Methodist in New Bern passed a resolution approving the abolition of the Central Colored Jurisdiction in eastern Carolina and allowing the colored congregations, by a two-thirds vote, to join the remaining jurisdiction. A few of the delegates voted against the resolution. As usual their complaint was that church integration meant mixing of the races.

* * *

THIS CHURCH group adopted another resolution commending a Baptist minister, Rev. Mr. Primm of Raleigh, who led the way in exposing the "free" liquor racket of the whiskey lobby involving about a third of our legislators.

Solicitor Chalmers in Raleigh claims he has completed his investigation in the "Free Liquor" episode and will bring in a few indictments for grand jury study real soon.

Special Visit

One of the aftermaths of the recent Governors' Conference in Williamsburg, Va., will be a special visit the state chief executives from 10 states will make to eastern Carolina. All of them are from "Yankee-land". Five are Democrats and five Republicans.

A PREVIEW indicates the men will swim, sunbake and fish. They are also supposed to take in The Lost Colony. Hope this is not a sly way to pick up some anti-integration sympathy in the North.

Review Of '57 Assembly; The Governor's Regret

Journal + Guide P. 8
Norfolk, Va.
Sat. 6-22-57

By CARL E. DeVANE

RALEIGH—The 1957 General Assembly of our state is now history. Measures which had direct bearing on the state's larger minority group were as follows: (1) A teacher pay raise of 15 percent, with a possible 1.9 added to this. (2) Legislation to surb NAACP activity was killed in the Senate even though it passed the House. The vote in the Senate was 14 for the anti-NAACP measure and 26 against. Those for the proposals were Aydlett from Elizabeth City, 1st District; Copeland, Murfreesboro, 1st District; Crew, Roanoke Rapids, 4th District; Dawson, Kinston, 7th District; Jolly, Louisburg, 6th District; Martin, Rich Square, 3rd District; McBee, Bakersville, 30th District; McMichael, Reidsville, 15th District; Poyner, Raleigh, 13th District; Rowe, Burgaw, 9th District; Rutledge, Kannapolis, 21st District; Shelton, Speed, 4th District; Thomas, Raeford, 12th District, and Whitmire, Hendersonville, 32nd District.

DeVANE

THE GOVERNOR expressed deep regret that the anti-NAACP bills were not passed. He stated that they were good bills and should have been passed. It might be interesting to note that most of the senators who voted for the measures, except Poyner from Raleigh, come from senatorial districts where there are a few colored people registered.

The best speech in the House against the NAACP curbing measures was made by Representative Womble from Forsyth. The best one against the same measure in the Senate was by Senator J. Spencer Bell from Mecklenburg. Bell said among other things that he had checked with the Attorney General's office who drafted the bills and was informed that he would not bet a nickle on them if and when they ever got into federal court.

Chance For Reform

Prison separation from the highway department could mean a lot to prison reform if the work is now taken out of politics and if some good merit system method is used to select personnel. Too often when a person in the majority group fails at everything else he goes and gets a job supervising prisoners.

Some of them then compensate for failure by being cruel to prisoners, especially colored prisoners.

Same Assignments

No school board in the state, town, city, or county, has broken down segregated assignments of pupils to public schools. Each one meets and decides to operate in 1957 the same as they did in 1956. Some over 30 students in Charlotte have requested reassignment on an integrated basis. Greensboro has a few and Raleigh has one.

College Integration

West Carolina Teachers College, formerly for whites, has just admitted its first colored student. A Charlotte speech specialist in this city's public schools has been admitted to do further work in her field.

* * *

THIS LEAVES only East Carolina at Greenville; Elizabeth City Teachers, Fayetteville Teachers, Winston-Salem Teachers, and North Carolina College at Durham, as public colleges which have not as yet broken the ice. A. and T. at Greensboro has admitted its first non-colored student. He is supposed to matriculate there in the summer session which opens shortly.

Nearer, Not 'White'

One interesting thing about the press and radio handling of these reassignment proposals so far in the state is that there is a continuous insistence to say that these parents and children are applying to enter 'white' schools, when all the cases in North Carolina so far have been to request an assignment for the child to attend the nearer school.

In Raleigh, for instance, three schools are three miles closer than the one to which the colored child is presently assigned.

Three Named To North Carolina Commissions

Journal + Guide P. 8
Sat 7-13-57

By CARL E. DeVANE

Raleigh, N.C.

RALEIGH, N. C. — The appointments of minority members to governing agencies by our governor has reached a total of three: Dr. Trigg on the State School Board; W. J. Kennedy, of N. C. Mutual, on the State Board of Higher Education; and, the recent appointment of Dr. Murry Davis, physician, of High Point, to the State Prisons Board. The problems of minorities in the state have no area which is more in need of improvement and adjustment than our prison's system. Even though colored constitute only around 22 per cent of our population, they constitute five-eighths per cent of the prison population. Most of the people on death row are colored men.

DeVANE

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THERE IS MORE than just penology involved though in this question. The whole field of social jurisprudence is involved. Our problem is not just the treatment of the colored people after they are tried and convicted, but under what condition do they live to produce crime?

What chances are there for adequate defense? Who are the witnesses? Will the trial as a whole follow the law, or will it follow the unwritten law of "white supremacy"?

* * *

A SPECIFIC case at point is the one in Raleigh recently involving an interracial morals case between a colored girl fifteen years old and two white men above twenty-one. The case was tried in Raleigh Domestic Relations Court. The men were set free. The girl is now in a detention home waiting for a vacancy in the colored girls state reform school.

Temptation

The court ruled that the girl was the aggressor and had contributed to the temptations of the men. And, that she was the one primarily responsible for the incident.

* * *

SINCE WHEN under N. C. law has the intent of a minor been made the basis on which a case of a criminal nature would be decided? The point, though, is if one reads the criminal statistics of persons in prisons, he will only see the record of the girl who was colored. He would not see the record of the two white boys even though in the truest sense of the meaning of criminology they are present.

One cannot get a true picture of criminology in our state by reading the prison statistics. These data have little to do with those who have broken the law. And, they don't give an accurate picture of the gross miscarriage of justice under jim-crow verdicts and judgments.

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GREENSBORO has been asked to desegregate its swimming pools and public libraries in a petition filed by the Greensboro Chapter of the NAACP. The petition stated that no white person had been denied the use of public facilities in colored neighborhoods.

* * *

THE GREENSBORO Gillespie Golf Course case had favorable rulings by two courts. The Circuit court ruled that the federal district court was correct in issuing an injunction preventing the course from keeping Negroes from playing golf. The N. C. Supreme Court ruled that the Negroes who had been tried for trespass when they played on the course, had been illegally convicted because the warrants were improperly amended by the state when the case was before the Guilford County Superior Court.

* * *

THE STATE BOARD of Conservation and Development on July 3 passed a resolution which was unanimously approved when it was adopted that any attempt to integrate the use of state parks would result in the closing of them.

Policy Of Past

The report on which the resolution was based stated that the present operation of the parks on an agreement of "voluntary" separation was satisfactory. It also said that this past policy was one which was for the best interest of harmony and good will. It further stated that park facilities might be closed to the public, if the public was forced to operate the parks in a manner unacceptable to public policy.

* * *

THE RESOLUTION and findings of the Park Committee of the Department of Conservation and development are both tragic. Some people would not care too much if the parks were closed for they don't get to fully enjoy them anyway.

If closing the park is the price one has to pay to be first class, then N. C. will one day be without public parks. Of course, the resolution was attempted to scare someone. There are some people in our state who are not quite as prejudiced as the Board would represent to the public.

* * *

THE BOARD is only hiding behind the "phantom public" to try to cover up their own feelings. Time will tell whether public parks in this state can be integrated, not a few old fashioned board members

If White Parents Win Suit, Pupil Scheme Dead

Journal + Guide P. 8
Sat 7-27-57
Norfolk, Va.

By CARL E. DeVANE

RALEIGH — Some question has been raised as to whether the school suit by white parents in Whitaker is one against the school assignment law, or one against an illegal administrative use of the law. Regardless of the technicality involved, a decision in favor of the parents might also invalidate the assignment law.

DeVANE

Up in McDowell county, what is equivalent to a new suit has been started in the original "Old Forte Case". Lawyers for the children have had each child to fill out forms asking to be assigned to the nearer school. If they could be admitted in the one to which the applications refer, they could attend school only a few blocks away from home. Whereas now, in order for them to attend a 'colored' school, they have to ride around fifteen miles over mountain roads during the winter months.

Greensboro Cases

Greensboro, perhaps has the more comprehensive attack on segregation. They have already gotten a ruling in favor of using a public golf course. The course is now temporarily closed down.

Greensboro has also recently opened its public libraries to all people. The city authorities, however, did not open up the public swimming pools. Greensboro also has some colored children whose parents are seeking admission to nearer schools.

Durham Cases

Durham is attacking segregation on public tennis courts and segregated seating in an ice cream parlor. The parlor case was tried in local courts in Durham where the colored defendants were convicted and fined. Those convicted appealed to higher courts.

* * *

THIS CASE is very interesting It may be the beginning of attacks on jim crow in such areas as restaurants, cafes and hotels.

East Of Raleigh

With the exception of testing policies of voting discrimination, very litlte has been done by colored people in the field of civil rights improvement east of Raleigh. It might be, though, the most recent application of four colored people to use the city library of Smithfield may start something else in the eastern part of the state.

* * *

THE COUNTY library allows colored people to use it, but the city unit does not. If colored people would like to get something out of the city unit, they have to go to the cunty unit and ask personnel there to borrow what they want from the city library.

The city unit was built by the WPA and the salaries are paid to its workers by the city taxes. The colored people of the area tried some fifteen years ago to get into the city unit, but the town council not only refused the request, but adopted a resolution setting up a formal policy of keeping colored people out of the city library.

Ministers Exchange

A colored minister of Charlotte, the Rev. E. R. Michael, will exchange his pulpit and home with a white Canadian minister. The idea was initiated by the Rev. Wilson Bridge, of Quebec, Canada, in the town of Lachute. Each minister will take his family with him. Rev. Mr. Michael has two daughters.

Eye Brows Raised

A few eyebrows have been raised over the remarks made by the junior senator from N. C. relative to pending civil rights legislation. Senator Scott made one admission which exposed his politics. He said he could not get elected unless he took the "southern" position. He also asserted that he wanted to come back to the Senate.

* * *

THE PENDING legislation really exposed Mr. Scott. He admits he is an opportunist. He had rather be senator than to be right. One amusing thing the Senator said was that the proponents of the civil rights bill were merely acting under the pressure of political expediency.

Yet, he had already admitted that if he did not act according to southern political expediency and oppose the measure, he could not get reelected.

* * *

SCOTT THEN went on to talk about how the white and colored people had lived "in friendship side by side in the South for generations." He pleaded to be left alone and not to be interferred with by modern day carpetbaggers.

Encouraging Words

Some encouraging remarks came from the Southern Unitarian Institute held at Blue Ridge on July 13. Mrs. Paul Douglass, wife of Senator Paul Douglass, told the session that the South could not be left alone in the solution of its problems so long as mililons were politically helpless.

* * *

SHE ALSO reminded the conference that the white man was a minority on this globe which is fast becoming one world and that he had to grant equity to the colored majority some place along the line. Mrs. Douglass was very critical of the way southern jury systems work and raised the question as to whether colored people could get justice out of the average all-white juries in this section.

Judgeship Open

Republican partisans have just received word from Washington that the federal judgeship vacancy in the N. C. Middle District will not be filled real soon. Attorney Kyle Hayes, nephew of the retiring Johnson J. Hayes, has been recommended to the President by Republican Party leaders in the Tarheel State.

Surprise! White Parents Attack Placement Plan

Journal + Guide 7/8
Norfolk, Va.

By CARL E. DeVANE

RALEIGH—To the Suprise of many capitol square observers, one of the biggest test cases against the N. C. Pupil Assignment Law has been filed by white parents involving the assignment of white pupils. The parents are also taking advantage of the 14th amendment to the U. S. Constitution in their argument. The local school authorities in Edgecombe County have arbitrarily taken about two dozen children out of a school at Whitakers and have assigned them about 13 miles away in a another school called Leggett. The parents also claim that most children in the respective sections of Nash and Edgecombe Counties have a choice of school attendance, and that no other 'white' children are assigned to school against their will in these areas.

DeVANE

* * *

THE SCHOOL board claims that a number of children had moved from the Leggett school area and the assignments were made in good faith so the children under question could have a better chance in a school less crowded than the school in Whitakers.

"Holt" Case

August 6 promises to be a very important date on the public school activities of the capitol city. The Raleigh school board has decided to make a ruling in the "Holt" case at its August meeting, whether all the members are present or not.

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SOME TWO years ago this board adopted a rule that they would not discuss 'racial' matters unless the full seven members were present. And, at a number of sessions consideration on the transfer was tabled for the lack of a "quorum."

The lone colored member on the board tried to get the school administrative unit to consider the application in a special meeting on July 16. However, a substitute motion carried which stated that the matted could be taken up at the regular August meeting. It was also stated in the motion that all members of the board should be notified of her regular meeting and told before hand that one of the matters to be taken up at the meeing would be the Holt Transfer Case.

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TWO OF THE members, white, requested that the Holts be asked to attend the meeting. Each stated that he wanted to see the boy and talk to the parents before making a decision one way or another. Both the daily papers in the capitol city have written editorials on the Holt Case.

The News and Observer wrote that if the boy was not transferred, under the circumstances, the only interpretation would be that he was not changed because of 'race'. The paper also said that he should be granted the wish of his parents, its legal, the boy was intelligent, no one would harm him, and the current suspence would be lessened.

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THE AFTERNOON paper, the Raleigh Times, said, editorially that the board should consider the application in a calm, deliberate, legal manner. It also stated that people of the city were obligated to receive the decision of the board without clamor, whatever it might be.

Other Cases

The Chapel Hill Board has already announced that its lone applicant would not be considered favorably this school term. None of the other places have made decisions yet. Bryson City Board is working on the colored applicants there. One board member has hinted that he might vote to transfer the colored children to the here-to-fore 'white' school. These colored children have to travel 45 miles per day to get to the colored school they have attended. The one in Bryson City is just a few blocks away. The three alternatives to admit them 455 miles daily (of pay their board in the town where they have been attending a 'colored' school.

2 Crosses Burned

Two croses have been burned in the state on or near property owned by colored people. In Hobgood, a colored family who has been living for years in a 'white' neighborhood unmolested, has now been disturbed by a cross buring.

* * *

A SECOND case involves a church in Franklin County where a white minister from Virginia came to help dedicate. The Church is located on a main highway and the parade down to the church held up traffic. The Sheriff arrested the minister and in his trial later he was fined over twenty dollars for violating some type of law.

A few years ago the ancient "goat" man of Georgia blocked for days one of the main highways through the state. The patrol watched him an tried to guide traffic around him. But, the main argument was that there was no law under which he could be handled.

* * *

WONDER WHAT law this visitor from Virginia was tried and convicted under? Certainly the goat man with his herds up and down the main roads of the state did more harm and was more a hazard than this minister.

Bootleg King

Two of the whiskey lobbyist of the state have been indicted for illegal conduct in giving 1957 legislators free liquor. Recent data from authoritative sources show that our state leads the rest in the manufacture of illegal whiskey. As we go to press, the headlines are airing the federal men exposing the empire of what the papers have called the 'king' of all bootleggers in the Unied States, right down her in Johnson County N. C.

Denial Of Voting Rights Again In N. C. Spotlight

Journal & Guide p. 8
Norfolk, Va. Sept. 13-57
31a

By CARL E. DeVANE

RALEIGH, N. C.—The franchise is something in the news at present, especially as it pertains to colored people in our state. One case is now pending before the courts, contesting the literacy test for voters. The case originated in Halifax County. There is no known record of any white person being turned down by the accused registrar because of not being able to read and write sections of the constitution of the state. There is an age-old complaint amongst the colored people in Halifax County to the effect that registrars abuse their discretion and pull all kinds of tricks on the "reading" requirements to keep colored people from getting on the books.

De Vane

* * *

SINCE THE CASE of the constitutionality has been raised, a bill has been introduced in the legislature which will allow the aggrieved aspirant to appeal the registrar's denial decision to the local board of elections, and then to appeal the decision of the local board to superior court.

If the bill passes it would reduce the dictatorial policies of many current registrars. These proposals have the backing of the governor who stated in his last press conference that he felt they fitted into the "moderate" civil rights pattern of North Carolina.

Single Shot Vote-

Other problems of a civic nature is the anti-single-shot law which several counties and cities have adopted. The city of Wilson for instance has a colored member on its city council. He was elected under a ward system for two terms. The 1955 legislature changed the system to make candidates run at large and not from wards.

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THE LEGISLATION also made it possible to invalidate a ballot on which the voter does not vote for as many candidates as there are offices to be filled. Under this system, it will be very difficult to get a colored person to the Wilson city council. Now the colored candidate has to bid for votes in white neighborhoods, and he has to compete with white candidates in his own neighborhood, since the colored voter under the law is forced to vote for more than colored candidates.

AT ONE TIME there was some hope that a test case would be brought to question the constitutionality of a voting law which made a person vote for someone he does not want in order to vote for someone he does want.

One thing that might help in situations like the one in Wilson, (there are others by the way), would be to run as many colored candidates as there are positions to be filled and vote collectively for the colored candidates. One of them might pick up a few white votes and win.

* * *

SUCH A procedure would keep from stacking up colored votes against the colored single candidate in white neighborhoods which are still very reluctant to do anything else than vote for white candidates. Some few whites, however, in all elections will support a colored candidate whom they feel is qualified.

Another Problem

Another civic problem in eastern Carolina now is the hardships of those who try to help coolred people in distress. One white lawyer who tries to extend as much time as he can to coolred clients down in Warrenton is now facing disbarment charges. The charges against him were well known for a period of time.

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BUT, HE WAS not reprimanded until he decided to defend some Communists, and in the course of his defense, he stated that the people who in the South today were defying the rulings of the federal courts were just as dangerous as Communists and should be brought up for loyalty hearings, just like other alleged enemy of American traditions and institutions.

Lawyer J. R. Walker Jr., of Jackson, was jaiied In Northhampton County on assault charges lodged aganist him when he tried last May to get some colored people registered in the Seaboard Township.

* * *

HIS LOWER court conviction was allowed to stand on an appeal because of the lateness of his appeal to the state Supreme Court. Walker was fined $500 under his conviction of assault on the woman registrar. Lawyer Walker also has both state and federal cases on civil rights pending on voting allied rights.

Governor Names Trigg, Favors Wage Increase

Journal & Guide p. 8
Norfolk, Va.
Sept. 4-20-57

By CARL E. DeVANE

GOVERNOR HODGES has at least come up to the level of former Governor Scott in his appointment of Dr. H. L. Trigg to another term on the Board of Education. Mr. Hodges has also come out for a 15-per-cent pay raise for teachers and 11 per cent for other state employees. The governor further outlined a program which would assist in raising the revenue needed to meet the new figures suggested by the chief executive. Some of the ideas to raise revenue were as follows: (1) reshuffling old budget figures (2) floating a bond issue (3) and reforecasting the surplus expected to pile up by July 1. The governor also said that the revenue situation might possibly improve if business conditions continued to show progress.

De Vane

School Project

Goldsboro is being considered as a possible site to set up an experimental school project to teach retarded and slow learning children. Two classes will be set up with about 25 students in each. It is a good project. Since two classes are planned, perhaps there wil lbe one each for the two racial groups. Goldsboro schools are not integrated yet. So if this project is for whites only then the colored children will not get the benefit of direct experimentation.

TWO NEWSPAPERMEN on two different all-college assemblies had interesting messages for Shaw students during the past few days. Editor L. E. Austin, of the Carolina Times, told the students that colored college students should re-discover old frontiers and discover new ones. He pointed out the prosperous barber, building trades, laundries and other industrial trades colored people once had, but had not kept pace with time and lost these to competing white people.

He said he thought carelessness and developing bad habits was a large factor in why we lost out in these areas. Mr. Austin also pointed out new areas which colored people had never been in before. Situations where the best qualified man got the job not the colored or white man. He concluded with an appeal for colored people to realize the potential power in the ministry as one of the most potent areas for leadership and guidance for the group.

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THE SECOND assembly in this series featured A. M. Rivera, veteran newsman of Durham. Mr. Rivera was one of the crew who traveled with Vice President Nixon on the 19,000-mile tour as "good will ambassador" to Africa and Italy. His interpretations on his visits to Africa, especially to Ghana, were food for thought. He was of the opinion that Ghana would be more progressive in a shorter period of time than Liberia.

He was critical of the way the United States, the godmother of Liberia, had neglected Liberia until recently. He was also of the opinion that the Liberians showed a classic example of how to run a prosperous and successful country.

State Districts

The problem of apportioning the membership of the state legislature is a serious one. The state requires that apportionment should take place after each census. Former legislatures have not always lived up to the letter of the law which now means we are not apportioned in the legislature according to the population structure of the state.

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PLANS ARE being introduced recommending various types of changes. The problem is that the present arrangement has been in practice so long that the political machines have been set up traditionally according to

senatoral and representative districting.

Now, if some system of reapportionment is set up on a new set of districts, then political machines might be divided, and even forced to change their organizational structure. One can be sure the partisan attitude will prevail for a long time yet to come on making these changes.

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ACTUALLY, a member in the general assembly working on re-apportionment may be sitting in judgment against himself. He might be ruling out the area he currently represents and when he seeks reelection he might have to run in an entirely new area since there is a possibility that the old one could be done away with.

Important Date

April 19 will be a big day in our state for on this date a three-judge Federal court will convene in Raleigh to test the literacy clause in our general statutes (GS) 163-28, of the state which states that a registrar can ack a prospective voter to "Read and write" any section of the constitution to his "satisfaction" before he is registered.

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EVER SINCE the law has been on the books registrars have used it to disqualify the colored and register only the whites.

A decision against this literacy test might result in legislation on this matter in the current legislature.

Ambassador To Ghana Not An Easy Selection

Journal + Guide P. 8
Sat. 5-18-57 31a
Norfolk, Va.

By CARL E. DeVANE

RALEIGH, N. C.—A career diplomat, Wilson C. Flake, of Polkton, N. C., has been chosen the first U. S. Ambassador to the new

De Vane

African Republic Ghana. A short while after Ghana got its independence Prime Minister Nkrumah stated that he hoped that a white man would be appointed from this country as ambassador to his. One of the colored reporters who went to the independence celebration and who stands in good stead with the Eisenhower administration, stated publicly in an address about his trip that after a diligent search, the present administration could not find a colored American qualified to be the chief diplomatic agent to fill this post.

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SO, MAYBE Mr. Flake is the white answer. With all the good wishes that go along with a fellow Tarheel in his new assignment, there is also some inventory which should be taken.

Prime Minister Nkrumah may have been right that any white diplomatic agent from the United States would serve better as ambassador to Ghana than any colored American. If this is true then we need to stop bragging about how much progress we have made. If he is wrong then we should over look it and blame his surmising on his lack of knowledge of our qualifications.

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IF THE PRESENT administration could not find, out of sixteen million colored people, one who could serve as well as Mr. Blake, then we should get busy and train in a hurry colored people who could be the right type of foreign agent for this country anywhere.

If the present administration is wrong, if it did not search diligently enough, then those close to the policy-makers in current Washington should call this matter to their attention. This column is sure that most of us in North Carolina have more confidence in Mr. Nkrumah as the executive leader of his country, than he has in us as ambassadors from our country to his.

Home Problems

Perhaps our greatest concern should be with problems right here in our state anyway. For instance, nine members of our lower house in the General Assembly have introduced legislation aimed at throttling down the NAACP. This legislation is not approved directly by the governor, but he has already stated that similar legislation is needed.

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THE BILL was introduced by Representative Satterfield of Person county. Under its provisions, corporations working to facilitate sufferage rights, promote employment, improve the administration of justice and promote other projects on the basis of race, color or creed would have to file a membership list with proper authorities as well as have finance books available at any time for governmental inspection purposes.

This bill would further make any foreign corporation stop activity in the state if it did not comply with the satutes. Satterfield stated that he was always in favor of such organizations letting the public know what they were doing.

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ON THE OTHER hand the Satterfield proposal did not say that, if any organization was out to promote non-compliance with the U. S. Courts in the field of improved human relations, it would be subject to registration and other types of legislative controls.

Raleigh's Question Mark; State-Wide Progress Seen

Journal + Guide P. 8
Sat. 8-3-57 31a
Norfolk, Va.

By CARL E. DeVANE

RALEIGH, N. C. — A big question mark is hanging over Raleigh at present as to whether the lone application for transfer to the nearer school by one Joseph H. Holt, Jr., will be approved by the local school board. The question is even more interesting since the Raleigh unit of the N. C. Patriots—a pro-segregation organization — has filed opposition complaints with the school board and the Holt family. The Holt family has also received a few threatening phone call. No name has been associated with the calls and the letter from the Patriots was not signed. Some local people were contacted my the press because of their previous association with the Patriots.

DeVANE

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ALL OF THEM denied any connections with the Patriots at present and stated that to their knowledge no active Patriots organization existed in Raleigh. Some local people were surprised to learn that Atty. J. H. P. Bailey, a son of the late U. S. Senator Josiah W. Bailey, was an admitted affiliate of the Patriots. The younger Bailey was for one time a member of the N. C. State Senate.

One interesting side light of the Holt case is the encouragement and consolation given by some liberal members of the majority group. This group is composed of ministers and lay people. In fact, as we go to press, more white than colored ministers have paid personal visits to the Holts to lend them moral support. Another white family has offered them a place of refuge if the Patriots do carry out the threats of damage to the Holt home.

State-Wide Progress

The pattern of desegregation is not wholly uniform in the state. In Smithfield a beginning has been made in a public library. In Durham, the writer has not been able to discover any school transfer applications, but the Durhamites are making progress in getting tennis court barriers broken down. Charlotte is concentrating on public schools, so is Winston-Salem. Greensboro is working across the board on just about everything even on swimming pools.

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IN SOME of the eastern counties the quest for the ballot is the top item. In Wilson segregated seating in the ball parks is under question. Out west, at Old Forte and Bryson City, both places are pressing for desegregated school assignments.

Colored Jury

An all - colored coroner's jury was selected in Wake County recently to hold an inquest in a colored homicide case. The local press reported it as the first recorded all-colored jury in the history of Wake County. Maybe this initial effort will lead to integrated selection of all types of jurors in the county.

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SO FAR, ONLY one state official has commented on the decision to integrate in some degree by the Greensboro, Winston-Salem and Charlotte school boards. Dr. Carroll was quoted in the press as having said that the local boards concerned evidently followed both the state and federal laws in the subject and came up with an answer which to them was largely justifiable and morally correct.

One foot note that perhaps should be added to the school question is that not enough colored parents applied for transfer. It is a simple matter to judge the distance of one school over against the other, and to follow the school rules to ask assignment to the nearer school. Another year should see a thousand such requests instead of around 125 evidenced this school year.

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HOT WEATHER and bank robberies seem to go hand in hand in the state. Three robberies have occurred on banks in North Carolina during the past summer. None of the banks was operated by colored people and none of the thieves was colored. General top criminal statistics for the past few days have been in the area of homicide, bank robberies and illegal manufacture of liquor.

Speculation On Carolina's Problems Of Integration

Journal & Guide Norfolk, Va. Sat. 3-23-57 P. 7

By CARL E. DeVANE

RALEIGH, N. C.—A lot of speculation on what one might expect in 1957 is a result of a statement by the Governor that school segregation matters are entirely in the hands of officials in local communities. Reed Sarratt, executive editor of the Winston - Salem Journal and Sentinel wrote the chief executive of the state about the matter and got the answer from him. Of course there is more to the answer than was included in the letter from the governor. For one thing fiscal policy is still made and administered by the State. Textbook policy is set by the State. Accounting procedures are set up by the State. Hiring and firing policies are still based on the change of contract law enacted by the last meeting of the regular session of the legislature.

DeVane

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THERE IS also the unwritten standpat policy which can be handed down through political circles. However, 1957 may be a year of a showdown on the matter of integration in North Carolina public schools. There is a case from Montgomery county, another from Caswell county, plus one from McDowell county pending before the courts.

A case is on the way to court from Bryson City. One may be also on the way to court from the capital city. Some one or two families living in a community surrounded by many whites have asked that their children go to the nearer schools instead of being transferred across town to another school. Parents in Southport, down on the Atlantic Coast, have a suit if the 'colored' school is not improved in comparison to the local 'white' school.

People And "Races"

To show how the younger generation feels about people instead of 'races', one should have been on hand to witness the Calhoun-Shankle (Olympic stars) reception in Durham recently. Calhoun was a first-place hurdles winner in the Olympics and a student at N. C. College at Durham. Shankle was a third-place winner and a former student at Duke University. The Bull City and Durham county had a day of celebration jointly for these two stars.

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THE DURHAM Chamber of Commerce was the moving finger behind the scene of the ceremonies. There was a parade down through the heart of the town of Durham in which the two athletes rode side by side in a convertible.

Both received keys to the city from the Mayor. The Durham Business and Professional Chain was responsible for the long-range planning for the affair. The president of N. C. College and student representatives took part in the affair.

Principal Resigns

Dr. W. H. Watson, principal of the J. W. Ligon Junior-Senior School in Raleigh, has tendered his resignation to local school authorities. He has already been offered employment at another large high school in Gary, Ind.

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THE EFFECTIVE date of the resignation has not been announced yet since no replacement has been designated for Dr. Watson. However, the chances are that an acting principal will be appointed to serve before a new one is appointed since the position for Dr. Watson out in Indiana is vacant and needs immediate replacement.

Dr. Watson's resignation is the second loss from the Ligon School to integrated systems outside the South. A science teacher left in the fall to take work in the New York State public school system. The fuss over integration in the South with expanding opportunities in areas outside the South will cause some increasing displacements in southern school systems.

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IF WE DON'T mind, the southern schools will become training institutions for the better schools in the North and East. The southern colleges are also losing good teachers to such institutions outside the southern region. The quicker the integration matter is settled the better it is going to be for the whole educational picture.

Unique Opportunity For Department Of Prisons

Journal and Guide Norfolk, Va. Sat. 3-23-57 P. 8

By CARL E. DeVANE

RALEIGH, N. C.—The state legislature has passed one bill and a second has been introduced which might have some special interest to the colored population of our state. There has been a separation of Highway and Prisons Departments. Since the Prisons Department was a sub-division of the highway unit, it was always subject to the political activities of which the Highway area was constantly a part. Now that there is separation, maybe the professional prison director, will stay clear of partisan politics and promote a program of rehabilitation. Of course the highway department heads are not behind the new change. They want all the political appointment jobs available and all the available areas to let contracts for the state.

De Vane

This, in the past, has caused the Highway Department to be the biggest political department on the Governor's staff. If the independent prison unit is handled right, then perhaps the treatment of prisoners will improve, it might allow for the employment of more colored people to deal with the prisoners.

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SINCE COLORED people constitute nearly five-eighths percent of the prison population, there is all the more reason that more of the citizenry of color should be employed in penal work.

Weekends Off

A second bill now would allow a person serving his first offense to come home on weekends and holidays until the completion of the sentence. The trial judges would use his discretion as to what persons sentenced would enjoy the weekend and holiday privileges. The passage of this bill might help keep some families together which very often break up now when one of the parents has to serve a prison sentence.

CONGRESSMAN C. B. Deane, who was defeated for re-election because he would not sign the Southern Manifesto, has been featured in the headlines again. Mr. Deane has been recording secretary for the Baptist State Convention for 25 years. At the recent state convention he told the assembly, among other things, that "before we can hope to solve the problems of our Southland, we are going to have to begin to live what we preach in our Baptist Churches."

America's Role

Mr. Deane further stated that the United States cannot hope to shape the destiny of Africa or Asia, or the Southland, until real democracy becomes alive here at home. Mr. Deane told the Baptist missionaries that Africans particularly felt that they had been fooled by them.

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HE SAID Africans see a Bible under missionary arms, but deep in the heart of the natives were memories of exploitation by people from the West. His conclusion was that westerners were only too interested in material gains in the East and Africa and not a genuine devotion to people.

Deane's final words on Communism were that its leaders had gained a quarter of the world's population with ideas, not guns and economic exploitation.

The South's Danger

The Founder's Day speaker at East Carolina Teachers College sounded some philosophical notes on the school situation in the South. One thing he said that a danger we faced was that we would lose academic freedom trying to suppress free discussion on all issues involved.

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HE FURTHER stated that he was not as much interested in how we adjusted to the Court's ruling on public school

re-organization as he was in what each child was taught, how he was taught, and to what extent he could explore all the facts and seek the truth under professional guidance.

The American Friends Service Committee, with regional offices now in High Point, is planning a meeting about the middle of March to study material and methods on how to bring the experiences and training of college youth in the state into closer contact.

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SOME thirty-odd teachers from various colleges have been invited to attend a meeting in Chapel Hill sponsored by the Friends' College Program Committee to work on program content and methods of putting the program over.

Actress Katharine Cornell, on the entertainment public: "We underestimate the public constantly. No doubt there are many people who don't want to hear anything serious at all —people who are too tired, or who don't want to think. But the very fact that they are tired shows they have been using their minds and are intelligent."

Teachers Convention Has Flavor Of Integration

Journal & Guide Sat. 4-27-57
Norfolk, Va. P. 8 cols.

By CARL E. DeVANE

RALEIGH, N. C.—The North Carolina Teachers Association has just concluded its annual convention in Charlotte. The theme of the conference was "Education Moves Freedom Forward." Quite a bit of the information and conference agenda has a flavor of integration. Problems of integration were discussed along with technical matters of concern to all teachers. Academic areas were encouraged to join such professional organizations as the National Educational Association since on the national level such organizations operated on an integrated basis.

De Vane

Two speeches were given at the conference which revealed important information about the impact of integration on colleges which were directed by colored personnel and attended solely by colored. The talks were given by Dr. W. J. L. Wallace, president West Virginia State College.

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IN A SESSION on higher education President Wallace gave a survey of how his college came from one of a constantly lowering of enrollment to danger of extinction, to one now, under integration, which could claim its largest enrollment. In approximately three years its non-white student personnel excedes its colored student enrollment.

Mr. Wallace also pointed out the many advantages of what had happened at his college. One thing he said was that integration raised generally the academic standard of his college as well as causing class discussions to be more enriching. He said perhaps the presence of students of the opposite group cause some of his colored teachers to push themselves forward a little faster.

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HIS FINAL point was that he felt the success of integration at the college so far was due to the cooperation of all connected with the school who knew the experiment could be a success with some hard work on the part of each person connected with the school. His closing points also stressed the fact that at least one A rated college managed by colored had weathered the storm. He admonished his listeners not to feel that he, or his colleagues, was boasting. But, his advice was that it could work and that in humility he was suggesting that his college disproved the theory that integration would not work.

Main Address

The annual main address of the association was also given by Dr. Wallace in the huge, yet beautiful, Municipal Auditorium of Charlotte. The main points in the speech of Mr. Wallace was that the United States had to de-segregate in order to save its own conscience as well as save itself and the free world from communism.

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HE INTIMATED that atom bombs could only bt used as weapons of defense, and not as a means of gaining control of the world. He said that world conquest now depended on the best ideals and ideas, not in books, not on statutes, but in practice everywhere in the United States.

Charlotte was nice host and showed us ultra modern public school construction and equipment. All of which made some mindful that such schools and equipment did not exist for people of color until some school suits were counselled by the NAACP. The next convention returns to Raleigh.

Duke Integration

The science and mathematics institute which is to be held at Duke University this summer will have three people of color in attendance. Two women in educational work in Asheville and a man teacher from Virginia.

The president of the university stated that the general admission policy was not changed; that the institute was sponsored by the federal government and that one of the conditions under which they had accepted it was to approve the students the government had selected. All three of the students will commute. They have not asked for campus quarters.

Park Segregation

Durham colored people have joined those in Wilson in questioning segregated seating in public baseball parks. Over 150 were turned away from the main gate when the Durham local league ball team had its first game of the season.

The city recreation department said it only leased the park and had nothing to do with the seating. The local operators of the ball club said they knew nothing of the incident.

Amherst Speaker

The North Carolina State College Faculty Seminar in Raleigh has started sending invitations to teachers in neighboring colleges for their faculty seminars sponsored by the School of General Studies. These seminars appear periodically and are centered around the humanities and social science. The speaker for the first one was Alfred Kazin of Amherst College. He is professor of American Studies at this New England College.

31a 1957

NEGRO (ALICE A. DUNNIGAN)

Calls Inaugural Parade 'A March Of Progress' In Human Relations

By ALICE A. DUNNIGAN

WASHINGTON. — (ANP) — The march of progress in human relations, as well as in scientific advancement, was demonstrated to the hilt in the colorful inaugural parade which marched before the President's reviewing stand, Jan. 21.

The two-and-a-half-hour march down Pennsylvania Avenue from the Capitol to the White House was distinguished by the absence of any "all-Negro" units. This gay panorama of American life included Negro citizens cleverly integrated into the overall scene of American activity.

E. Frederick Morrow, an aide to President Eisenhower, occupied a diplomatic car in the Executive section of the parade along with cabinet members, little cabinet members, and other top ranking officials of the White House staff.

Governor Walter Gordon of the Virgin Islands, and his party, held a prominent place in the section of governors, officially labeled "Parade of States." The colorful float of that section was occupied with a group of handsome, brown Virgin Islanders with their steel band.

The military section, which displayed every branch of service was completely integrated. This included the women's divisions, WAC, WAVES, and WAF.

Many Bands Integrated

The school bands from many states included Negro children. The last section of the parade which included the Eisenhower Bandwagon portrayed an integrated American life. The bandwagon was graced with both white and brown beauties wearing identical costumes. Their white dresses were figured with groups of three-red-letters spelling "Ike." They carried matching parasols and wore red shoes.

Only groups from the southern states were conspicuous by their all-white participation. This feature might be more easily overlooked when it was observed that many of the southern governors did not have the courtesy to stand in their convertibles as they passed the reviewing stand and properly salute the President of the United States.

Virginia Gov. Didn't Salute

Among those who refused to salute was Governor Stanley of Virginia, a leader in the anti-integration movement. This was noticeable because Chief Justice Earl Warren, who wrote the unanimous Supreme Court decision outlawing segregated schools, sat in the Presidential stand just back of Mr. Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon.

Oddly enough, a little black dog came trotting down the street alongside, and almost keeping time with the all-white school band from Virginia. This coincidence sent the photographers scurrying across the street for the unusual picture.

Governor Gordon got a warm wave of welcome from both Chief Justice Warren and his wife, old friends from California, as his convertible passed along.

There were several floats of brown and yellow people from the territories of the United States. These included people from Puerto Rico, Hawaii, Guam and Samola.

Washington INSIDE OUT

★ By Alice A. Dunnigan

"Eisenhower Entitled to a Bellyache!"

OFFICIAL Washington was all agog when news first circulated regarding President Eisenhower's upset stomach. Newsmen kept their eyes glued on the news "ticker" all day long. And some wisecracker remarked: "As the stock market zoomed downward, Nixon's anxiety zoomed upward."

But, seriously, Vice President Nixon appeared disturbed as he talked to newsmen about the President's condition. He seemed practically in tears as he buried his face in his hand and remarked: "When you and I have a cold or a stomach upset, it isn't news. But when the President has a cold or a stomach upset, it is a different matter."

But a clever Congressman viewed the matter with a bit of optimism when he quipped, "A man who has as many headaches as Ike is entitled to a bellyache once in a while."

Alice A. Dunnigan

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WHETHER THEY admit it or not, observers have just about conceded that Nixon is drawing nearer and nearer to the White House. Proving himself to be a shrewd politician, he's not missing a cobblestone in paving his own walkway to 1600 Pennsylvania Ave.

In two "shakes of a lamb's tail," Nixon has practically wiped out all criticism that has been heaped upon him regarding racial matters.

In two speeches made during the same week, the youthful Vice President challenged community leaders throughout the nation to "assume personal responsibility for removing the causes of racial prejudice. It is only through the willingness of public-spirited citizens in all walks of life . . . that we can assure the progress that eventually will make the American dream of equality of opportunity a reality for all of our citizens."

His plea to people of both races to take "moderate and constructive action" in this problem was first made in Asheville, N. C., and a few days later the same request was announced to an audience in Lansing, Mich.

Some feel that his North Carolina speech was a face-saving compromise to Rev. Martin Luther King's request to "come South, Mr. Vice President, and speak out for minority rights."

Washington INSIDE OUT

★ By Alice A. Dunnigan

Courier Sat. 6-29-57 Pittsburgh Pa.

Foot Race for Civil Rights . . .

"What's goin' on here?" asked an elderly tourist, rather peeved when a little "knot of folks" dashed by her in the Capitol corridor.

The foot-racers were in pursuit of that sacred document—the mighty Civil Rights Bill. The bruised and battered piece of legislation had just escaped successfully from those cruel warriors in the House of Representatives. And tucked away securely in a brown paper envelope, it was being carted across the Capitol by a courier from the House side to the Senate.

Close on the heels of the messenger trotted John Blue, director of the American Council on Human Rights; Frank Polhaus of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; John Gunther of the Americans for Democratic Action, and this columnist.

Alice A. Dunnigan

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Determined to See It Through . . .

These lobbyists and the newspaper gal, who had watched this bill from its conception, were determined to be in the Senate when it made its arrival. And sure enough, they had just taken their places in the respective galleries when in came the man with the bill. He was met at the entrance by a Senate doorkeeper where he was permitted to deliver the official House message.

The message was received and placed on the table while Florida's Senator Holland took the floor to contend that the body could not consider any legislation while it was in executive session.

A few other remarks were made by Russell of Georgia, and Hickenlooper of Iowa who described himself as being of the caliber of Pogo in the comic strip, and Capehart of Indiana whom Senator Wayne Morse has already characterized as a "pot of rancid ignorance." So, with some more small talk about eating lunch "and-so-forth" the upper legislative chamber proceeded with its regular business about an atomic energy treaty.

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Big Names Bear Red Smear . . .

Courier Sat. 6-29-57 Pittsburgh Pa.

The civil rights debate (in the House) invoked every possible ounce of viciousness which the opponents could summon. Like a drowning man grabbing for a straw, those Southern boys seized upon every big name they could reach, dragging it in the mire of disrespect.

Congressman Davis of Georgia attempted to put into the gutter of discreditation such prominent persons as Dr. F. D. Patterson, Ira DeA. Reid and Mrs. Charlotte H. Brown.

He claimed that the civil rights measure has the support of the Southern Regional Conference. Then he proceeded to name the directors of this organization, including the three mentioned above.

"Any organization that has such a long string of directors who have a long record of connection with subversive and front organizations in the House Committee on Un-American Activities, I say is not a respectable source of information for us to use when we are dealing with the bill before us," said the Georgian.

Paul Robeson, W.E.B. DuBois Are Enthused Over Soviet Russia's Scientific Discoveries

By Alice A. Dunnigan

Washington (ANP) — Both Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, prominent author and lecturer and Paul Robeson, famous concert artist, expressed great enthusiasm over Russia's great scientific discoveries.

The development of Sputnik and Mutnik only indicates that "Russia has better schools than we have in America and possibly better than any system in the world," proclaimed Dr. DuBois.

Intellectual Waste

He pointed out that America has suffered a "vast intellectual waste of human ability in the past 60 years by depriving Negroes of of equal educational advantages."

Robeson said Sputnik is not only a "Soviet achievement it is a contribution to all mankind." The launching of a satellite gives hope to us that there is a tremendous possibility of controlling our own environment. And most important is that it certainly lays the basis for any sane people of the world that "we must live in peace and share our cultures." Russia does not want war, he added. They want peace.

Courier 11-21-57

Richer Life

The launching of Sputnik I and II does not only mean that the Soviets have "conquered space but it provides a richer life for all people of the earth."

Realizing the struggles of colored people from which he came, Robeson emphasized that "Sputnik means that we can conquer proverty. We can release enerties of countless human beings. And so I congratulate the Soviet Union on its achievement and suggest that we in Democratic America should be able to live in peace and friendship and cultural exchange with the socialist world."

Guests of Soviet Embassy

Dr. and Mrs. DuBois and Mr. and Mrs. Robeson were in Washington as guests at the Soviet Embassy at its 40th Anniversary celebration of the Great October Revolution. Both Mrs. Robeson and Mrs. DuBois are well known authors.

Joining in the Sputnik conversation, Mrs. Robeson allowed that she had seen the satellite from her front window. "It reminded me that we are stepping out in a new area. Superman has come back."

Mrs. Robeson continued that she thinks this new scientific venture is wonderful. "If we are going to be afraid of the future — then shame on us."

Scientists Fascinated

She pointed out that scientists aren't frightened - they are fascinated. "Then what are the politicans afraid of?"

In addition to writing books, Mrs. Robeson is a newspaper reporter and a free lance writer. For the past three years she has been an accredited member of the United Nations Press corps. Among the papers she services is "The New World Review."

The Robesons never miss these annual parties. Usually their son and his family accompany them. But this year son, Pauly and his wife and their two youngsters, six-year-old David and four-year-old Susan stayed in New York where they could join the Soviet U. N. delegation party.

Other Attenders

Others attending the reception were George Murphy, Jr., and Mr. and Mrs. R. G. Steptoe.

From Embassy Row were Ambassador Anis of Sudan; the Ambassador of Morocco and Mme. Ben Aboud, the South African Ambassador, Wetzel du Plessis; Mr. and Mrs. Dinke, Consul of the Ethiopian Embassy, three members of the staff of Ghana Embassy and their wives. Librarian representation was conspicious by its absence.

The Wrong Way

DR. HENRY M. EDMONDS

Post-Herald 31a White

Looking back on my life I consider that many of the decisions that I made were wrong. Occasionally, however, one was right. When I was invited to join the Ku Klux Klan in the 20's when it was so strong, and said, no, I think I was right.

There was a reason for the Klan when it was first organized. There was real danger after the Civil War, with Lincoln gone, that the civilization of the South might be smothered forever, under the weight of such men as Thaddeus Stevens, federal occupation, the invasion of carpet-baggers, the fester of scalawags, millions of newly freed and untrained slaves.

It was in such an emergency that the Klan was organized. But very early it began to depart from its original plan and its legitimate program. My father ran away from school at 16, walked across the state of Virginia and enlisted under Stonewall Jackson in the second year of the war. After Appomattox he left Virginia and came to Alabama to join an uncle who had preceded him and was practicing medicine in Sumter County.

My father was a young veteran, but he had pretty definite ideas about hooded government. The Klan waited on him and invited him to go with them to punish an old white man who was mistreating his wife. My father said he would go with them to remonstrate with the accused as neighbors, but that he would carry no secret weapons and wear no disguise. They said:

"We may take you out."

He replied: "Any time, gentlemen. But I have two pistols and two shotguns. They are all loaded. You can take me if you come in sufficient numbers, but a good many of you will go with me."

That was the end of the incident. But it illustrates how a movement of that kind can get out of hand and take over all of government like the Nazi and Soviet secret police.

In 1921 Father Coyle of the Catholic Church was shot in Birmingham for marrying a girl named Stevenson to a Portuguese. I was at that time speaking in a downtown theatre on Sunday nights and advertised that occurrence as my subject.

Some of my friends were disturbed and were there spotted about in the audience and armed. Nothing happened and I was never threatened, but there were threats and actions as well. So I loaded a shotgun and kept it handy. No occasion for using it arose and I suppose that at this time my topmost cause for thanksgiving is just that.

The Klan is again active. At each resurgence it is weaker, but nevertheless disturbing. I am not bitter against the Klan or its individual members. But it is the wrong way and is slowly passing out of the picture.

Worthy Achievement

DR. HENRY M. EDMONDS

Post-Herald P.10 31a White

The hope of the Negro race is not in the achievement of social identity with the white race. Some years ago Life Magazine published pictures of white and colored people together in Harlem and Hugh Comer convinced Henry Luce, Life's publisher, that that was bad propaganda, erecting false ambitions. Mr. Luce then had a study made of the Negro's economic progress in the South and came out with an issue pointing in that direction. Very much more vital than the other.

There are other lines of achievement that deserve emphasis in the Negro's thought and in the education of his children. At this time, for example, he has taken over pugilism and occupies in the entertainment world a prominence far out of proportion to his numbers. The race is building a worthy hall of fame of its own, with such names already inscribed as Paul Lawrence Dunbar, Charles Weldon Johnson, Booker T. Washington, George Washington Carver, Roland Hayes, Marian Anderson, Ralph Bunche and others.

The Negro's history, too, deserves more than we have given it. Booker T. Washington wrote a book entitled "The Negro," in which he gave the race in its early African life the dignity of great cities and of high industrial achievement. The early slaves were brought to South America for their skill in working with metals.

And I have just read an article in the English-Speaking World of July this year tracing a Ghana Empire back to 300 A.D. Another African empire, the Mali, acquired a legendary glory. In 1324 its Mansa Musa made a pilgrimage to Mecca. His caravan consisted of 60,000 men and included a personal retinue of 12,000 slaves. His city of Timbuktu was a center of caravan trade of learning. Its scholars built the University of Sankore.

More important was the testimony of Ibn Battuta, a North African historian, who visited Mali in 1352. He wrote: "The Negroes have a greater abhorrence of injustice than any other people. There is complete security in their country."

The Slave Trade debased West Africa.

The author of the article was A. M. Taylor. One of his references is to Bovill's "Caravans of the Old Sahara."

Good Morning

DR. HENRY M. EDMONDS

Post-Herald 31a White

It takes time—time and patience and the education of events. Ghana has just been made free and given over to self-government. The prime minister only a week or so ago was in London with the other representatives of the Commonwealth nations.

Now hear this:

The Daily Mail of Aug. 27, commenting on the deportation of two men from Ghana without trial, says:

"The episode sets a melancholy precedent in a young, hopeful, parliamentary democracy."

Another conservative paper, The Daily Express, considers that Ghana is going the way of Burma and Indonesia and that justice and the rule of law will soon have vanished.

"Wherever the colonial powers have withdrawn, democracy has left with them."

Of course that statement covers only the few beginning years. We left the Philippines, Britain left India and Canada and the United States.

It is true, however, that one of the grave problems before nations, that have had colonial dependencies, is: "How soon and in what manner can we throw dependent peoples upon their own resources?"

It may be that that is the greatest failure in families: releasing children too soon from parental control or holding them too long. What do you think? You decide, are words too seldom used by parents in dealing with children. Children must learn to travel on their own. The questions are: How soon? How fast? How far?

SEEING and SAYING

World Birmingham Ala. P. 6 Wed. 10-6-57

BY WILLIAM A. FOWLKES
Managing Editor — Atlanta Daily World

Hooray For Alabama!

THEY'RE SEEING the light in Alabama! That good news!

Last Thursday an all-white male Birmingham jury found a Ku Klux Klansman guilty of sexually mutilating a Negro man. The triel judge, who termed the crime the "worst" he had seen during his law practice and court sentence, promptly sentenced the emasculator to the maximum of 20 years in prison.

Alabama(like most of the South, had been derelict in convicting and sending to prison white men for known and confessed crimes toward Negro men and women. This time proved different.

—o—

Wm. A. Fowlkes

THE CRUDE ATTACK on innocent Judge Aaron by the nightriders was most repugnant. It was perpetrated, according to testimony, in an attempt to impress one of Birmingham's Negro leaders not to try to integrate the public schools.

The act shocked people of all races, because it portrayed a barbarism, a new low in reaction to the attempts by highly qualified American citizens to get every right due them under the Constitution. The story made the rounds of the Earth, being carefully hightlighted behind the Iron Curtain and in the "neutral" countries to show what America "means" about freedom, liberty and opportunity.

—o—

THERE IS BEING organized now in certain southern citizens the demand and legislation is being prepared and passed to jail NAACP leaders. The whole intent is to try to force them to stop trying to get full opportunities and citizenship for their people.

The officials responsible for the proposed ordinances of repression would lead the majority to believe that the NAACP is as violent and irresponsible as the Klan. This is far from the truth.

—o—

THE NAACP, as I know it, attempts to guarantee for Americans the fullest enjoyment of our constitutional freedoms. It would not emasculate or embarrass any American to keep another from a full life and liberty.

Nevertheless. Hooray for Alabama!

SEEING and SAYING

World Birmingham Ala. P. 4

BY WILLIAM A. FOWLKES
Managing Editor — Atlanta Daily World

Sun. 10-20-57

We Need Some More Jobs . . .

AN EXAMINATION of the want-ad columns of metropolitan newspapers reveals one startlingly sad fact. Too few kinds of jobs are open and available to men and women of color.

Except for truck driver and dry cleaning plant pressing jobs, there is rarely ever advertised an opening for the "male colored." For the "colored female" there are a few more offerings as maids and cooks, as well as laundry pressers.

W. A. Fowlkes

The other middle class jobs, including openings for salesmen, are listed under the general headings, traditionally reserved for others, because of sectional and economic pressures. Persons mistaking them as "possibly meant for everybody" are soon made aware of their meaning, since the sectional economic and social balance must be maintained.

Employment agencies, neither private, nor public, dare break the traditional "help wanted" pattern, the exceptions being infrequent.

—O—

IN WHATEVER TERMS it may be couched, one thing is sure: Negro leadership and social welfare organizations need to get to work on improving the job opportunities and availabilities among our people.

Tied in with implementation of every federal court decision, guaranteeing first-class citizenship rights for minorities, is the urgent need for upgraded and better paying jobs, which pave the way to better living conditions and happiness. Behind the crime facts surrounding the group there is too often a story of "miserable" home conditions from bare living wages paid breadwinners and helpmates. The latter have little or no time to supervise their young who often themselves must hustle on the lowest economic fringe.

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THERE MUST BE increased insistence by the Negro more employment and equal opportunity in the jobs of principal industry and government, to which they contribute considerably. There must be increased for these jobs. It is notable that few Southern high school systems provide training of Negroes to enter the industrial stream.

There should also be more than a feeble attempt by the Negro to create his own enterprise, since integration into major enterprise is slow.

However it comes, there must be more job openings and better jobs for our breadwinners!!

SEEING and SAYING

BY WILLIAM A. FOWLKES 31a Negro
Managing Editor — Atlanta Daily World

"I Never Said Nothing Like That . . ."

WHEN THE news picture of Autherine Lucy at her new clothing firm job came through I recalled the visit I made to her parents' home after certain Southern newsmen had quoted them as saping they did not support or approve of her attempt to enter the University of Alabama.

Word P 6 Wed 9-4-57

The news hawks, writing for their more prejudiced consumption, had quoted the old man virtually as saying that he did not know where Autherine even got any ideas about wanting to attend "the white folks' schools." Some lines in the story had the Lucys disowning their child for wanting to improve her school lot and that of her race.

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Of course, we knew the answer before we ventured far down into Marengo County in Southwest Alabama, many miles below Tuscaloosa, a segment of whose citizenry had kicked up considerable dust affer brown-skinned Autherine started attending classes at the state's top and pride university. Nevertheless, we went there to get her parents' answer to their attitude on a Negro child's desire to have the best in education her state provided.

Wm. A. Fowlkes

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The old man, retired by age on his sprawling farm, and the sweet old lady sat before the warmth of their log fire and reflected.

Birmingham, Ala

"You know I never said nothing like that about Autherine," the father answered about the widespread quotes which virtually had him disowning his child and "her ways" in wanting to enter the University of Alabama.

"She went to everything they built for us around here. And you know they (the schools) weren't so much. She started off in the same log school I used to attend. I sent her to the private school down the road and finally to Birmingham to get all the learning she could. I've been paying taxes on this property all my life. I reckon she felt she was entitled to get into the best school her state supports. She's grown and she is a good girl.

"No, sir; I never said nothing like they wrote I said! And, I never heard a thing about a 'Red' or a 'Com' . . . . . what's that? . . . . . ever what it is . . . . . until those reporters asked was she a member."

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When I saw Autherine's picture, I thought about her father's firm stand with her and her ambition to get the best her state offered in schooling.

There were community pressures and slanted press reporting to have the children and the parents of children over the changing South deny that they want the best in common schooling their state taxes provide. Petitioners will be forced off requests for entrance into the best Southern schools, but one fact remains:

Negro parents in the South want the best for their children. They want that "best" provided in the superior schools as built and maintained by their state and its subdivisions. They may be timid about saying so in many places, but they mean it. Furthermore, they will back their offspring in the desire for the best things of this life.

SEEING and SAYING

BY WILLIAM A. FOWLKES 31a Negro
Managing Editor — Atlanta Daily World

Wanted

Moscow's Victory In Washington

DR. C. C. BATTLE has left Mississippi!

When I saw him last Spring in Indianola, capital of the Magnolia State delta region, he had his "hand on the door," so to speak. The doctor was living in day-to-day fear, since there had been reprisals against his leadership in registration and voting, enmity to the role he played in not allowing the Till murder case to escape at least the semblance of one trial in Sumner, to his presidency of an NAACP chapter, among other things normally to be associated with an upright, enterprising and interested young Meharry graduate.

Birmingham Ala

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DR. BATTLE was battle-weary. There was a tale that he was waylaid and beaten following a spurious sick call from a patient far out in the county one night. "Doc" denied this, admitting that police had jailed him after finding him "parked and tired" in his car from making an early morning call. He was fined $100 for "drunk driving." Calls by Sunflower county's only Negro doctor consumed as much as twenty hours a day, sometimes endlessly.

Wed 9-2-57

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WHAT REALLY GOT Dr. Battle he says, was when they snatched his ballot from his hand and prevented him from casting his vote in the regular box in the 1956 governor's election. Battle's name was one of the "three or four" Negroes left on the purged Sunflower County voters' list.

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THERE WERE ALL kinds of pressures being exerted on Delta Negroes, where cotton is still king. Last fall, because of the short crop, many plantation lords held up sharecroppers' money "until things were better," telling them they could live in the farm houses and work for wages elsewhere. There was "credit" for reliable hands, if you know what that means, and so little money in circulation that on many Saturday nights it was a rare thing to hear music at 5-cents-a play in the juke joints.

This economy spelled bad times for Negro professionals like Dr. Battle, who was just completing the five-year area practice he had promised in exchange for his Mississippi rural medicine scholarship. Some landlords dared tenants to seek his services or use them. After all, the White Citizens Councils were founded in Indianola, where their art was practiced shrewdly and thoroughly.

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BATTLE waited until he had crossed the Tennessee border before making the expected announcement of the reason he left Mississippi. It was simply that the Federal Government is "doing nothing" to protect the Negro's civil rights in that state.

He should know, for he was on the "firing line" when reporters covered Mississippi and Alabama as if they were a war zone. Dr. Battle is in position to explain the "uneasy" quiet that prevails in the Delta where residents of color are afraid to talk freely over their telephones, or to get too much mail and packages, which they say are opened and poorly resealed.

THESE ARE serious accusations as the best prepared men of color leave their needy people "under the yoke" of an unfriendly state within our nation. Yet, Washington appears to do nothing. Dr. Battle says, about their pleas, this being solidly demonstrated in the U. S. Senate recently.

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SEEING and SAYING

BY WILLIAM A. FOWLKES
Managing Editor — Atlanta Daily World

World Wed. 8-21-57

"That's Good Enough For You!"

ONE OF THE MOST THOROUGH jobs of human conditioning and brainwashing in the South's post-Reconstruction Era was done by School Boards and Superintendents of Public Instruction, who consistently "saw to it" that Negro children got the least possible in teaching facilities.

Birm, Ala Pt 6

Now, some ninety years after the Civil War and the adoption of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution, they are "testing" Negro and white children to see "if" they should go to one common school. The same test is being given the designedly "crippled little ponies" of color and the carefully long-advantaged children of the majority to see which are in front and which are behind in educational achievement.

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Curiously enough, or not so curious, the majority of the "crippled little ponies" of color showed up behind, if anything else could be expected! But, even the teachers have to admit that a considerable percentage of Negroes surpassed a considerable percentage of whites similarly tested. After all, they were normal human beings being tested, only some of them had enjoyed greater advantage, as had their parents and teachers before them.

—O—

For decades, in county after county throughout the South, the favorite answer of most superintendents to Negro patrons who asked for better schools was: "There's no more money left in treasury right now" . . . . . or "That's good enough for you." According to plan, there was seldom any money left for Negroes and the "good enough" schools, including those given by Rosenwald, went unpainted and rottened into shacks.

Hence, the "separate but equal" farce produced generations of children who never learned to speak clearly the fine language of their native land, or to master its mathematics and physics and chemistry formulas.

State expenditures for schools in the South showed an ever widening gap of expenditures by races. Some bitter historians called the discrimination toward Negro children "The Big Steal." It was not strange that the U. S. Supreme Court pointed out that separate school buildings, however new, could not make up for the invested culture and advantages of schools maintained for the majority.

Thus the order for integrated schools, not as a social experiment designed to mix the races on an entertainment basis, but to produce the best and most efficient Americans that democracy and enterprise can conceive.

—O—

There will be more tests given to the "crippled little ponies," but none will show them to be innately inferior. All they need is a genuine American chance to measure arms and wits. America needs them and all their potential. In the face of unusually watchful and designing foreign world powers, America cannot afford "crippled horses."

Every teacher and administrator needs to examine his real contribution to this cause, set new goals and get with it. The vicious cycle of: "That's good enough for you!" must end.

SEEING and SAYING

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Managing Editor — Atlanta Daily World

We Need Some More Jobs . . .

AN EXAMINATION of the want-ad columns of metropolitan newspapers reveals one startlingly sad fact. Too few kinds of jobs are open and available to men and women of color.

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Birmingham Ala Pt 6

Birmingham Ala Wed 10-23-57

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Tied in with implementation of every federal court decision, guaranteeing first-class citizenship rights for minorities, is the urgent need for upgraded and better paying jobs, which pave the way to better living conditions and happiness. Behind the crime facts surrounding the group there is too often a story of "miserable" home conditions from bare living wages paid breadwinners and helpmates. The latter have little or no time to supervise their young who often themselves must hustle on the lowest economic fringe.

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There should also be more than a feeble attempt by the Negro to create his own enterprise, since integration into major enterprise is slow.

However it comes, there must be more job openings and better jobs for our breadwinners!!

31a 1957

SEEING and SAYING

BY WILLIAM A. FOWLKES
Managing Editor — Atlanta Daily World

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. P. 4

The Decision Is Yours . . .

ATLANTA'S city primary election next Wednesday is going to do much more than decide on the officials who will control her physical progress for the next four years, handling millions of dollars in reaular budget and special bond funds.

Wm. Fowlkes

It will also decide whether the Gate City of he South is to be controlled by men of progressively liberal and tolerant minds; or, by those of he opposite ilk who have continuously saddled he State Capitol with a type of wool-hatism and etrogression, ever looking backwards. There are nen of both types in the races.

Sun. 5-5-57

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Those citizens who had planned to let this election pass by because of a belief that "our candidate will win anyway" would do well to change their plans and be sure to vote Wednesday and and vote right. They should be sure to know the candidates and the issues.

—0—

FOR SOME YEARS now there has been a concentrated effort from sections of the state —— which control the Capitol through the county unit system which keeps Atlanta politically enslaved —— to take over the state's richest and capital city, as well as Fulton County.

It is they who should make Metropolitan Atlanta more like rural Georgia, where certain minorities have little or no voice in government or community affairs and where they are more thoroughly indoctrinated with fear and intimidation. They want Atlanta to be "more like the rest of Georgia," which indeed it is not. They don't like the "free ways" of the people in "the New York of the South."

—0—

IF ATLANTANS want to insure the continuation of those "free ways," they should be certain to go out Wednesday and vote their convictions. Staying at home, or at work, will not express "the will of the people."

ATLANTA IS progressing so rapidly and greatly that she can stand no retrogression from forces and men who want to stop the clock of tolerance, liberalism and good will.

BE SURE to vote Wednesday, May 8. Vote for the RIGHT candidate of your choice!

NEGRO (WILLIAM A FOWLKES)

SEEING and SAYING

Daily World Atlanta Ga.

BY WILLIAM A. FOWLKES
Managing Editor — Atlanta Daily World

Cones From Georgia Pines . . .

ATLANTA does the darnedest things!

In last Wednesday's primary and city-wide voting, Negro and white voters joined hands to re-elect a Negro to the School Board and, at the same time, to send into a run-off a Negro for the city aldermanic board. The votes these gentlemen received came from all over the city, indicating that there is more good will per square foot in Atlanta than some persons would have advertised.

Sun. 5-12-57

I am proud of Atlanta and her progressive ways. She does the darnedest things! She will continue to grow. There is no limit to her bounds.

P. 4

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Wm. Fowlkes

LIBERAL CONGRESSMEN are having trouble trying to pass Civil Rights bills in Washington. Most of the trouble stems from representatives of areas where the minority cannot or will not vote for or against them. It is as simple as that — they and their rights under the Constitution are disrespected.

There is but one answer above all others. The ballot and its wise usage. Mastery of this will bring the addition of all "rights."

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THIS is National Negro Insurance Week. That means that the largest group of Negro business enterprise is receiving well deserved recognition and re-emphasis.

From an humble start around the turn of the century, when long established and major companies were refusing to insure Negroes as bad risks or charging discriminatory fees, Negro insurance protection has grown tremendously. Our largest companies rank high in the national insurance picture. And, because of the integrity of the operators and the state laws which, without discrimination, surround the operation of all insurance companies, it is safe to make this conclusion:

Nobody's "ice is colder" than the insurance "ice" which can be bought through Negro companies. Council-pressured citizens, take note!

SEEING and SAYING

BY WILLIAM A. FOWLKES
Managing Editor — Atlanta Daily World

He Says Everything Is All Right . . .

Recorded P. 6 Birmingham Ala.

THE GREY-BLUE UNIFORMED trooper rode up behind our airport rented car and motioned us to a stop. It was in the heart of the Mississippi Delta where Emmett Till, the Rev. George Lee and others had come to their untimely ends because of the racial prejudice volcano. Wed. 5-22-57

Our photographer, who had arrived at our airport rendezvous from above the Mason-Dixon line, sank down in the seat, half-frightened to death because of his knowledge of the past and the unusual atrocities that have occurred and do occur in terror-stricken Mississippi. Somehow, the writer never scared so easily.

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AFTER THE USUAL questions about ownership of the car, the showing of the lease, driver's license, etc., I was informed that the paint on the numerals of the vehicle's license tag was worn off so much that it could not be read at a distance required by law. It might mean something else and should be painted immediately, or "somewhere else down here you might be thrown in jail and kept there until you could prove your way out."

had our identity and objective of news coverage in this somewhat unholy state. They had stood afar from the scene of the officer and the newsmen, fearful that "something might be started."

-0-

MISSISSIPPI's Gov. Coleman, who says that, in effect, everything is all right in his state should admit the opposite, if he would be fair to the hundreds of thousands of colored citizens in his state. Aside from Council and landlord economic pressure, there is ever present on the highways the auxiliary police-citizens with long aerials on civilian cars. There are reports that telephones are tapped and long distance calls monitored and recorded. There is a peculiar fear that even letters and postal packages going into the Delta are opened. No man talks of freedom, of votes and rights without looking around to see "if the wrong person may be listening."

And yet, Mississippi's governor says everything is all right in the Magnolia state!!

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NEEDLESS TO SAY, the next few minutes found me repainting in white —— with enamel and brush secured from a local hardware store — those numerals. Standing with us as we painted were a score or more of well wishing, but wary, folks of my kind, who remarked that we might have been jailed sure enough

31a 1957

SEEING and SAYING

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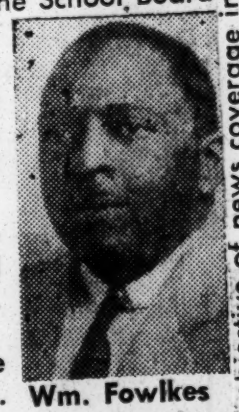
Cones From Georgia Pines . . .

ATLANTA does the darnedest things!

In last Wednesday's primary and city-wide voting, Negro and white voters joined hands to re-elect a Negro to the School Board and, at the same time, to send into a run-off a Negro for the city aldermanic board. The votes these gentlemen received came from all over the city, indicating that there is more good will per square foot in Atlanta than some persons would have advertised.

Sun. 5-12-57



Wm. Fowlkes

I am proud of Atlanta and her progressive ways. She does the darnedest things! She will continue to grow. There is no limit to her bounds.

P. 4

-0-

LIBERAL CONGRESSMEN are having trouble trying to pass Civil Rights bills in Washington. Most of the trouble stems from representatives of areas where the minority cannot or will not vote for or against them. It is as simple as that — they and their rights under the Constitution are disrespected.

There is but one answer above all others. The ballot and its wise usage. Mastery of this will bring the addition of all "rights."

-0-

THIS is National Negro Insurance Week. That means that the largest group of Negro business enterprise is receiving well deserved recognition and re-emphasis.

From an humble start around the turn of the century, when long established and major companies were refusing to insure Negroes as bad risks or charging discriminatory fees, Negro insurance protection has grown tremendously. Our largest companies rank high in the national insurance picture. And, because of the integrity of the operators and the state laws which, without discrimination, surround the operation of all insurance companies, it is safe to make this conclusion:

Nobody's "ice is colder" than the insurance "ice" which can be bought through Negro companies. Council-pressured citizens, take note!

SEEING and SAYING

BY WILLIAM A. FOWLKES
Managing Editor — Atlanta Daily World

He Says Everything Is All Right . . .

Record P. 6 Birmingham, Ala.

THE GREY-BLUE UNIFORMED trooper rode up behind our airport rented car and motioned us to a stop. It was in the heart of the Mississippi Delta where Emmett Till, the Rev. George Lee and others had come to their untimely ends because of the racial prejudice volcano.

Wed. 5-22-57

Our photographer, who had arrived at our airport rendezvous from above the Mason-Dixon line, sank down in the seat, half-frightened to death because of his knowledge of the past and the unusual atrocities that have occurred and do occur in terror-stricken Mississippi. Somehow, the writer never scared so easily.

-0-

AFTER THE USUAL questions about ownership of the car, the showing of the lease, driver's license, etc., I was informed that the paint on the numerals of the vehicle's license tag was worn off so much that it could not be read at a distance required by law. It might mean something else and should be painted immediately, or "somewhere else down here you might be thrown in jail and kept there until you could prove your way out."

-0-

NEEDLESS TO SAY, the next few minutes found me repainting in white —— with enamel and brush secured from a local hardware store — those numerals. Standing with us as we painted were a score or more of well wishing, but wary, folks of my kind, who remarked that we might have been jailed sure enough had our identity and objective of news coverage in this somewhat unholy state. They had stood afar from the scene of the officer and the newsmen, fearful that "something might be started."

-0-

MISSISSIPPI's Gov. Coleman, who says that, in effect, everything is all right in his state should admit the opposite, if he would be fair to the hundreds of thousands of colored citizens in his state. Aside from Council and landlord economic pressure, there is ever present on the highways the auxiliary police-citizens with long aerials on civilian cars. There are reports that telephones are tapped and long distance calls monitored and recorded. There is a peculiar fear that even letters and postal packages going into the Delta are opened. No man talks of freedom, of votes and rights without looking around to see "if the wrong person may be listening." There is enforced fear everywhere.

And yet, Mississippi's governor says everything is all right in the Magnolia state!

SEEING and SAYING

BY WILLIAM A. FOWLKES
Managing Editor — Atlanta Daily World

No Respect For Man Or God . . .

Moved Birmingham, Ala.

THE NEGRO'S HOPE in the South is his ability to appeal enough to the white man's conscience to change his attitude toward his black brother. Pricking laws will do much of this, but the greatest changes must come in the realm of social consciousness and moral responsibility.

P. 6 Wed. 6-26-57

—O—

The recent surge of America's nationalism toward full civil rights for all may historically be traced to the bombing of churches and ministers' homes in bus-boycotted Montgomery, Ala.

In their most disrespectful violence towards the institutions of God, hate-ridden Montgomerians showed they had no respect for man or God. This is a terrible state of mind, or madness. The perpetrators are in the position of "those whom the gods would destroy . . . . . ."

—O—

AMERICA, where the brain and brawn from many lands have combined to make a great nation, ought not be weakened or made vulnerable to destruction or downfall because of the shortsightedness and blind prejudice of a few.

It is inevitable that she solve her race question through fair play, or face degeneration. The latter is pure foolishness. Our land is too great. Our stake in world leadership for many generations is too promising.

—O—

Millions of Earth's colored skinned citizens are watching America for their final answer on siding with the so-called western democracies or the Iron Curtain Communists. Every heartbeat of America's citizens of color is the heartbeat and aspiration of the millions of world black, brown and yellow peoples, long depressed with colonialism. Every withholding of civil rights to Americans of color becomes the "handwriting on the wall" to other colored peoples whom the West needs to survive.

Atom and hydrogen bombs will never win total victory over men and their ideals of freedom.

Those who have no respect for man or God cannot win. They and their civilization face destruction by irate Gods of time and space!

SEEING and SAYING

BY WILLIAM A. FOWLKES
Managing Editor — Atlanta Daily World

Daily World Sun. 8-4-57

Moscow's Victory In Washington

P. 4

DR. C. C. BATTLE has left Mississippi!

When I saw him last Spring in Indianola, capital of the Magnolia State delta region, he had his "hand on the door," so to speak. The doctor was living in day-to-day fear, since there had been reprisals against his leadership in registration and voting, enmity to the role he played in not allowing the Till murder case to escape at least the semblance of one trial in Sumner, to his presidency of an NAACP chapter, among other things normally to be associated with an upright, enterprising and interested young Meharry graduate.

Atlanta, Ga.

DR. BATTLE was battle-weary. There was a tale that he was waylaid and beaten following a spurious sick call from a patient far out in the county one night. "Doc" denied this, admitting that police had jailed him after finding him "parked and tired" in his car from making an early morning call. He was fined $100 for "drunk driving." Calls by Sunflower county's only Negro doctor consumed as much as twenty hours a day, sometimes endlessly.

—O—

WHAT REALLY GOT Dr. Battle he says, was when they snatched his ballot from his hand and prevented him from casting his vote in the regular box in the 1956 governor's election. Battle's name was one of the "three or four" Negroes left on the purged Sunflower County voters' list.

—O—

THERE WERE ALL kinds of pressures being exerted on Delta Negroes, where cotton is still king. Last fall, because of the short crop, many plantation lords held up sharecroppers' money "until things were better," telling them they could live in the farm houses and work for wages elsewhere. There was "credit" for reliable hands, if you know what that means, and so little money in circulation that on many Saturday nights it was a rare thing to hear music at 5-cents-a play in the juke joints.

This economy spelled bad times for Negro professionals like Dr. Battle, who was just completing the five-year area practice he had promised in exchange for his Mississippi rural medicine scholarship. Some landlords dared tenants to seek his services or use them. After all, the White Citizens Councils were founded in Indianola, where their art was practiced shrewdly and thoroughly

—O—

BATTLE waited until he had crossed the Tennessee border before making the expected announcement of the reason he left Mississippi. It was simply that the Federal Government is "doing nothing" to protect the Negro's civil rights in that state.

He should know, for he was on the "firing line" when reporters covered Mississippi and Alabama as if they were a war zone. Dr. Battle is in position to explain the "uneasy" quiet that prevails in the Delta where residents of color are afraid to talk freely over their telephones, or to get too much mail and packages, which they say are opened and poorly resealed.

—O—

THESE ARE serious accusations as the best prepared men of color leave their needy people "under the yoke" of an unfriendly state within our nation. Yet, Washington appears to do nothing, Dr. Battle says, about their pleas, this being solidly demonstrated in the U. S. Senate recently.

The demons of Moscow must be celebrating their divide-and-conquer victory in Washington!!

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Ike Gambled With His Glory For His Country's Sake

". . . Stifle, then!
When a nation's life's at hazard
We've no time to think of
men . . ."

THEY TOLD him his country was doomed to socialism and to bankruptcy of body and soul unless he ran for President.

GOV. FAUBUS
He places the blame correctly.

DOROTHY THOMPSON
She sympathizes with the South.

So he turned in his sword, pawned his glory as Hitler's conqueror, and marched gallantly into a political field he didn't know, a field where he had to depend on the uncertain competence, faith and philosophy of subordinates he wasn't qualified to select.

And then the Lord took Taft away from him.

The Lord took Taft and left him to politicians who persuaded him compromises and ever more compromises must be made for politics' sake and that practical truth lay in directions reverse to what his instincts and natural Americanism told him.

A MAN FORCIBLY transplanted like that and then fatefully pulled apart like that would have a heart attack.

And then ileitis.
And then a "cerebral occlusion."
And then . . . ?

But whatever he does now or is unable to do he can know that he did turn his country's face to its lights after 20 years of accumulating socialisms and cynicisms had threatened a darkness forever. And he can know that he was the only one who could have done it.

We can be thankful in this Thanksgiving week that for this country's sake, Dwight Eisenhower gambled with his glory and lost some of it.

SOMERSET MAUGHAM, the great novelist, is 84. He is begging his friends, colleagues and relatives to burn all of his letters. Irene Kuhn suggests this may be his "protest against the vulgarity of the 'tell-all' school of writing . . . separating himself from the age of utter frankness in which we live." It could be, also, that in his novels he has chosen for himself a front and philosophy which, for better or worse, conceal the real man and that he does not wish the official picture disturbed after death.

Many a lion is at heart a mouse and vice versa. And many a stout professor of "realism" is in fact a romantic. Mr. Maugham's "realism" about sex, for example, could be a whistle in the dark against a personal association of it with idealism. Could he have painted the bondage of "Of Human Bondage" so poignantly and in such amplitude and detail if he were not capable of the same enslavement? Could he have made such a case for the sweet and too-amiable girl in "Cakes and Ale" if he were not perhaps debating against himself in her defense?

AMONG LIFE'S sadnesses is the worn-out telephone welcome.

How often, especially to us newspaper people, does it happen that a caller will delight you with some information, opinion or comment and then carry on and on, repeating, proliferating, elaborating, developing irrelevancies and inconsequentials until welcome turns to weariness, weariness to irritation, and irritation to outraged rejection of the whole conversation.

Except among friends with an understanding to that effect—and among teen-agers—the telephone is simply not a place for paying visits. Because it is an uninvited entrance, you aren't supposed to sit down and make yourself at home and stay for a drink.

GRAVES

But One Life For My Country

"I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country. . . ."

* * *

SAN ANTONIO, Texas—Nathan Hale's problem differed from the South's in this respect. We haven't enough lives to give for all the countries, continents, organizations and interests in whose behalves we are supposed to lie down and die.

It isn't only for Asia and and Africa, but for Japanese textiles, for the NAACP, for the national Democratic Party, for equalitarian sentimentality, and so forth.

Nathan Hale was guilty of plagiarism on the scaffold.

* * *

A hundred years earlier Joseph Addison had written in his "Cato": "What a pity it is that we can die but once to save our country!"

HALE, OF COURSE, might have been Addison in an earlier incarnation, as Ralph McGill and Ellis Arnall were undoubtedly reincarnations of Richard Rumbold (who died on the scaffold in 1685) when they both began using as their own a few years ago (while thousands cheered) Rumbold's last words: "I never could believe that Providence had sent a few men into the world ready booted and spurred to ride, and millions ready saddled and bridled to be ridden. . . ."

* * *

HERE THEY "remember the Alamo" and have built their city around it. Here they have a little river that goes shopping downtown, meandering charmingly here and there about its business. And here, too, they have organizations and literature which call the South to strange, fascist causes, lunacies of the far right that can ruin us.

* * *

"SPEECH IS SILVER, silence is golden. . . ." Thomas Carlyle had it that "speech is of time, silence is of eternity." And Poet John Keats gave silence still another plug when he said "heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard are sweeter."

Nevertheless there dawns in America now a realization that silence and secrecy have been carried too far against pooling and co-ordinating scientific information and against letting the American people know what goes on in the missile and sputnik world.

"When in doubt, danger, guilt or dispute—say nothing." Some fine people deem that the wise policy and even achieve reputations therewith for astuteness and character.

But you can get killed—or kill—that way.

Silence is no substitute for cerebration. Or for finishing what you've started.

* * *

CLARE BOOTH LUCE, who compared the "carnage" at Little Rock with the gas chambers of Auschwitz and Buchenwald (one Negro journalist was kicked) wouldn't be up to an Alamo comparison. Carnage here was total.

The South has its own carnage story for Little Rock—constitutional carnage—and means to make "Remember Little Rock" a cry as identified with that destruction as "Remember the Alamo" is with destruction of fighting men.

Six weeks after the Alamo, in 1836, heroic "Southern resistance" had aroused so much fighting spirit and unity that Texans won their independence at the battle of San Jacinto.

* * *

IN NEW ORLEANS yesterday the nation's "most celebrating city" was celebrating Christmas as if Thanksgiving had never happened and Mardi Gras would never be.

No one knows when Canal Street will ever be available for the widening that will permit even more celebrated celebrations.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Some Differences

"God is not mocked. . . ."

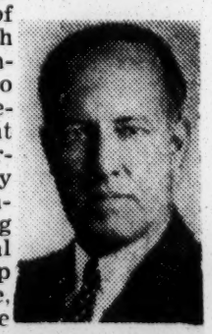
HOUSTON—If only the Supreme Court could be in my roomette on the Southern Pacific's Sunset Limited as it pauses in the station here.

Swinging, ringing and rag-timing in on my portable transistor comes a Negro program with a Christmas song—

"Mary had a baby amen!"

God is not mocked but the Supreme Court is.

Nothing expresses more the differences — especially psychological—between the races than their incompatible ways of worship. With no odious comparison, with no failing to respect the right of men to worship as they please, and without doubting God's approval of all worship which is sincere, you sense in the vast differences in religious expression the differences in other respects which made the Supreme Court choose so wisely for 63 long years in favor of "separate but equal" before going psychological for Myrdal's sake, if flunked the psychology.



Birmingham's Marguerite Johnston, pride of The Houston Post, owes her success as a columnist to many things. One, I believe, is a generous soul, incapable of spites, vendetta's jealousies and self-consciousnesses that have crippled some of her contemporaries.

* * *

You'd better confirm. They put two passengers off my crowded plane yesterday because they had failed to re-confirm their space in a stop-over and the space had been sold.

The plane waited on the ground 10 minutes until the guilty ones could be apprehended and, politely but firmly, removed to make room for the rightful heirs.

* * *

Sometimes you wish for the good old days before everybody flew, when there were no crowds, confusions and clutterments.

Every passenger had a sense of being special. Given time enough, even now, or a real mix-up, the officials still do a remarkable job of making you feel

that Eastern, Delta, Capital, etc., love you dearly and will look out for you until the skies fall.

But airports in an ordinary rush hour, especially in the labyrinth of new construction over old at Atlanta, have no time or space for love.

* * *

Did the White House fail to be frank enough at first about the President's latest illness, or was it too frank too soon?

The answer for some commentators seems to depend on their politics. But the free world has lost a lot of stability and confidence unnecessarily, it seems to me, because it was oversold on the "stroke."

The delay in telling the facts was trifling when you consider how the illnesses of FDR and Woodrow Wilson were concealed. And when the facts were told, the policy of "telling all" resulted in making the President sound so much sicker than he was that immediate panic resulted—to be followed by the present continuing anxiety and sense of something almost temporary about his tenure.

* * *

Truth can be the worst of liars when it is sure to be harmfully misunderstood.

* * *

Who killed Cock Robin? David Lawrence is saying that not only the current economic setback but the periodic recessions and depressions of this century may have resulted from the Supreme Court's decision that the anti-trust laws did not apply to labor union activities.

That old debill—the Supreme Court—again!

Certainly the escalator clauses, the guaranteed annual wages, the tie-in of wages with the cost of living index, plus the fact of labor leaders who maintain their leadership by forcing higher and higher wages, all to the tune of monoply power, can do more harm than the "rackets" even if in sincere idealism for "the working man" and noble conviction that "labor is not a commodity.'

* * *

And if doing something about this has become too dangerous politically for any action ever, the republic has more than Sputniks to disturb it.

We can all get killed this way —including our working people.

* * *

"Que sera, sera. . . ." Anticipating what may—or might—be, the European press is speaking of Vice President Nixon as a "liberal," who is "slightly left of Eisenhower."

Time was when he was spoken of here and abroad as a conservative. He has changed, times have changed, and liberalism and conservatism have changed. You can say this without discounting the fact that he is a politician who knows where the best hunting is.

* * *

You think of the other young man. Time described Senator Kennedy last week as a natural conservative. Yet the leftist ADA gives him a good mark and so does organized labor (which marks Nixon low-to-nothing).

Apropos of nothing in particular but of a world in general, no presidential candidate with a ghost of a chance is getting to be an ultra-conservative or a radical segregationist. Nothing is more important than that the South understand this.

The South has got to be on the winning side in 1960, unless it is a side that seeks positive capital of baiting and betraying the South.

If the South doesn't win in 1960, what may win in 1964 in the name of the South won't be the South at all, as we know it.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

State's Loyalty Oath Might Be Restricted

"Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin. . . ."

The handwriting on the wall at the feast of Belshazzar (Daniel 5:25) meant "God hath numbered thy kingdom and finished it. Thou art weighed in the balances and found wanting . . ."

There is no truth in rumor that the handwriting was Drew Pearson's.

* * *

When we come to rest (or actions) at the point where we are exactly as scared of Russia as we ought and need to be, it may be that it will work out to something like 47.6 per cent of the panic Mr. Pearson inspires.

* * *

Paul Revere said only "the British are coming." He didn't keep announcing the odds.

* * *

WHY should Alabama be the only state with a Democratic loyalty oath. Surely Senators Sparkman and Hill have heard the news and will let us off now.

Mrs. Lennard Thomas is for the oath and so is Mr. Charles McKay. By singular coincidence they are the national committeewoman and committeeman, respectively.

How would it do to let them take it, and our two senators, with everybody else excused!

BOTH MRS. THOMAS and Mr. McKay speak as if being without the oath meant having a third party. But the other Southern states don't seem to think so. Being free doesn't necessarily mean a third party. Free Democrats (as Alabama's propose, intend and are going to be now) could throw their weight around in the national convention.

The convention would not dare to exclude them if they were the whole Democratic South. But unless they are free, they will either be paid no attention at all, or insulted and thrown out.

Such is the arrogance of those who mistake the party of our fathers for a party of socialism, centralism, integrationism and pressure groups.

* * *

BOTH DEMOCRATIC and Republican nominations in 1960 can be immensely influenced if 123 Southern electoral votes are not only free but are employed for bargaining.

And nobody is proposing they bury them or take them off into a corner and chew on them. They are to shine in use.

* * *

THIS IDEA that the South has nowhere to go at this vital moment but back in solidity, stupidity, slavery and blind staggers to the Democratic national fold can mean the end of the South.

We have several places to go, including, of course, a separate ticket or tickets if neither party respects our balance of power.

Before that we have the Democratic convention, where if our 123 electoral votes are known to be on the loose, we might stop Reuther, Soapy Williams or Averell Harriman with Kennedy, Lausche or Lyndon Johnson.

And we have the Republican national convention, too. We weigh just about exactly as much there as in Democratic conventions. And, especially, if free Southern Republicans were known to have back of them great numbers of free Southern Democrats, a Knowland might be nominated over a Nixon.

* * *

OUR AFFIRMATIVE hope, of course, must be in Congress, not the White House. All we can ask of a President is that he be a constitutionalist and a patriot above pressure groups.

* * *

OF JAMES GOULD Cozzens' mooted "By Love Possessed," Columnist Irene Kuhn says it's a plea for individual responsibility as against blaming everything on society, psychiatry or chemistry and going in therefore for mere existing.

Since that's the point of my four-year-old lecture, "America With the Lights On," I have to say, sight unseen, that Mr. Cozzens is a great writer and deep thinker if Miss Kuhn gets him right.

As for his "realism," that's something else again and often a phony.

Everything is real, including this column's antics, frantics, semantics, pedantics and romantics.

But what of the reported (I haven't read the book) pessimism and pornography?

These could be of no philosophical significance but merely conventions which come and go. People who read Beaumont and Fletcher around 1600 may have felt that emancipation from sex reticences was complete and permanent, yet Queen Victoria hadn't even been born.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post Herald, Birmingham, Ala. Sun. 11-17-57, p. 10

Eisenhower And The Little Rock Decision

"Where is comfort? In division of the records of the mind? Can I part her from myself and love her as I knew her, kind?"

31a White

* * *

Is it "never, never" in the South for the man we used to call "Ike" but don't any more?

* * *

The President is said to wish he might win back a South where his Gallup poll rating once was highest and now is lowest.

But it is hard to imagine Southerners separating him now from Little Rock.

You were aware Thursday night of how all else come to be colored by the bayonets.

It was impossible to judge his talk of our science and arms without a prejudice.

You caught yourself doubting if he really will take things in hand against Russia, if his generalities promise specifics.

* * *

YET, THAT'S wrong. Dwight Eisenhower has been epochally specific in his time. If he doesn't get his own political points it can be due to not having lived with them all his life as he has lived with his military points.

* * *

HAS HIS attention "been so much absorbed by the South that he has "let the Russians get away with the moon?"

Former Gov. Millard Caldwell, of Florida, thought so in a recent fighting speech to the Daughters of the Confederacy, but even so he hasn't given the South enough attention to get things straight about the South, and the Constitution, the political situation, and the psychology of it all.

* * *

GOVERNOR CALDWELL found likenesses between Grant and Eisenhower.

But there is vast difference in their military lives. Grant was a commander in the field, nothing else. Eisenhower has done little field commanding. But as Supreme Commander he had perhaps the greatest organizational job in history and the greatest diplomatic.

IT CAN BE, though, that the field commander in him brought his greatest mistake in the presidency—the more and more challenged sending of the troops to Little Rock.

* * *

HE JUST DOESN'T get his own points. With the severities at Little Rock fresh in all minds he talked again last week of how you can't force people's morals and ways and of how the South had been assured for so many years that "separate but equal" schools were constitutional.

* * *

SO CONFUSED in his legal defense of sending troops, and so much opinion is gathered against him, that you begin to accept David Lawrence's idea that the decision was his lifelong military man's own.

Legal excuses were looked up, helter-skelter, after the fact.

* * *

REMINDED OF HIS assurance that he could not imagine circumstances which would induce him to enforce integration with troops, the President's constant story is that the troops are enforcing not integration but a Federal Court Order.

The order, of course, was for integration. The distinction is without any real difference insofar as the assurance was concerned (unless he meant to assure us that, with only the Supreme Court decision of 1954 in mind, he would never turn up with troops outside of some school and say "integrate or die!")

* * *

THE PRESIDENT goes out of his way repeatedly to recall that he has never said whether he approved the Supreme Court's decision, (implying that he does not and is acting only in executive duty).

The South might fare better if he didn't keep his fingers crossed like this. There is such a thing as overdoing your duty for fear that personal preference will cause you to underdo it.

* * *

THE CONSTITUTION may be what "the Supreme Court says it is" as Hughes remarked. But after the Court has said it is something, can the Court turn around and say it is something else?

Many lawyers believe that is law-making beyond the province. When the Court said for some 60 years that "separate but equal" schools were constitutional, it was law-making to say, in 1954, that they weren't.

* * *

The South relied on "separate but equal," built its school system and its way of life on it. The President loves to point this out.

If, miraculously, he should get his point he might be called Ike again.

ARMA VIRUMQUE cano . . .! "Arms I sing, and the man . . ." We of the South have got to separate him from ourselves—and from Little Rock—and follow him in the world-wide call to arms, at any rate.

We are charter members of our country.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post Herald, Birmingham, Ala. Wed. 11-20-57, p. 12

Listen, Charlie!

"And the elements rage, the fiend voices that rave,
Shall tumble, shall blend. . ."

Birmingham Ala.

Dreadful is the tornado, but wonderful the human comeback.

Suddenly when a tornado strikes there is evidenced a force beyond any man-made one even now. Almost as suddenly there is the aftermath when forces which men have created come into action, for relief, for command of the confusion, for warning and assurance, for restoration. For most of us the tornado was a voice over the radio interrupting with the newsmen's news, the police instructions, the safety directions—but that was enough for this sense of nature's awful might and humanity's magnificent counter-attacking.

* * *

THE INJURED here and over the state and those whose properties have been damaged must have felt it was so bad it should have been worse, that a force like the one which touched them was capable of infinitely more.

* * *

LISTEN TO THIS, Charlie! "California Democrats," says Atty.-Gen. Pat Brown, the party's candidate for governor there, "want complete divorcement from the South . . ."

And California's Democratic National Committeeman Paul Ziffren says "we must make it unmistakably clear that the diehard Southern subversives are not Democrats. They have nothing in common with the Democratic party except the coincidence that they register that way to exploit the name . . ."

What-say, Charles McKay, National Committeeman from Alabama! The nerve of you Southerners trying to horn in on the party of your fathers! Your fathers are dead and the present owners are sick and tired of this subversive, segregationist, anti-socialist, pro-Southern, constitutionalist trespassing of yours!

Pat Brown expects to be Democratic presidential nominee if he wins the California gubernatorial race against Knowland. In all seriousness does Mr. McKay expect our Southern leaders to swear a loyalty oath to sworn enemies like this?

Or to let them take the Democratic Party of Alabama and the other Southern states away from us, either?

* * *

MUCH LEGAL and editorial note is being given our Police Commissionr Connor's appeal to the "stare decisis" (it stands as decided") principle against the Supreme Court. Having decided—for 60 or more years—that the Constituton means "separate but equal" school facilities are constitutional, the court can't change the constitution by deciding again that they are not.

This is certainly one of the legal principles to be considered when and if the Supreme Court is asked for a rehearing and modification. Fortunately it is not the only princple, for it is hard to imagine the court accepting it, right or wrong.

Lawyers confuse us laymen these days with this talk of "stare decisis," meaning decisisions should stand, and seemingly contradictory talk of "the law of the case," meaning decisions have no standing at all except as between the immediate parties at the time. The though comes upon reading a recent federal court majority decision to the effect that federal decisions are binding only on the parties to them, establish netiher a law of the land nor a binding precedent but only a straw in the legal wind so to speak, indicating the direction of federal court thinking. The latter is cited as enabling the South to require integration decision for every school in the land.

* * *

Lawyers will explain that two different things are involved here. The "law of the case" is really law. Each case, in strict law, stands alone. "Stare decisis," on the other hand, has to do with a general principle of law which, no matter how established—by one one of several decisions or by public opinion (the late Justice Jackson suggested) or in other possible ways—becomes binding on the court morally and as a principle.

* * *

LET HALEYVILLE'S Byrum Tarwater be of good cheer! The President, too, preaches and fails to practice. Mr. Tarwater preaches to me on economy in words and then takes a vacation with wordy exposition of a confused multitude of matters which he identifies finally as a plea for "a renaissance of genuine education." Before going on vacation he cites for me improvement the admirable sufficiency of an inscription in Westminster Abbey: "If you seek Sir Christopher Wren's monument, look around." Mr. Tarwater kindly points out to use less economical-and-alerts that "this sentence tells us Wren was the architect."

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

World In Ferment

"We twain once well in sunder,
What will the mad gods do . . ."

* * *

The mad gods have played the devil with the world of Dwight Eisenhower since last he vacationed in Augusta.

The political world, the military, scientific, economic, all have more or less caved in on him. He is having to make new starts in all directions.

He has found that a governmental chain of command is necessarily too political to be counted on as may the military ones of his life-long experience and that he must assume now more direct and personal controls.

* * *

WILL IT BE bad for his bad heart? On the contrary it may be good for it. Defeat, not action, hurts the heart.

He is a man of action, of battle, of victory. It could be that, no matter whether they were sincere or not, those who have blocked his contact with events under pleas of "not troubling the President" have done him physical injury as well as political.

* * *

IN AUGUSTA and the South he has been welcomed with hospitality, respect and remainders of affection, but they haven't called him Ike.

* * *

IF HE TAKES command now, faces up to errors and unexpected events, notes how far from his true nature his chain of command have dragged him, sees what a mess is come of his efforts to be a good politician for his party, puts first things first and biggest things biggest—it is possible to picture him in about-face toward the South.

About-face not in mere political strategy but in appreciation of what these states have to contribute in the developing crisis, of the economic substance, fighting heart, and spiritual staminas they give America, of the importance of preserving them in full vitality and integrity no matter what Asia and Africa say (if those continents say anything at all) and no matter how the nose—counting politicians have coached him counter-wise.

IT IS EVEN conceivable that the nose-counters themselves will be drawn to a dramatic about-face—now that their count shows the pressure groups still belong to the Democrats and that the only balance of power in sight for them is Southern.

For upside down reporting of this consider the good Dr. Gallup.

Announcing Democrats leading Republicans nationally by some 13 million he says "the important political fact today is that the GOP runs about even with the Democrats in the crucial 'battleground' states north of the Mason and Dixon line." The up-sideup way of describing this "important fact" is that the South holds mathematically unmistable balance of power if it goes solid and free now.

* * *

"Come live with me and be my love. . . ."

BE MY GUEST and say how right I am, says The New York Herald-Tribune to Ralph McGill and Ralph obliges. In a "guest" editorial modestly titled "The True South Speaks" he agrees loudly with the Herald-Tribune's "Call for Action" to "mobilize and sustain the so-called moderate position in the South."

What makes the position which Ralph and the New York paper have in mind "moderate" in their definition is that it would destroy the South not all at once but slowly. It accepts integration as certain but is willing to wait a while.

This is moderate just as death by slow poison is moderate compared with shooting at sunrise.

Ralph tells New Yorkers the idea that integration means amalgamation "a false bogie-man which the long history of integrated schools in the North does not sustain."

"This is the real issue in the deep South and it has not been honestly met," says he, meeting it dishonestly. What is more dishonest than comparing integration in the North where the percentages of Negroes are so small, with the proposed mass mixings in the Deep South?

* * *

Has the President's attention "been so much absorbed by the South that he has let the Russians get away with the moon?" Former Gov. Millard Caldwell, of Florida, thought so in a recent fighting speech to the Daughters of the Confederacy, but, even so, the President hasn't given the South enough attention to get things straight about it, or about the Constitution, the political situation, and the overall psychology.

* * *

GOVERNOR CALDWELL finds likenesses between Grant and Eisenhower, but there is a vast difference in their military lives, of course. Grant was a field commander. Eisenhower has done little of that, but as supreme commander he had the greatest organizational job in history and perhaps the greatest diplomatic.

It can be, though, that the military in him caused his greatest mistake in the presidency—the more and more challenged troops to Little Rock.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald, Birm., Ala.

Third Force Needed

"Rise like lions after slumber
In unvanquishable number,
Shake your chains to earth like dew
Which in sleep had fallen on you. . . ."

* * *

This column isn't the only one thinking in terms of Southern state Democratic Party organizations so free that they constitute a Third Force in the nation even as they hold fast to state party control, prestige, tradition and seniorities.

* * *

Abolishing the so-called loyalty oaths may be a decisive issue in many of the coming primaries and committee meetings.

Whip-lashed by Senator Hill and Sparkman, Alabama's state committee insisted on a loyalty oath and all it implies of slavery to the national party and exclusion of free Democrats from the committee.

But things are different now.

* * *

SO DIFFERENT that if Chairman Mayhall and his synthetic majority undertake still to bind Alabamians, that will be just too bad for Chairman Mayhall and his synthetic majority. Ditto for my distinguished friend, Ren Ray. And for our silent and "soi-disant" Senators Hill and Sparkman.

There's been a tidal wave.

* * *

DAVID LAWRENCE writes me that he agrees on Southern need and right of holding on to state Democratic organizations even as independence is practiced on presidential levels. "The South may find it unnecessary to organize a 'States Rights Party' as such," he said last week in a column amending his earlier picture.

"The independence of the South will be asserted by the taking over of the state organizations of the Democratic Party."

* * *

DO SENATORS Hill and Sparkman still oppose this? Will they issue orders as before?

From Washington some of their journalistic friends are gossiping that it could cost Southerners their chairmanships in Congress—but no such thing.

The national party couldn't punish Southerners in Congress without losing its control of Congress.

BEFORE ANY Southwide meeting of state Democratic executive committee representatives takes place to declare for freedom in presidential elections and for holding on at home, as has been suggested here, it will be necessary to be sure the committees are in line with the Southern people—or to purge them until they become so.

To say the committees are the ones to decide on relations with the national party is to ignore a public opinion so enormous now that the committees will oppose it at their total peril.

* * *

IF THE SOUTH is to bid successfully for national balance of power, this independence and solidarity—and-hold-fast at home—must be made known well in advance of the presidential nominating conventions, it seems to me.

* * *

POET CARL Sandburg ran amok with his poetic license on the Meet the Press program Sunday. Famous for his volumes on Lincoln, he said it was true that Lincoln had made that pro-segregation, anti-equality speech at Springfield in 1857.

But he said the "Great Emancipator" didn't mean it, was politically bound because of anti-abolitionist sentiment in Illinois, never said anything like it in his debates with Douglas or elsewhere, was more devoted than any other President to elimination of all distinctions of "race, creed and color."

Proving there's Lysenko-ism in the most famous of us.

For sake of our ideologies or sentimentalities we are willing to wink at history as well as science. Mr. Sandburg has the excuse of not being a historian but a poet and 79 years old—but he shouldn't go uncorrected.

It is on the record that Lincoln spoke for segregation and racial distinctions many times in his debates with Douglas, especially at Ottawa, Ill., and Columbus, Ohio, in the Fall of 1859.

To a delegation of Free Negroes which called on him in Washington in 1862 he recommended colonization. Far from being devoted to abolition of race distinctions he said he would be willing to keep slavery if he could save the Union.

* * *

CARL SANDBURG'S misstatements went unchallenged to the millions listening. But the millions heard Mr. Sandburg admit, at least, that Lincoln did say what we of the South are quoting him as saying.

* * *

NOW HEAR this! In spite of his trumpetings about it, Satchmo seems never to have been asked by the State Department to take any trip to Soviet Russia or anywhere else, or offered assistance in so doing. A reader of this column who inquired sends me a copy of a reply in which he is advised by the department chief of the Public Services Division, Mr. John P. Meagher, that "when Mr. Armstrong's representative approached the department about a government sponsorshihp," it was explained to him that "the government does not generally sponsor groups which can make their own commercial arrangements and that it could not initiate . . . any kind of exchanges with the Soviet Union until certain procedual questions had been resolved. . . . Any plans Mr. Armstrong now has for a tour of the Soviet Union are presumably based on private or commercial arrangements. . . ."

* * *

FROM PUYALLUP (yes), Wash., Howard Grant would have me know that racial mixture has been going on between white and black ever since the glory (long gone) that was Greece and the grandeur (departed) that was Rome.

But there was no NAACP to call you Uncle Tom if you didn't and to have the law on you, however.

* * *

HERE'S HOPING the emasculation trial includes testimony on whether the group behind the accused put them up to it by way of initiation, making the whole sorry bunch of them criminal accomplices.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald, Birm., Ala.

South Should Appeal To National Interest

"The whole is equal to the sum of all its parts. . . ."

* * *

ORLANDO, Fla.—Sometimes, no matter what the book says, two and two don't make four.

"You talk of putting the national interest above the pressure groups," said a gentleman in my audience last night, "but actually the nation is just the sum of all its pressure groups."

* * *

Not so—twice.

Not so, because millions don't belong to any pressure group.

And not so, because you can't serve one without tending to sell out the general interest. Playing up to all can mean just that much more selling out.

* * *

THE SOUTH needs to be a pressure group now as never before, of course, but its appeal, nevertheless, is a national interest one.

That is because the appeal is for the Constitution, the framework, the rules of the American game. It's all we ask, not agreement on the race question.

* * *

THE NATIONAL interest has plenty of support among the rank and file of pressure groups themselves, as Bob Taft proved. Its biggest support is, or ought to be, among the so-called business and professional groups.

Not organized, they represent a very great number of people and even more of community leadership. I thought of it as the gentleman asked his question here and I was aware at the speaker's table of two exceptionally civic-minded, personable and lead-taking young married couples—Mr. and Mrs. [illegible] Guernsey and Mr. and Mrs. [illegible] A. Riviere, modern-minded [illegible] the post-Fair Deal modern [illegible] in which America is turning [illegible] lights on again, including some [illegible] persisting Southern ones for wh[illegible]ch Editor Harry (Lion-in-the-Str[illegible]eets) Ashmore of Little Rock [illegible] and Editor ("Crumpled Culture") [illegible] McKnight of Charlotte, are undertaking epitaphs.

OF THIS Central Florida region, the biggest thing to be said statistically is that its wealth and population keep pace with Florida. J. N. Stonebraker, public relations counsel and factotum of Floridics, keeps the score and finds it constant.

To keep pace in Florida is to keep something terrific.

* * *

IN THIS capital city of the incomparable lake, hill and orange grove region you think of that line from "America, the Beautiful"—

". . . thine alabaster cities shine
Undimmed by human tears."

There are human tears in Orlando, for they are everywhere, but gifts of nature and contrivings of man dry many.

* * *

PUBLISHER MARTIN Andersen, of The Sentinel-Star, who, born in the Mississippi Delta country, is a factor in keeping this a states' rights and constitution-loving community even as the population is ever more national.

I found him sad about The New York Times, the newspaper Americans have been brought up to revere.

Its eccentricities with news from the South are in local minds now because of the speech North Carolina's Governor Hodges at the district Rotary Conference here last week recalling how he was censored out of The Times a few months ago when he undertook to tell New York's Rotary Club the Southern point of view.

And this even though The Times had received an advance copy of the speech, had sent a special reporter and had interviewed the governor additionally afterwards.

He told Publisher Andersen he would not have been so shocked at the shut-out if The Times hadn't indicated so much awareness of the speech.

* * *

EDITORIALIZING ON this under title, "A Great Newspaper in Disgrace," Martin Andersen calls it an "amazing and startling example of the Northern attitude on the South's views on segregation."

He recalls The Times' pride in its vast news coverage "with more correspondents than any other newspaper in the world," and marvels at such a paper "flatly refusing to give a Southern governor—and a somewhat liberal one at that—space to explain the South's thinking."

Certainly to have so temperate and mature a man as Luther Hodges, experienced as he is in ways of the press, remembering this incident so publicly and bitterly, makes it one more example of that strange inability in highest legal, political and editorial Northern places now to be fair about the South.

The race issue divides not only North from South and brother from brother but high-principled professionals from their principles.

* * *

IS "NEVER, NEVER" allowed in this age of science unlimited? Tomorrow's Red birthday may be also a day of birth, of something new in the sky, possibly a Red signature even on the bright parchment of the moon.

But one never, never persists so far.

When you get up there in outer space you can't come home again. Our atmosphere will burn you to cinders and trailing gas as it burns the meteors that touch it and the stars that shoot into it.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post Gazette Birmingham Ala.
Pub. Tues. 11-5-57

Splashing The Moon

"Ah, moon of my delight
That knows no wane. . . ."

* * *

Tears for the little dog on Sputnik II.

But horror of horrors for the man in the moon, the real moon, and for all men of Planet Earth!

The indicated next wonder is to splash and deface that real moon with red ink from a Russian missile or red, white and blue ink from one of ours.

It may be better to let the Russians do the splashing.

For that scientific advance will mean to the man in the street no mere "beep, beep" and story in the paper but something hugely visible and shocking in the highest.

THE REAL MOON, ancient of all our days, the one that shone on the Wise Men when they followed the Star of Bethlehem, the one that made light for cave men before they learned to strike a match or turn a switch, the one whose hypnotic light has sparked the creative force of the universe since creating began—to have that suddenly appear above us defaced won't be just a wonder of science.

It will be a hatefulness, an impiety, a monstrosity, of science that should bring Heaven's punishment to the defacers!

* * *

"A world of memory in one mournful chord."

COMES NOW a mournful chord, sick with memories betrayed, cramped and quavering, without echo in courage or sense.

It is the sound of the so-called "loyalists," asking, even now, incredibly, that our Southern Democratic leaders tie themselves to our direct enemies—the NAACP-ADA-CIO Democrats who will dominate the national convention under arrogant, South-hating-and-baiting Chairman Paul Butler.

* * *

MRS. LONNIE NOOJIN, presently the spirit of that freedom, whose late husband was a Southern Republican dear to Robert Taft and the constitutionalists, is above the battle personally by her own choice, agrees that there should be free Republicans as well as free Democrats in the South now.

Free Republicans will be worth many times their weight when the Republican convention comes, of course.

Representation in Republican conventions is based only in part on the number of Republican voters. It is based mostly, as in Democratic conventions, on representation in Congress.

True, there is a bonus for having voted Republican in the last election, but the South will collect that bonus this time for the Southern states which went for Eisenhower.

The South has tremendous power in Republican national conventions—and will have more than ever in 1960. It should be anti-Nixon all the way.

* * *

IF THE mournful sound of "loyalty" betrayed can be stopped at the larynx, a Free South, Democratic and Republican, may yet save both South and nation, save them from the pressure groups, totalitarians and socialists, save them for "the Constitution and the national interest."

FLASH! FROM the far end of the field when he should have been on the line, our John has actually kicked a field goal! Three cheers for that at any rate!

The senator has sent loud word from Asia that Asia is saying nothing at all. He hasn't polled the entire continent, of course, but he is as entitled to his report as those who have it that both Asia and Africa sit up all night lamenting the sins of Little Rock and the South and choosing communism because of them.

* * *

Stare decisis!

That's what Bull Connor says, but in straight Connor English.

He says that "when the courts have decided what the Constitution means, their decision becomes a part of the Constitution," not to be altered by a subsequent decision.

Therefore the court's decision that "separate but equal facilities" are constitutional is part of the Constituion and "no mere nine men, no even (if they were) elected officials, can change the Constitution of 160 million people."

Mr. Connor must hold his interpretation subject to higher authority, of course, but obviously he speaks with benefit of top legal advice. He is simply saying that as long as segregation laws remain on our city books he will enforce them.

* * *

AS MR. CONNOR begins what is sure to be an eventful and momentous term his ambition to make good is not to be doubted.

He speaks humbly of past mistakes and of the fact that he has re-won his post by only a very small margin.

These things and the gravity of the race question can't help but call the best he has in him, not only of courage and decisiveness but of cool and true concern for our people as a whole, white and colored, critics and followers.

* * *

He can turn out to be the strong, just and mature man this situation calls for.

* * *

OF ONE THING I think we may be sure. He is going to stand for law and order—and mean it. It may not be Federal law and order, but it will be law and it will be order. Traitors to the South's program and hope who seek answers in violence and error will have to lick Bull to get by.

21, 1957

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Birmingham Ala. Post P. 10 3/4 white

Dixie Won't Shoot

Herald Nov. 10-28-57

Post

The despot's heel is on thy shore,
Maryland, my Maryland.
His torch is at thy temple door . . ."

* * *

ST. JOSEPH, Mo. — "What would your Alabama do if if the 101st Airborne dropped down to enforce a Federal Court's integration order?" an interviewer for Radio Station KFEG asked me on the air here a mement ago.

3/4 White

I said we would surrender. We would surrender at once to the United States Army. No Southerners are enthusiastic enough to think we can lick the Army—with the Navy and the Air Force in reserve and the Strategic Air Command on cap with nuclear warheads.

* * *

WE ARE PROPOSING no secession, no shooting—and no surrender of the constitutional principles on which we appeal to the nation.

* * *

WE MEAN no civil war but we mean constitutional cold war in course of which we mean within the letter of the law and the true intent, to obstruct indefinitely the integration of public schools among Southern masses of the two populations.

As for Federal troops, they are not going to be sent. Arkansas and Tennessee are not the South in this case.

Southern states are prepared with state legislation as those two are not, and are united as those two are not.

All sorts of things would have to happen before Federal troops might be sent. And if they should ever be sent, some would want to oppose them with force but the sense and program of most of us would be to face them with empty schools—a new "silence at Appomattox."

* * *

I THINK IT is salutary for all of us, North and South, to know there isn't going to be any civil war.

THE SOBER South—and there is one—proposes to win with its wits, its will, its long experience, and its dawning political balance of power if it acts wisely as one.

That balance of power might come into action, for example, if Minnesota's Senator Humphrey and company should undertake, as reported, to deny committee chairmanships to all Southerners who join or support a third party" movement in the 1960 presidential campaign or who refuse to support the Democratic nominee.

Such effort now, as contrasted with 1948, would find the South so unanimous that any attempt to punish it in Congress would simply give Congress to the other party, costing Senator Humphrey and company chairmanships as well as Senator Russell and company.

* * *

THE SOUTH HAS power in unity now both to vote as it pleases for President and to hold Democratic state organizations at home and seniorities in the Senate and House.

* * *

HODDING CARTER, Pulitzer-prize-winning" editor of the Delta Democrat-Times, is "discussing segregation" in these parts. He talked last night in Chicago to the American Jewish Committee's National Executive Board.

Hodding is the only Southerner in this crisis to tell the government to go to hell."

The government he told wasn't the one in Washington but the one in Jackson.

* * *

HAVING BUCKED the stock market up and America and the world, does the President have some lifting little word for the South?

* * *

For he on honey dew hath fed
And drunk the milk of paradise."

IT IS AN illicit love, conceived in sin, sustained by sensaulities of possible success—this one between Sen. John Kennedy and the South?

Or is it a memory dear beyond denominating as such, something nature itself has contrived and which the political creative force of the universe is preserving in great purpose?

WHITE (JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES)

WHATEVER IT IS, John Kennedy, the liberal, the sometime professional New Englander, the conventional integrationist, can't forget.

And neither can the segregationist, sometime anti-Catholic, anti-civil force, union labor resisting South.

Would heaven bless this illicit love?

And who, this side of heaven, knows what's illicit or divine?

Like Taft, the conservative, and Borah, the Progressive, the mop-head from Massachusetts is kin to the South in spite of all, by way of the Constitution of the United States and the national interest.

* * *

THAT MILK is from paradise.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald, Birmingham, Ala.

The Urge To Write

10-31-57

"And write about it, goddess, and about it. . . ."

When you can express your feelings in no other way, the itch to write about them is irresistible.

You can imagine people going mad these days if denied the boon of writing President Eisenhower what they think of Little Rock and such.

They persuade themselves somehow that he will see what they write, even though they know well he won't.

Carbon copies are coming to me of splendid letters to him from scholars, lawyers, soldiers, industrialists, business men, professional men, men of letters, poets, preachers as well as "the man in the street."

Once I felt them wasted but I begin to know they may mean for the writers a conviction clarified, a passion deepened, a determination focused.

And, who knows! Sherman Adams may nod some day. He may let a powerful, persuasive and utterly surprising one of these letters actually get through to the President.

* * *

BUT THERE are others to whom the letters might better be addressed, it seems to me. The ultimate public opinion of this nation—apart from pressure group opinion — comes from leaders of the people, big and small, in states, counties and cities, among the businesses and professions.

This column can testify, having met many such in recent speaking trips outside the South, that these people are troubled and uncertain about the right and wrong of things in the South and that many of them are newly leaning our way.

Name-calling illiteracies, bigotries and irrationalities from the South could turn them back, but mail such as the President is receiving—or being sent—from the sort of Southerners who are sending carbons to me, might resolve a turning tide.

* * *

MR. ROGERS, new attorney-general, has served on the President's committee on government contracts. This is the one which sees to it that there is no race discrimination by companies with government contracts. Having David Lawrence like him complicates matters for us in the Lawrence-liking South.

* * *

NO VOTING qualifications can save Alabama from Negro herd and bloc domination if white people fail as heretofore to register and vote.

A concentrated, house-to-house canvass is going on in the Ninth Congressional District to "get every qualified Negro registered." It should be warning enough.

An organization entitled the "State Coordinating Association for Registering and Voting," of which Orzell Billingsley Jr., is chairman and W. C. Patton, coordinator, is hard at work on this from headquarters in the Masonic Temple Building.

It is undertaking, also, to learn the reasons given when any applicant is rejected, and the percentages rejected.

* * *

GOD MOVES in a mysterious way.

This threat may persuade the white people of Alabama to vote.

The registration office at the courthouse is open from eight to three on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays through the first three weeks of each month now. The last week of each is for registrations similarly in Bessemer.

Citizens Councils can do no more useful work than getting out the vote, it seems to me, and some are splendidly on the job, witness especially the Tarrant Educational Citizens' Council.

* * *

THE SOUTH has no hope of a President who will agree with it on the race question. Its only hope is in the Tafts and Borahs of today, men who refuse to destroy the Constitution to do good, who vote the national interest and not the point of view of some powerfully pushing pressure group.

John Kennedy is one of these. Bill Knowland is another.

They may disagree with us on the race question but they will never sell out for the Negro vote or any other pressure groups.

* * *

". . . SHALT HEAR the 'never, never' whispered by the phantom years." The "never, nevers" of some of our gubernatorial candidates on racial integration are phantoms for sure unless there are plan, program and intelligence behind them.

From Washington a story has it that Congressman Albert Rains hesitates to run for governor because he is too honest to join the competition in unsupported extremism. As resolved as any against public school integration, he sees nothing to be gained in a rivalry for the loudest and loosest talk.

I believe Albert Rains may be of good cheer if this is all that holds him back.

I don't believe our people are going to give their votes to the mere never-never sayers or to those who acrobatically defy the lightning while thousands cheer.

Our people have come to know it isn't as simple as that, any more than it is as simple as the disciples of violence (including the unconscionables) consider it — and the wantonly foolish knights.

Our cause is only to be won now with all the wisdom, knowledge and contriving we can command, backed by the passionate will of our people, yes, but a passion demanding a way, not just a rebel yell.

Let's presume the never-nevers of everybody and go about the sad business of living practically and planfully with our undying determination.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Birm. Ala. — Post Herald

Affront To South

Pd

Mon. 10-21-57

"May now, in mutual, well-beseeming ranks,
Move all one way . . ."

* * *

The South's distance from both parties nationally now is eloquent in the fact that the greatest additional affront it could have at President Eisenhower's hands would be the naming of Eleanor Roosevelt and Adlai Stevenson, top Democrats both, to the newly created Civil Rights Commission.

He is said to have both in mind.

Nominations by Brownell.

* * *

ISN'T IT TIME for Southern State Democratic Executive Committees, or their chairmen, to get together and make their status clear?

This "third party" talk needs both conference and clarification. It needs a conference to face the nation well in advance with 150 solid electoral votes.

It needs a clarification to assure all concerned that this independence includes no surrender of the Democratic name and organization at home.

You can't ignore 150 electoral votes, and you can't impose party discipline on what is the whole party now in most Southern states.

* * *

THE HALF HAD not been told! When you consider what caused the 1948 break-away you know revolt now is many times more called for and many times more certain.

In 1948 it was mainly Mr. Truman's advocacy of a Fair Employment Practices Act and anti-lynching and anti-poll tax laws.

And like most of the Fair Deal program these were never dealt. Few of us who followed Strom Thurmond really imagined, even in moments of darkest foreboding, that within 10 years the measures we were opposing would be beggared by federal orders for integrated public schools and federal bayonets enforcing the orders at classroom doors.

* * *

THAT'S WHY THE revolt this time is not of a divided South but a solid one. There can be no more of the "loyal Democrat" against States' Rights Democrat issue now, nor will any politician dare to talk party discipline against Democrats who hold themselves totally free as regards the presidential election. State Committees are called for their declarations of (1) national independence and (2) of continued control at home.

For that is the simple fact. The party in most Southern states is made up at this moment (whether the state committees reflect it yet or not) of people far more profoundly in revolt now than in 1948, and well-nigh unanimous.

No one—at home or national headquarters—has the right or power to take the state Democratic Party away from these Southern Democrats with all that means of organization, tradition, prestige and seniority.

* * *

THERE'LL BE a "third party," yes, automatically. It is already here. But it will be a third party in the presidential field only, and it may or may not have a candidate.

It will remain in solid possession of the Democratic Party at home, and will probably attend the national convention.

Now is the time for making it clear.

And for taking steps against any leaders who would have it otherwise.

* * *

SOMETIMES it may seem that they don't want the South in these United States any more. But you can't travel outside the national centers of publicity and politics and think so. "People just don't know what's being done to the South and what the facts are behind the South's attitude," Mark B. Garff, leading business man and church man, told me in Salt Lake City last week.

* * *

HOME TO our mountains! It is blessed, after the naked Rockies, to find Red Mountain and Shades Mountain so decently and gorgeously dressed in the very latest Fall fashions.

* * *

NOW IT can be told! It's our "trapped universals".

The trouble with the South, Yale Professor F. S. C. Northrop told the Utah Education Association last week, is "a conflict between two sets of 'trapped universals' or cultural norms within Southerners themselves."

One is the idea of aristocracy, the other of democracy (although the professor doesn't put it as simply as that for it would sound too simple to make a speech about).

To achieve the boon of integration, as the professor sees it, we must have a trapped universal removed — the artistocratic one.

In these days when we need to be more artistocratic than ever about our democracy, giving it to ever more superior human beings, the professor's nursery rhyme sounds funny.

It is phony even in egg-head dressing.

* * *

HOW WONDERFUL is Time with its metaphysical news sources, piercing walls, doors and the very souls and noses of men! Witness inside information this week that Governor Faubus has been "holed up with his cold and his conscience."

Psychic, too, was Time's quotation of Senator Byrd as saying "Nigra."

The senator himself distinctly heard himself say "Negro", but in Time's lexicon unless you pronounce it "Knee-grow" you are saying "Nigra."

* * *

The masthead of The Deseret News in Salt Lake City says: "We stand for the Constitution of the United States as having been divinely inspired."

That's what we stand for in the South—against nervous ninesomes who hold hands and jump without mandate from the people, the Congress, the Constitution, or the Lord.

Also without common sense.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald 31a

Southland Becoming 'All-American' Region

Birmingham Ala.

Sat. 8-3-57

"The American South!"

Now it's trial by jury which the South has had to be standing for more devoutly than any others.

It may be nothing to brag about but it is certainly something to take note of—that this region's peculiar problem invites it to so many basically American stands and makes it so inherently "all-American."

* * *

The spectacle of small "l" liberals on the South's side in the civil force debate is food for thought both South and North and among both leftists and rightists.

In what some of us like to think of as "Modern Americanism" the liberty which we Americans propose to hold on to with our ham-and-eggs and "general welfare" cuts through many of the old dividing lines.

VOTING AMERICAN — with the South—Thursday night was John Kennedy of Massachusetts. He voted that way, also against by-passing the Judiciary Committee.

"It is inevitable," Senator Kennedy wrote me at that time, "that you, as a noted Southern commentator, and I, as a Massachusetts senator, will from time to time disagree on various public issues.

"But I am hopeful nevertheless that I shall always be able to reach my decisions in a responsible and conscientious manner, whether or not that brings me into disagreement with my constituents as in the case of by-passing of the Senate Judiciary Committee . . .

"While I make no pretense of being 'Southern,'" continued John Kennedy of Massachusetts, "it is in the above sense I believe, and the moderate philosophy on behalf of the national interest which I hope results, that I feel a common bond with many Southerners."

If this is presidential politics it is of a high order.

Senator Kennedy reiterates his statement that he is "a candidate for nothing more than re-election to the Senate in 1958, a declaration which I make to you in all sincerity at this time."

* * *

IS THE PRESIDENT impressed with the rout of his Civil Force measure by a coalition of both modern and regular Republicans with Southerners of all degrees of left and right?

Some of us who are hoping Ike will decide to spend his last years in office being himself, forgetting "Modern Republicanism" for Modern Americanism, hewing to his line and letting the politicians fall where they may—will be thinking this may be a good time to start.

IN HIS LAST WORD against the jury trial amendment, the President said we must "sustain the power of Federal judges in whose hands such cases might fall."

With a world chock full of things to sustain, he might make some better selections now.

Federal judges need more restraining than sustaining. What needs sustaining is the Constitution—and Magna Carta—and the laws of nature and of God—and the peace, order, integrity and vitality of the southeastern corner of earth's great place!

* * *

TO SUSTAIN or restrain? In the most basic sense our courts will be sustained now only by being restrained.

It isn't the occasional jury gone wrong but the Supreme Court running wild that is robbing our people of the respect to support the judicial system on which freedom and democracy depend.

* * *

"We twain once well in sunder,
What will the mad gods do
For hate with me, I wonder,
And what for love with you . . ?"

The mad gods are doing wonders for Mrs. Leona Gage, ousted "Miss" U.S.A. She marches on as a moving picture and night club star, a favorite of Steve Allen on television, more and more to follow.

Did or did not nature have the right idea when it decreed that there should be no justice where a beautiful woman is concerned? Is there a survival of the fairest, come what may to the tender and true?

You'd hate to have to interpret the lesson of Leona to some one just setting forth to make a life of it in this world.

Or the lesson of other women, beautiful and not-so-beautiful who win enormous temporary advantages with sex alone, until their sins find them out.

GRAVES 31a

Post-Herald

Much Will Depend On President

Tues. 7-9-57

Birmingham, Ala.

P. 10

"He was the mildest mannered man
That ever scuttled ship or cut a throat. . . ."

* * *

The President doesn't know law but he knows bayonets.

And the land and naval forces of the United States.

When a statesman he deems to be "highly respected" says bayonet rule and bloodshed may result from the civil force bill, does he take note?

When another describes it as giving his attorney general authority to use "the land and naval forces of the United States," does he lend an ear?

When told that not merely the right to vote is involved but the whole range of rights under the 14 the Amendment, does he listen?

Or does he stick to it that the unlimited potentials of this force bill are the mild pleasantries of a gentle attorney general?

* * *

IT REMAINS to be seen.

The fate of the civil rights bill against the South's last-ditch filibuster will probably depend on what results from that puzzlement the President has admitted, that amazement over the vehemence of Southern opposition.

He may yet save the country from the mountainous bitterness brewing now on the Senate floor.

* * *

IT IS IKE who is on the spot.

But for his fanatical attorney general Congress would, surely, never have let itself get into this politically disruptive mess.

White him a letter or send him a wire.

* * *

IT ISN'T just a filibuster.

It's an appeal to reason.

Senator Russell "doubts very much whether the full implications of the bill have ever been explained to the President. It will be explained now — to him and the nation.

Senator Stennis says the Southern purpose is "to defeat the bill by whatever legislative means we can—but our main weapon will be to expose it fully in debate." What will be exposed is the Constitution and the eternal truths thereof.

The South will fail of its finest purpose and greatest chance if this struggle doesn't do more than hold the line of 32 senators against cloture.

This is a struggle for the mind of America. Not on the race question but on the great constitutional questions that have come up and on a principle antedating even the Constitution—the eternal one against too much government too far from the governed.

* * *

WITH THE CLINTON case on at the same time, it is interesting to consider how it would go if the filibuster had been lost.

I asked Grover McLeod, Alabama's able member of defense counsel. Under the present set-up, he points out, the defendants will be tried before a jury and the United States will not be a real party in interest even though it acts as prosecutor. If found guilty, the defendants can be given a maximum of six months in jail and a fine of $1000.

But if the civil rights bill were in force, says Mr. McLeod, there would be no jury trial and the United States would be the real party in interest. The case would be tried before a judge who could be brought in from Puerto Rico, or anywhere. As for punishment, the judge could use his discretion. In the John L. Lewis case the fine was $10,000 for Lewis, $700,000 for the United Mine Workers.

* * *

LAWYERS FOR the defense at Clinton have had to fight for a jury trial and for elimination of the United States as a real party in interest. But under the civil rights bill, a fight would have been of no avail.

One important point won is that the government must prove the defendants had actual notice of the issuance of the injunction, that it was read to them and that they understood it.

This is a way of light indeed in comparison with the Gestapo darkness of the civil force bill.

* * *

WHAT DID DICK RUSSELL have in mind with his proposed national referendum on civil rights? Better than anyone he knows there is no machinery for such a thing.

Was it the great Georgia senator's way of suggesting to the leadership of both parties and to the Administration that the South has attracted the nation to its constitutional side more than they know—and that, as involved politicians, they had better begin to know?

William Simmons, one of the three top-ranking Citizens Council leaders of the South, told me from Jackson last Friday that his headquarters has had letters from 37 states in praise of the Martin articles ("The South Says Never") in the Saturday Evening Post and endorsement of the Southern attitude. He is partisan, of course, but he honestly believes the South has a national majority with it now.

He says of T[illegible] Post series that no matter whether some of us here like the light in which it has presented the South or not, the national public has been impressed and the articles are, therefore, a plus for these states.

They are one more word to the world that we are not alone—if we behave ourselves.

in 197

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald P. 8

Sat. 7-20-57

Morning Brightens

"Say not 'Good night,' but in some brighter clime
Bid me good morning'."

Birm. Ala.

GOOD MORNING, David!

Two letters from Washington hint of brighter clime. One is from Senator Russell, leader of the South, the other from NBC's Newscaster David Brinkley whose coverage of the opening phase of the civil rights debate this column criticized as denying the South its big time on the air. The two letters must be reported to show the hint.

* * *

HURT BY MAIL "generated among your readers," Mr. Brinkley calls my criticism "highly unfair." He says "Senator Russell is satisfied that he and his associates are getting fair coverage on the air."

* * *

THAT IS TRUE now to an extent. But it was the senator's own original complaint that launched this column's attention and criticism. "The media of public information," he writes, "has been much fairer of late, though of course the other side gets the best of it as you have disclosed in your columns . . ."

* * *

MR. BRINKLEY says he has "looked back over the scripts and if there was any one-sidedness it was quoting the Southerners more often and more lengthily than those on the other side." This, also, could be true for, as he himself points out, the Southerners were making most of the speeches in that first phase of the debate. But I believe the television audience will agree about the general effect.

Monday, July 8, was the big night, for example. CBS ran interviews but Messrs. Brinkley and Huntley had only a lot of say-nothing little sketches and gave most of their 15 minutes to glorifying a Negro preacher in Los Angeles whose appointment in place of a white one had ruined a church there. Mr. Brinkley says he had already interviewed Senator Russell the week before. But that was different. The debate wasn't on then with the focus of national attention.

* * *

THAT THINGS have happened to Mr. Brinkley in course of this, I do not doubt. Indeed I revel in the thought. For example, cut to the competitive quick by unfavorable comparison with CBS, he writes: "Those programs you say are more fair than ours—have they explained fully that the whole reason for this fight now is that Knowland is running for President, that the Republicans see a chance to pick up votes in the South and in big cities, and that therefore—for the first time in modern history—they are standing against the South on civil rights? Have other programs explained this fully? We have, several times . . ."

That must have been the more recent night when trouble on the cable cut us off from NBC sound in Birmingham. If I had heard it I would have thought it even more than fair. I would have sensed dawn and brighter clime.

* * *

CERTAINLY MR. BRINKLEY seems to be trying hard now to be fair to the South. You get an impression of morning all along the line in Congress, the White House and over what Senator Russell calls "the media of public information." The senator agrees that his speech of July 2 "seemed to have broken the curtain of silence which had been drawn over the deadly purposes of this vicious bill."

* * *

IN SEEMINGLY brighter clime, good morning, David!

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald P. 12

Tues. 7-23-57

One Vote Could Do It

"One little Indian, sittin' on a rail,"

Birm. Ala.

One little Indian, or Puerto Rican or Negro, or white man, could name the President of the United States.

Should Alabama lead the way by dividing its presidential electoral vote in proportion to its popular vote in lieu of the present winner-take-all system which makes this situation possible?

* * *

THE VAST political power of the Negro minority in America, a power which is warping both judgment and justice in the current civil force debate, depends on this system as it operates in the biggest states.

* * *

ONE PUERTO RICAN in New York City, with or without thinking it over or being told, could decide the presidency. With the two parties nearly equally divided in the state and the 45 electoral votes—largest in the nation—going in toto to the winning party no matter how slight its plurality, it is theoretically possible for the vote of this imaginary Puerto Rican to settle a nation's choice.

And, more than theoretically, it is possible for the NAACP so to manipulate its minority blocs in the big divided states as to exercise balances of power that will name a President.

That is why the NAACP will never consent to our able Congressman Albert Rains' proposed law substituting for the winner-take-all practice a division of the electoral vote in each state on a basis of the state's popular vote as is proposed now for Alabama alone.

* * *

THERE IS NOTHING to keep individual states from so dividing their electoral votes. No law covers the matter.

Would Alabama suffer by going ahead alone? Or would the South?

Certainly, as things are now, these states would not mean as many electoral votes to the Democratic nominee. But we would be more tried-for by both parties, nevertheless, the Democratic in fear of losing some of our electoral votes, the Republican in certainty of having some.

And we would enjoy the cajolleries from Washington that go to a divided state. As for our current practice of being all Democrats on subpresidential levels, with what that means of seniority in Congress — we could continue that, although some hope we would be encouraged to two-partyism all the way.

* * *

A CONSIDERATION is the situation that will result from increased Negro voting in the South. Insofar as the new apportionment would make minorities less capable of exercising a balance of power, it would serve in the South as in the North. Insofar as it would give minorities electoral votes they don't get now, however, it might increase a corrupt catering to Negro blocs.

* * *

WHAT DOES Congressman Rains think of the Montgomery proposal, I wonder? His own bill in Congress would not only apportion electoral votes this way but abolish the electoral college. The latter would be a tragic mistake, it seems to me. It isn't necessary for the new apportionment and we need the electoral college in our Southern business.

If we are going to have to live by bargaining, it's our last place to bargain.

If we are going to have to depend on ultimate weapons, it is one.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald P. 10

Thurs. 8-1-57

Aid Higher Education

"Yea, Alabama!"

Birm. Ala.

Calling all Alabamians and their Legislature!

Calling them to stand by the University, by Auburn and our other institutions of higher learning! It is a critical time in their history and ours.

After talking with President Newman yesterday and reading statements by President Draughon, this column is more than ever convinced of the dire financial situation.

The need of paying better salaries to more teachers exists everywhere in the country now that the wartime baby crop is going to college and there is inflation.

But it is aggravated for us by what the Supreme Court's desegregation decision has done, the trouble at home, the ill-repute outside (as pointed out here last week).

* * *

BECAUSE PROFESSORS and instructors hesitate to become involved in a situation woefully over-advertised nationally, premium salaries are more indicated than the lowest in all the land.

* * *

WE PROPOSE to go on. We mean to have our higher educational institutions shine in more use than ever as our great time unfolds. We propose not only no surrender but not to be destroyed by the hateful question. We mean to survive in an academic excellence apart from it.

And the imperative is increased appropriations.

* * *

WHEREVER the money comes from, it must come. Here is a more precious use than highways and social services, more precious even than special sessions and pay raises. It is one more vital segregation measure to be taken in resistance to tyranny.

* * *

WHY SHOULDN'T Alabama come out of this trouble with its higher educational system not only saved but enriched?

Why shouldn't the all-around situation come under scrutiny by some special group now, inspiring not only a sacrificially generous increase in appropriations but an all-around reconstruction of the set-up in directions of a unity, a youth and an up-to-date that will let us contribute some of those last words not yet written in this nation?

* * *

WHEN IKE spoke of the Hell's Canyon Dam as a proposed enormous public expenditure for benefit of one area and wondered that anybody should be demanding this when Idaho Power would build dams for nothing, there must have been many who had never thought of it that way.

The party line is that Idaho Power would charge more for the electricity. But how many generations of charging more would have to pass before the cost to the American taxpayer of the now rejected federal dam would be made up?

* * *

SENATOR DOUGLAS, who used to be a college professor, writes me a kindly little lecture against the O'Mahoney jury trial amendment. "Once an election goes by without compliance to a court order," he explains, "there is no way for the individual to remove the contempt by compliance. This means that a criminal contempt is involved and under the O'Mahoney amendment a jury trial is provided. . . . I believe there would be deliberate contempt and failure to remove it for the purpose of gaining a jury trial and a 'not guilty' verdict, as your article so clearly stated with respect to schools."

Not granting this, Professor Douglas, but supposing it for the sake of argument, when a man is accused of crime is he to be denied a fair trial just because somebody fears of a jury of peers won't convict him?

* * *

AS A GOOD DEMOCRAT does Senator Douglas remember the party's platform of 1896? He was only four then but surely precocious. "We especially object to government by injunction," this platform declared, "a new and highly dangerous form of oppression by which Federal Judges, in contempt of the laws of the States and rights of citizens, become at once legislators, judges and executioners . . ."

Thanks to Mark Wilson Buyck Jr., law student at the University of South Carolina, for this evidence that Democrats as late as 1896 were still for Runnymede and Magna Carta after 681 years.

* * *

"PLEASE KEEP UP your good work in pointing out the real purposes behind this cunningly devised measure," writes Senator Russell.

GRAVES

Guests Treatment Differs

"And, noble guest, receive my hand. . . ."

* * *

The New York Herald-Tribune offers different hands to different guests.

In a series of "guest editorials" from Southerners it captions those favoring moderation and meaning slow death (like Ralph McGill's) "The True South Speaks." But the guest room for those like Tom Waring who can't see the South accepting mass mixing in public schools at all is entitled "The Old South Speaks."

* * *

TOO FIXATIONED to be fair even though it tries and tries, the New York press is guiltier every hour on the hour.

* * *

CAN DICTATORSHIPS put over "crash programs" better than democracies? It depends on the programs. Dictatorships can push all obstructions aside to make way for a few scientists to get a moon into the sky with a dog in it. But they can't move so well in the other direction. They can't pull everything together—material and spiritual—as well as they can push everything aside.

* * *

THEY COULDN'T have re-armed and gone into action after the attack on South Korea as we did, and probably they couldn't re-arm again and in new terms as we are now.

* * *

IT SEEMS TO ME that Editor Harry (Lion-is-in-the-Streets) Ashmore, of The Arkansas Gazette, with his "Epitaph for Dixie" represents a gone generation, whether the Lost, the Beat, or the Just Merely Existing. From his point of view epitaphs for the modern South are in order, but standards of being dead have changed since the Fair Deal days.

One flaw in his death notice is that it results from his acceptance of the bromide that industry is luring the South from its old ways for money's sake. But industry is being changed more than the South. It lets us keep, if we will, blessednesses Harry undertakes glibly to bury.

In Prince Edward County, Va., one of the places where the Supreme Court's adventure in extra-constitutional Swedish psychology and sociology began, a lower court's order to get going with integration is being appealed to the high court. Meanwhile, in Farmville and other Prince Edward communities, all is calm. In a double sense, interest is academic. Prince Edward is completely organized and implemented for abolishing its public schools and inaugurating private ones when and if integration is ordered.

It is the most resisting county in the most resisting state.

And the American social position of both the county and the state are such that people have to be polite.

* * *

PHOOEY on a Montgomery reader who thinks it's just terrible that The Post-Herald gave such space to the mutilation trial, providing the South's enemies with this weapon. Doesn't it occur to the gentlemen that the solution for giving the South's enemies aid and comfort is not to hide stories like this but stop them from happening, invoke our own decent and massive public opinion against those who would be guilty of them. Our duty in Birmingham was to tell the world what they did and then tell the world they were caught and punished in maximum.

* * *

TO CONVINCE ME that Sen. John Kennedy won't do because he is neither a conservative nor a segregationist many have sent me a piece about him in Human Events, called "Kennedy, the Liberal." This shows that, among other things, he has been for federal aid to education and for aid to foreign countries.

So was Bob Taft.

* * *

"WE, as American citizens," well-says The Northern Virginia Daily (serving five cities) "cannot allow the usurpation of powers by the United States Supreme Court to go unchallenged; nor can we permit the President's illegal use of troops at Little Rock to go unrebuked." Here's hoping The Daily agrees with Editor Mills, of The Post-Herald, that we are not carrying through with the challenge and rebuke, that there should be organized and implemented undertakings to carry on in the courts and in the Congress.

The weight of legal opinion begins to be so heavy against the legality of the troops at Little Rock that something conspicuous in the way of rebuke for that might succeed. As for the desegregation decision itself, so much has happened since it was handed down that it would be foolhardy indeed to fail to carry through now for reconsideration by the Court and/or action by Congress.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald 7.10

Unfair To Dixie

"All the earth and air
With thy voice is loud . . ."

The CBS part is loud but not the NBC.

Newscasters David Brinkley and Chet Huntley of the latter seem determined that the South shall have no benefit of the national air as debate on the civil rights bill begins.

This is the South's first big chance to be heard, but Chet and David say they shall not pass, it seems.

Amounting Southern protest may have made NBC do better before this appears but the bloom is off the initial national attention.

* * *

On Monday CBS interviewed Southern senators fairly and impressively along with opposition ones. But NBC's David and Chet used the fact that you can't televise Senate proceedings to fill their story with silly little sketches and no interviews.

Then they moved on happily to give most of their 15-minute period to glorifying a Negro preacher at a Los Angeles Methodist Church which has been destroyed by bringing him in to replace a white one.

Wednesday Senator Russell made his dramatic call on the President. That was too big a story to be denied big play, but David and Chet played it their way.

They left out the pungent last line of what Senator Russell said—the meat of the interview. By failing to quote his summarizing final statement that he felt no better about the situation and reporting only that the President had seemed to have an open mind on "clarifying amendments," the newscasters gave the impression that some sort of compromise was available if the South would pipe down, when apparently, none was.

Newscaster Brinkley then covered the day's Senate debate with several more silly little say-nothing sketches. He quoted one pro-bill senator, without comment, and then, to be absolutely fair, he quoted a Southern anti. But to the latter he added a snappily acid little answer-back of his own.

He is good at that.

* * *

STRICTLY THUS was the South rationed, edited, two-timed and answered back on NBC's air as its first big nation-wide hearing began.

Goodnight, Chet, and goodnight, David, and if this parting be forever, "then forever fare thee well!"

* * *

IF TUSKEGEE Institute and environs were incorporated as a city, would the city become a strong-hold for NAACP influence and ideals?

That is possible, but just the reverse is possible, too. The fact of being self-governing, of being heavily state supported in part, of a tradition for "separate but equal" under great Booker Washington and Robert Russa Moton long before the NAACP was born, of having been on tthe scene here all these years, living separately in such distinction, honor and use, the fact of an ingrained awareness of Alabama's point of view—these might encourage a genuine Southern Negro citizenship, too proud and successful and free ever to be called Uncle Tom.

* * *

THE SOUTHERN tradition at Tuskegee did not end with Booker Washington and Robert R. Moton. As late as March, 1942, Tuskegee's President F. D. Patterson was damning NAACP leadership in a notable letter to a Negro editor printed in my "The Fighting South" (page 133).

Dr. Patterson came to regret the letter later when Northern liberals took him over, but he spoke the truth.

Praising the NAACP for successful protests against injustices and discriminations, he complained that "in the realm of practical adjustment of Negroes to American life, it fails miserably. . . . The extent to which (Walter) White has been able to get the official ear in Washington has accomplished little because it has been used to protest adjustments short of what he has deemed was complete democratic integration."

Dr. Patterson called for local and other organizations more awake to the situation at home. He believed that what they could accomplish would be better "than a militant stalemate which gets nothing for the Negro and leaves crystallized determined attitudes that the future shall be equally as unproductive of favorable results. . ."

* * *

WHO KNOWS but that a two-community set-up at Tuskegee might produce something epochal in approach to a Southern future fair to both races, help them to achieve things side by side they can never have in hatefully forced admixture!

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald 7.10

Blow To Church

"We may not climb the heavenly steeps
To bring the Lord Christ down. . . ."

* * *

It may be that the most substantial example yet of the tragedy of mixing church and state is the side-taking by Southern church leaders against segregation in the Deep South.

Its religious cost in laymen confused in faith or in loyalty to leaders is already bitter—and growing as these leaders persist in what laymen know to be a police and biological matter.

This could be the biggest modern blow God has suffered in the name of God.

* * *

IT WOULD BE HARD to find anything more tenderly and loyallty Christian than the protest of Montgomery's Trinity Presbyterian Church elders to their national church's Board of Christian Education in regard to "certain marked trends and definite emphases" in church literature and programs which are "gradually getting away from the historic Presbyterian interpretation of the Scriptures and are not stressing sufficiently the basic beliefs of the church. . . ."

"We need more emphasis . . . on our individual need of a Saviour. . . . The problems of government, economics, race, servitude, class and social conditions all existed when our Lord was upon the earth and some of these to a greater degree than today, yet He did not devote his primary efforts to these and their solutions. . . ."

"We see no reason why this question of race relations should continually be injected into our literature and programs and presented in such a manner as to give only one side of the question. . . . It is our belief that the unity and usefulness of our church is being imperilled. . . .

"We recognize only 'One Lawgiver in Zion,' notwithstanding the deliberances of our past two General Assemblies."

WHEN THE LAST Presbyterian General Assembly adopted its report for racial integration, it may have been no more Presbyterian than it was "general."

It may have reflected the philosophy of its church no better than it did the opinions of the church's rank and file.

Certainly some quotations from the Presbyterian Confessions of Faith with which the Jackson (Mississippi) First Presbyterian Church rejected and denounced the report are impressive. There is not only the simple and specific declaration that "we believe in the separation of church and state" but the elaboration: "The church exists to bring to Christ those whom the Father has given Him and to establish the Redeemer's kingdom. The mission of the church is spiritual, and its work is to preach the gospel to all men in every generation. . . ."

"Synods and Councils," says the Presbyterian document, "are to handle and conclude nothing but that which is ecclesiastical, and are not to intermeddle with civil affairs which concern the commonwealth, unless by way of humble petition in cases extraordinary; or by way of advice for satisfaction of conscience, if they are thereunto requested by the civil magistrate. . . ."

"In the opinion of Jackson's Presbyterians the General Assembly's report "has unnecessarily caused resentment among the individual members of the Church so as to adversely affect the real and only mission of the Church."

* * *

WILL IKE'S EDUCATION on jury trials in contempt cases stop short with that statement against them by William Howard Taft which Mr. Brownell found for him after he (Ike) had said he wasn't a lawyer and must depend on legal advice? If only someone can get through to the President with what Mr. Brownell left out, to wit, that Taft contradicted this purely political statement years later as Chief Justice, declaring then that trial by jury in injunction cases is "right and just?" Or is the trouble along the cable still there—the same that kept the attorney general from telling the President about the Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1923 for jury trials in labor injunction cases?

* * *

HUGO BLACK could tell the President that what you think in a political campaign isn't necessarily what you think as a Supreme Court Justice later on. Justice Black was a great defender of congressional investigations when he was a senator and was conducting one with such ruthless and brilliant aggressiveness that he caught the whole country's imagination. But today he belongs to the court majority which has just about ruined congressional investigations.

* * *

PROFOUND THOUGHT:

Are you a harum-scarum executive, going madly through an agenda that rules you so sentimentally and routinely with trifles you let big things go by?

Some fine folks are.

GRAVES

Post-Herald Wed. 7-24-57

Senate Bars U. S. Using Of Armies

"Of dreams that wave before the half-shut eye. . . ."

* * *

How did the attorney general picture it in his dream?

Now that a finally awakened Senate has said by 90 to nothing that Mr. Brownell can't use the Army, Navy and Air Force against the South, Senator Lausche does well to talk of well to talk of investigating "nefarious proposals inspired by "fanaticism."

Intentionally or not, some reports of the Senate's action Monday against Part Three of the Civil Force Bill made it seem a mere humoring of far-fetched Southern fears based on a forgotten Reconstruction measure which only the bugaboo-ed would think intended for the modern bill.

The shameful fact is that there

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald P. 10

Dixie Misrepresented

Thurs. 7-11-57

Ten thousand Southern juries saying "Not guilty!"

Birmingham, Ala.

Nothing could better illustrate Senator Russell's point that the South is misrepresented about Negro voting than the use made Saturday by Illinois' Senator Douglas of a column I wrote two years ago to the effect that an ultimate weapon against public school integration might be juries which would refuse to convict.

Senator Douglas is a fair man but his use of this column wasn't fair.

He used it to argue that there should be no jury trial amendment to the civil rights bill because Southern juries couldn't be trusted to convict. Southerners unblushingly admitted and counted on it, he said, and this column was proof.

IT WAS ON SCHOOL segregation that the not-guilty-saying jury was proposed—and is still—as one of the South's weapons in a constitutional cold war with no legal holds barred by either Supreme Court or South.

The major concern of the civil rights bill, in the contention of its advocates, is Negro voting.

Never yet has this column proposed that juries say "not guilty" in cases of illegal vote denial. Always the solution has been voting qualifications which would prevent dominance by a herded and managed Negro bloc, even at cost of white votes.

* * *

SO FAIR A MAN is Senator Douglas that I believe he will see it unfair to use this proposal on school desegregation as if it were directed at Negro voting. Since he has had the whole column printed in the Congressional Record, he needs only to look at it to see this is so.

* * *

THE SENATOR generously calls my column one of the "ablest in the country, frequently regarded as the Voice of the Deep South."

I would be false to my pride in the fine name he gives me if I didn't ask him to look again and see that neither the South nor the column is saying what he says they are.

The South has a grevious voting problem in long-established areas where Negroes hugely outnumber whites. But it recognizes the right of Negroes to vote under the same qualifications as whites. Its juries would act accordingly, I believe.

Only on the public school issue does it feel warranted in torturing the Supreme Court's decision as the Court has tortured the Constitution, using, as the Court did, the letter of the law for every maneuver, obstruction, filibuster, delay, and artifice its genius can contrive, including not-guilty-saying juries. And more after that.

* * *

IF ONLY SENATOR Douglas, a sincere and passionate liberal, could see as liberals Borah of old did and Mahoney of today does, that liberalism calls for support of the South against some of these "civil rights" proposals!

Sen. Strom Thurmond put another column of mine into the Congressional Record last week, entitled "The Most Civil Right is the Right to be Let Alone," pointing out that civil liberty is indivisible and quoting The Baltimore Sun's reminder that in the civil force bill "it is proposed to assure one right—the right to vote—by ignoring another right—the right to a jury trial."

"Beware the Jabberwock, my child . . .!"

* * *

THE NAACP'S Clarence Mitchell warns "youthful senators from the South" to beware the filibuster if they want national recognition. "What profiteth it a man to win a talkathon in 1957 if it costs him a chance to go to the White House in 1964?" That bait has long ago been swallowed by "youthful" Sen. Estes Kefauver.

The possibility of a president or vice president from the South will increase, says Mr. Mitchell, as the Negro vote there is increased. But Southern politicians who pay this too much mind today will be too dead politically to rise again when the great hour of integration is at hand.

IF THE FILBUSTER is the South's last remaining weapon, consider how our Alabama Legislature is cheapening it to death, employing it, apparently, nearly every time anybody opposes anything. The filibuster is an ultimate weapon, one in extremis, for great issues on which there is profound feeling.

If it comes to be an every day device, it will be done away with as intolerable.

* * *

"ADENOIDAL HORNS" appeared here by misprint yesterday as "adenoidal harms" but there's no harm. It's the same thing in musical monstrosity.

* * *

COLUMNIST STEWART Alsop wonders if a Taft administration would have differed "in any really basic way" from the Eisenhower. Not on New Dealing and foreign affairs, I think (shocking as this is to both liberals and conservatives) but certainly on "civil liberties."

Taft was for the South—because he was for the Constitution.

---

was no mere coincidence.

There was deliberate, identifiable - and tricky - intent to include this Reconstruction measure.

* * *

Something unconscionable has been attempted to be put over on an untutored President and a Congress counted on not to follow a maze of references, cross references and code numbers.

* * *

Does it impress the President at all that his attorney general concealed in verbiage and legalisms something so obnoxious that the Senate now votes 90 to nothing to strike out?

Does it embtrrass him that when he said he wouldn't think of using troops, somebody else was thinking of it?

* * *

It was Senator Russell, in his great speech on July 2, who first made note of what all have noted now and repudiated.

He described the "subtle cunning of the draftsman" who drew a bill "in this peculiar fashion so as to authorize the use of the military forces of the United States against the white people of the South, if necessary at the bayonet point, to do away with the separation of the races in any phase of public life."

"The devious purpose in undertaking to have Congress legislate by reference and cross reference, and by numbers or references to sections of the Code, was to tie this whole proposition into the law authorizing the use of troops . . ."

If Senator Russell hadn't laboriously and clear - headedly worked his way through the maze to the skulduggery what would the attorney general have done eventually with this power which his Presdent hadn't been told about?

What was the dream before the half-shut eye?

* * *

NBC's Newscaster David Brinkley did well for the South and the truth about this. After the unanimous vote of the Senate Monday he made crystal clear what was in danger of not being clear, that this thing was real and intended, not just a bit of Southern hysteria to be assuaged.

Sweet dreams, David!

BUT ONLY ONE of the attorney general's dreamed armies has been ordered to stack arms. Another, openly proposed and at this writing likely to be authorized, is the Civil Rights Department to be set up in the Department of Justice.

With hundreds of lawyers, investigators, clerks and secretaries, it could swarm the South, like a Gestapo.

Once established it would demand more and more power, little by little or in great gobs, from congressional politicians who dared not refuse the NAACP anything.

The South is not saved from armies even though the attorney general's dream of land and naval forces is exposed.

That is why there must be a filibuster—and it must win.

* * *

SEND THESE facts to your senators, dear readers, and to the President, and to some senators from border Western and Midwestern states. Waste no postage on Northern and Eastern senators for the NAACP holds deadly balance of power there.

* * *

WHEN YOU consider this political power Negro minorities have in the biggest states by reason of the winner-take-all electoral vote practice and when you add the power expected to be won for the Negro through enormous increases in his vote in the South, you begin to believe that unless something is done the prospect is not of white supremacy in the South but of Negro supremacy in the nation.

* * *

HAPPILY THE South's cause is coming to be national and the South itself has begun to succeed with the only weapons that can work—statesmanship and constitutionalism backed by will-to-win.

Columnist Doris Fleeson sees this section "shorn of its protective alliances in the civil rights field" and dependent now on the magnanimity of the rest of the country.

Dry those tears, Doris. You mistook for the fight itself a 71-18 vote last week for a motion to start the fight. Now that real battle is joined you'll note that the South has allies among both small "l" liberals and right-and-left-ranging constitutionalists.

* * *

"OBVIOUSLY," a phone-caller tells me, "Durante's 'Goodnight, Mrs. Kalabash'" is a frivolity.

Now what do you mean by that, phone-caller? She may be a perfect lady.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald P. 4

Calling The South

B'ham, Ala.

Wed. 5-15-57

"All the earth and air
With thy voice is loud."

Calling every Southern eye ear, pen, typewriter and larynx!

Loud over earth and air Friday, in print and pulpits, on forums and at assemblies speial and general will be the celebration of what some truly and some only professionally deem a second Day of Independence, a new Emancipation Proclamation — the Supreme Court's desegregation decision of three years ago.

We in the South know better. We call it Black Monday.

Black for the well-being of both white and colored, for public peace and order, for the Constitution, for nature's dispositions and God's way.

Black for real advancement of colored people.

* * *

LET US TELL the national broadcasting stations and their local outlets before they tell us! Let us remind all who address the nation that we are part, that we, too, are listening, and that we will damn partisans who pretend not to be, newcasters who editorialize, pretenders that the debate is over and only illiterates hold out.

A South which has found its voice since May 17, 1954, has signal to use it this week.

* * *

"Thou canst not say I did it! Never shake your gory locks at me. . . ."

THUS THE NERVOUS nine who held hands and jumped.

As trouble mounts, division grows and light recedes, the Supreme Court may say truly that it never ordered integration. It simply forbade legal segration.

There is a distinction, and the South will make use of it. But the decision gave the NAACP and like-minded ones the knife to stab our life away with eventual integration in all directions and degrees.

The court was accomplice before the fact.

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THUS FAR THE knife fails and the fact pales. Three years —and no surrender anywhere. The Associated Press called the roll Monday:

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* * *

THE SECRET of successful resistance is that we have minded our manners as we have held our lines. Let there be no break this anniversary week, no hateful, violent or foolish incident.

Our real enemies don't live here.

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LOOK MAGAZINE presents the Rev. Robert B. McNeill, of the First Presbyterian Church of Columbus, Ga., accusing others of his own confusion.

Dr. McNeill says Southerners are so touchy about the race question they can't see straight on simple justice, freedom, democracy, and such.

But it is Dr. McNeill and company who can't see. They can't see that segregation doesn't necessarily have to do with those things, or with Christianity.

It is a police and biological imperative. Within its framework Southerners propose now to serve justice, freedom, democracy—and God—as truly as Dr. McNeill and company do.

* * *

THE REV DR. John C. Turner will be cited by the John Park Custis chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution today for outstanding civic service—and the Daughters don't mean politics, economic, sociology or biology!

John Turner preaches Christ and Him crucified. He preaches excellent human being. Mrs. Hugh Bigler will make the presentation, and that means something outstanding, too.

* * *

MEN OF SCIENTIFIC ultimates from all America are to attend the Southern Research Institute's Age of Space program here tomorrow and Friday. The rapidity of our Institute's growth to national rank in 12 years suggests the speed of sound and the sound of speed.

* * *

ARE YOU A sophisticated unsophisticate? Which is to say, one whose mind, speech and imagined code are broad but whose conduct is not and will never be and who is honestly shocked at presumptions otherwise when suddenly they come.

In contrast is the unsophisticated sophisticate, broad-living without maturity, the raw child of nature. Put the two together and both tragedy and comedy result, even explosion.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald P. 12 31a white

Lateness Is A Help

Mon. 5-27-57

"The blessedness of being late."

B'ham, Ala.

Mississippi's R. E. Dumas Milner, who, at 41, is one of the nation's conspicuously successful businessmen, industrialists and publicists, agrees on "the blessedness of being late" insofar as the South's industrialization is concerned.

"The new plants and those under construction," he points out, "have profited by the advance in design, equipment and production engineering so that they have a tremendous advantage over the obsolescent plants of the older industrial areas."

* * *

Amen! Also by reason of being late, the South is going to have advantage of some last words of its own on labor relations, race relations, education, religion, architecture, manners and what-have-they.

And there is always, too, the blessedness of being powered in our industrial revolution by electricity and gas, the decentralizers, rather than by steam, the centralizer and huddlemaker.

Thanks to being late for steam and in time for electricity, we have room to grow, breathe, be free and fair; not go in for socialism, federalism, centralism, integrationism, one-big-unionism, one-wordism, and all that.

* * *

SOUTHERNERS who were sure Herman Talmadge would get back into the act soon in spite of senatorial freshman limitations are confirmed. As a member of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, he has got himself on the special subcommittee to consider proposed changes in Rule 22 on limiting debate, the so-called filibuster rule. He proposed to go to town, and he invites all good men and organizations to come along.

"Because I consider the question of free debate in the Senate a matter of fundamental importance to the maintenance of constitutional government," he writes, "I have insisted that the hearings be thorough and that the views of the 'grass roots' citizens of this nation be determined.

"I have served notice that I intend to see that all patriotic non-Communist organizations with national memberships are invited to express their views . . . The subcommittee has agreed that (the hearings) will be continued until all interested parties have the opportunity to be heard . . ."

* * *

THE SENATOR is inviting such parties to take part in the hearings or to let him have expressions "in the form of a resolution, letter or telegram" which could be made a part of the record. He wants these individuals and organizations to do this, and also to write their senators and congressmen.

This is an act many of us can get into. And it is presently at the heart of our whole Southern resistance.

Rule 22 is not unreasonable. It doesn't let one senator hold up the whole body as some have been persuaded. It simply provides that debate may not be shut off unless two thirds of the senators vote to shut it off. The rule isn't unreasonable but it is the hope of the South against a civil force majority in Congress.

* * *

GUNNAR MYRDAL, loved one of the Supreme Court, may have another case for it. In his "An International Economy," he argues against what he calls "the United States' bigness" and urges "equalization and integration" of all peoples through redistribution of natural and commercial wealth.

So respectful of him is our court (or was the one of 1954-55) that it might entertain from him now an anti-trust suit against the United States of America as a monopoly in restraint of trade.

Also, of course, in restraint of Russia.

* * *

INTEGRATION, equalization, socialization, standardization, regulation and one worldliness—that's the style of the Supreme Court's prophet-hero. If, with the Court abetting, Dr. Myrdal gets his "brave new world," with all of us as like as bolts on an assembly line, we can go by numbers rather than names, be cheaper by the trillion, faceless items of a planetary eating society, automation's ultimate automatons.

* * *

WE WHO SET forth upon commencement speeches this week of the year 1957—have we no consciences? Who are we planetary busts to tell youth what's what?

Well, young ladies and gentlemen, if you must know, we are the ones who have seen America with the lights on. That was before you were born but they were no kerosene lamps.

They were the lights in whose glow this nation was born, in whose gleam it has grown up, and in whose returning kilowatts it will play its part now as earth's great place.

* * *

As for being old, young ladies and gentlemen, dear hearts all—

"Where you are now, there once were we;
Where we are now, you soon will be."

GRAVES

Post-Herald

Percentage Magic Still Is At Work

Sat. 5-25-57

B'ham, Ala.

"The magic of percentages..."

That was Winston Churchill's term for the arithmetic that makes possible insurance and small loans.

A risk, chance or incidence which would not economically be convened in the case of one individual can be covered when divided among many.

The loan sharks, whether they do it through extortionate interest on the loan, an extortionate insurance charge against the debtor's disability, are birds of prey on this magic principle.

Interest is right and insurance is right, but these birds are not right.

They are the scoundrels of percentage.

The scandal of our state is their ability somehow to go on surviving.

Let's believe the scandal is about to end.

* * *

NEW TIMES, new weapons! Old-timers can't see that the South is unable to protect itself on the race question in the old ways any longer. Kluxery and foolish knighthood for examples, won't work any more.

And neither will a cumulative poll tax.

The Negro vote may soon share with organized labor's the dictinction of being the most organized, financed and vote conscious of all. It is the woman vote and the poor white vote that will be crippled by a cumulative poll tax now.

Especially as so major a pertentage of males, white and colored, are exempt by reason of war service.

Add the percentage of all of us, male and female, exempt by reason of being over 45—and you have in the poll tax practically no weapon at all for controlling the quality of voters.

* * *

IT'S UP TO OUD Legislature to call the shots, even on the all-important race question, not blindly fire at everything in sight or every target anybody can think of. So passionate and overwhelming is its majority for preserving the Southern way that it sometimes seems you could get a bill passed forbidding people to wear hats or chew gum or drink water if you put an "anti-integration" label on it.

* * *

EMPHASIS BELONGS on "veteran" in the case of that "veteran court observer" quoted yesterday as saying "there's never been a Klan conviction here" and meaning there never can be. An immense majority of our people are opposed to the Klan now and know how it hurts the South's cause. Only "old-timers" imagine otherwise.

* * *

"GRIEF FOREVER after—because forever after nothing less would do." That (from William Faulkner in "The Town") is a better way for a novel or a life to end, it seems to me, than H. E. Bates ends his "The Sleepless Moon"—with characters born without asking, dead without caring.

* * *

CONFIRMING IT that the "Open Forum" at the University was formerly called the "Human

Relations Council" (with what that term has come unhappily to imply) and has always been "composed of a group of crusading faculty and student liberals" rather than of really open minds, a student asks me kindly not to use his name "because one of my professors is an active member. . . . Many students whom I know are afraid to speak out openly in class against the forum. . . . Those who criticize it as a "Closed Forum" immediately find a tremendous storm of protest from the same people who are constantly screaming about their freedom being taken away . . ."

There may actually be less "academic liberty" in the South to oppose integration than to favor it, in spite of the incident at Auburn.

Associate Editor Robert Webb, of The Jackson State Times, speculates interestingly on this. He believes there may be more undergraduate conviction for segregation than meets the ear.

Liberals throughout the nation have put belief in segregation beyond the pale, something that would make a professor unfit to teach even if he were Mark Hopkins himself. This attitude can't help being reflected in Southern colleges with their numbers of outside professors.

There's no bigot like an educated bigot. Lesser bigots may sometimes blush or wonder or even recant, but never these.

* * *

SEVERELY A "fellow-worker" catches me again calling "Some Enchanted Evening" "One Enchanted Evening." He says "one" means a definite evening while "some" means any time now, as the author intended. Think on these things, dear readers.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald p. 14

Calling The South

Birm, Ala.

"All the earth and air
With thy voice is loud."

Wed. 5-23-57

* * *

Calling every Southern eye, ear, pen, typewriter and larynx!

Loud over earth and air Friday, in print and pulpits, on forums and at assemblies special and general will be the celebration of what some truly and some only professionally deem a second Day of Independence, a new Emancipation Proclamation — the Supreme Court's desegregation decision of three years ago.

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JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald Birm, Ala.

Changing Youth

"A youth who bore mid snow and ice
A banner with a strange device—
'Excelsior'!"

Wed. 5-29-57

p. 10

* * *

RALEIGH — Commencement speakers not only speak but are spoken to.

Some of us are being told this week that youth has gone young again.

There's rebellion still as always, and unrestraint, but the depravities which were passed to succeeding generations from the jazz age, the aspirin age and the lower animal age begin to pale.

Many young people, as contended by nearly all young people, really do know better than their parents now.

Also, behave better.

Has any city—even including Richmond, Charleston and Columbia—as much of its history, both remote and recent, represented in markers on its streets—as Raleigh?

* * *

The world's finest-looking Negroes live in North Carolina—and you wonder why.

I think one reason is less living with a chip on the shoulder than other places. Thanks in part to the late James E. Shepard, president of the North Carolina College for Negroes, the colored people of this state have a tradition of loving it and of presuming the white people of it are their friends.

* * *

IF THE SOUTH had some sort of Stand By Comittee to be alert against national representation and propaganda disguised as fair report, it could monitor and protest the coming Fund for the Republic "Study of Segregation and the South" which is to be televised by ABC-TV on its open hearing June 16.

It may be that the Fund for the Republic can be fair but it hasn't been yet.

* * *

MICKEY ROONEY has signed a five-year television contract with CBS. Quick, doctor, the tranquilizing pills! Mr. Rooney evidently doesn't get on everybody's nerves with his jumping-jackery but the nerves on which he does really suffer.

* * *

IT SMOTHERS your rebel yell a little to be told that 12 of the 15 players on the varsity squad of North Carolina's national championship team are from the New York area.

But Wake Forest, almost as good, has an all-Tarheel team.

* * *

"NEITHER CANDIDATE indulged in racial appeals," boasts The Atlanta Journal of the recent aldermanic election run-off contest between a white man and a Negro.

Inasmuch as Governor Griffin interfered unblushingly for the white man and Negroes voted inflexibly in blocs for the Negro, it is naive of The Journal to imply that race wasn't the issue. In (Negro) Precinct 3 B the vote was 1850 to seven. In others it was 1795 to 35; 1568 to 13; 1269 to seven; 1499 to seven; 1583 to six; etc.

Editor Jack Spalding, of The Journal, isn't the type for Ralph McGill's stunt of denying Negro bloc voting when he should be deploring it.

STROM THURMOND, gallant and intelligent leader of the first revolt in the South (1948) sees another coming if both parties nominate pro-civil rights candidates.

Post-Herald 5-23-57

It is significant that Senator Thurmond believes Lyndon Johnson would be acceptable and that Senator Kennedy's Catholicism "would not have much effect in the South if he were nominated." Dr. Gallup shows Kefauver slightly leading Kennedy in the nation for the Democratic nomination, with Johnson third.

p. 12

God moved in a mysterious way to give John Kennedy his following in the South. He was simply one to beat Kefauver in 1956. That and nothing more, except the youthful charm of him and the senational vote he received.

Now he has other things in his favor, including pro-Southern stands on two of the three issues in the civil rights debate (he voted against the South for Part III but for it against detouring the judiciary committee and in favor of the jury trial amendment).

Burg in Johnson Temple Graves

* * *

IF THE SOUTH'S 1960 course is doubtful, it is no more so than organized labor's and the NAACP's both of which, like the South, have belonged to the Democrats.

* * *

TO RESCUE JOBS need undertaking in modern history.

One is under way, and perhaps by just the right man. Herbert Hoover is writing a book on Woodrow Wilson, who gave him his start in public life. Significantly he says Wilson "was in no particle a socialist" but "the embodiment of the ideals of the New World."

If this book rescues Wilson from capital "L" liberals who presume to claim him and are swarming all over his memory today Mr. Hoover will have scored another service to man.

WILSON WAS FOR socially umpired individualism—which is far as you can get from the New Deal-Fair Deal-socialism and amount to anything.

* * *

THE SECOND RESCUE is still to be undertaken—beyond what little this column can accomplish. That is the rescue of Robert A. Taft from the capital "R" reactionaries who presume to claim him even though he, too, was for socially umpired individualism.

Taft was a Woodrow Wilson Republican.

Wilson was a Bob Taft Democrat.

Both were liberal, humanitarian constitutionalists.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

B'ham Post Herald B'ham, Ala.

Carrying Message To The Pacific Coast

P. 14 Wed. 10-16-57

"From the mountain—
To the prairies—
To the oceans, flecked with foam. . . ."

* * *

SEATTLE-TACOMA—At this other end of the diagonal beeline across America, thousands of mountains and miles of prairies from the South, I found neither hostility nor indifference last night when I told a big audience of business and professional people that "the South won't surrender."

* * *

FIRST TO AGREE that neither South nor nation must surrender the great principles of our country involved in Southern resistance to the Supreme Court's desegregation decision were two state Superior Court judges.

Coincidentally, on my return to my hotel, I found a letter from Alabama's State Circuit Judge Leslie C. Longshore of Anniston agreeing that "the people of the South have been silent too long and this silence has been misinterpreted in other sections of the country."

He will agree, too, I believe, that—as here last night—there may be immense support for our states among the judiciary of all states.

The shadows of Earl Warren and Hugo Black may darken for a time the upper regions of the Federal courts but there are many state ones they have never touched and I could believe last night these might be titanic factors in the hoped-for coming grand alliance for "the Constitution and common sense."

* * *

IN A LONG QUESTION period after my talk there was not one hostile question (unless it was that of a gentleman who asked how long we Southerners were going to endure being in the same party with Sen. Wayne Morse. (The answer to that was that we have stopped as of right now, and the question is only as to who shall hold the name "Democratic.")

* * *

FOR THINKING of everything I nominate Tacoma's beautifully run Winthrop Hotel.

Among breakfast choices it has a Number Zero. "If you're out of gas or your battery is low—Our Number Zero will make you go" the card describes it.

The breakfast consists of "Chilled Tomato Juice—One Raw Egg—Black Coffee—Bayer Aspirin—and Our Wishes for a Speedy Recovery."

* * *

A NEW INSIDE STORY on Little Rock comes from the AP's Relman Morin. He writes that top officials of the Department of Justice called Harry Ashmore of The Arkansas Gazette for an appraisal of the situation after rioting had followed withdrawal of the National Guard under court order.

A partisan from away back, Harry reported that "the police have been routed, the mob is in the streets and we're close to a reign of terror." Can it be that this pro-integration editor was suffering from a bit of mob hysteria himself and that his questionable report inflamed the President?"

* * *

THE PRESIDENT took pains last week to say again what he has said before, to wit: "I have never said what I thought about the Supreme Court decision—I have never told a soul—but how I feel about it is immaterial. . . ."

Isn't it to be concluded that he disapproved the decision? And if that is so, shouldn't this have persuaded him not to let Mr. Brownell introduce so radical a civil rights bill in support of the decision and other racial interests?

Granting that the President couldn't properly have denounced the decision after it was made, has he indicated any courage of conviction on this vital matter in any other way?

STOUTLY TIME-LIFE-Fortune's Ralph P. Paine Jr. defends the magazine's coverage of integration in the South, especially the Little Rock phase. Behind the scenes and in personal letters, Time sounds better always than in print. A principal charge against it at Little Rock is not merely being unblinkingly partisan but the vulgarity with which it pictured Governor Faubus as vulgar.

* * *

MUCH IN THE minds of my audience here last night was the charge of Communist influence behind the trouble-making in the South.

It stands to reason that a Russia confined to cold war would look to the South as a set-up now for waging it. Some of the foolish knights who seem to be so passionately on the Southern side have been accused of "leading three lives" in this respect.

But not to be overlooked is a totally different element, made up of the spiritual and/or physical heirs of the "New England abolitionists" before the Civil War, fanatics from the most conservative and respectable walks of life.

* * *

SEATTLE PAPERS this morning report a license application to the Atomic Energy Commission for a regular service of dropping radioactive waste from Boeing Airplane Co. operations into the Pacific at a point 150 miles off the continental shelf.

The waste is sealed in blocks of cement and is supposed to be sunk to a depth of 1000 fathoms.

But how deep is the ocean? And how wide and big? This, not war, may become mankind's thermo-nuclear problem.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Mighty Oak Is Gone

"Parnassus has its oaks of towering height and its laurels of eternal verdure. . . ."

* * *

Like a mighty oak in the forest, Eugene A. Yates, board chairman of the Southern Co., has gone down.

History will count him a vital factor in the "industrial revolution in the South," the revolution powered by decentralizing, individualizing, humanizing electricity and inviting the South to a civilization blessedly apart from that of industry elsewhere.

An engineer, an executive, a man of science, he was also an economic statesman—one of the South's great ones.

And for those who belonged to him or were permitted to know him well, he was a shy, sweet-natured, devoted human being.

P. 10 * * *

THAT "BEEP-BEEP-BEEP" sound, in spite of its scientific majesty and meaning, suggests somehow a hurt bird crying in flight and soon to fall.

* * *

A SONG OF yesterday may be the song of tomorrow: "The Moon Has His Eyes on You."

* * *

IN KANSAS CITY yesterday I had the feeling I always have in that railroad station where I've waited so many hours of a long life that I've been there forever, with just a few excursions to the outer world. Kansas City's airport is nearer town than any other big city's.

It's on an island in the river. You could walk to it easily from the Muehlebach Hotel.

* * *

"NOBLESSE," they say, "oblige." How many obliges do you accept? There are several, it seems to me: Tendresse oblige, richesse oblige, vincesse oblige (pigeon French for love, money and neighborhood).

P. 10 * * * 10-8-57

SPEAKING of French the newspaper France-Soir, taking Time's word for it, apparently, describes Governor Faubus as "un hillbilly, qui sont les plus pauvres et les plus arriérés des Americains de race blanche."

* * *

HOW THESE times draw those of us together whom they do not divide! "I feel that I am addressing a very dear friend," writes John N. Gallaspy, president of Louisiana State University Law School's student body. "I dare to hope that some good may come eventually of Little Rock, that when passions have subsided, if they do, then the thoughtful people throughout our land will understand the enormity and the tragedy of what has been done to us. . . ."

* * *

READING OF mobs and violence in Boston, Warsaw and all over the world, you gather that the only place on earth where people are expected to behave themselves is the South.

It's quite a compliment.

* * *

"DON'T LET THEM push you into undertaking to guarantee the good conduct of everybody in Arkansas," Alabama's distinguished James A. Simpson, a University of Arkansas graduate, advises Governor Faubus. "You have gone as far as an honest man could go in the direction of 'guaranteeing' and the President, by refusing to accept your limitations, is the one who is 'out on a limb.' Whether the Federal troops stay in Arkansas either one week or one year longer is immaterial; the point is—should they have been there to start with? I would not ease the federal government out of facing up to this question by making unrealistically easy an early withdrawal. The federal government brought the troops there; let them get them out."

* * *

THE PRESIDENT'S tendency to magnificent generalities which he does not follow or which do not fit is eloquent in his Little Rock argument. He makes it all a matter of law and order and respecting a Federal court.

But Governor Faubus has been faithful to those things. No segregationist, provenly willing to accept integration in parts of Arkansas where no violent opposition existed, he called the National Guard to Little Rock because he said he thought there would be such violence there.

In other words he acted for law and order. And if the Constitution means what we have thought it means, the decision as to whether threats against law and order exist and how to deal with them lies with states and their executives.

Then, at the plea of the President and under order of the Federal court, Governor Faubus withdrew the Guard pending an appeal of the court's right to order him around. He respected the court even though some believe his own authority superior to the court's.

Immediately there was violence, threat of violence, the semblance of a mob. The police thought they could handle it but the President rushed in the Federal troops, without waiting to see, and with a show of force as excessive as it was infuriating to a South of bitter memories.

In his fashion, the governor of Arkansas preserved law and order. And when the Federal court disapproved the fashion, the governor yielded—under protest—to the court.

What more as Jim Simpson says—can the President have asked?

And how these circumstances can the President sermonize on law and order and respect for the courts? Or blame anyone but himself—or his fanatical, politics-playing attorney general—if America is given a bad name in Asia and Africa.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Report From Kansas

"Far off through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main."

PRATT, Kans.—Deep in the heart of Kansas, where there is much wheat and oil, with ony a few Negroes, people are not excited either way about the race question.

Certainly nobody wants to fight about it. They seem to feel that it is a subject they should know about now, as about the Russian satellite and the Algerian problem.

And somewhere in the rear of their minds is an impression that Southerners don't like colored people. But they have no inclination to crusade about it.

But oh, how they respond to talk of Americanism, of the Constitution, and the character, individuality and heart which made this country!

And when the talk is associated with Southern resistance to a federalism that is destroying America, they seem ardently to get the point.

* * *

TO COME HERE expecting people to get mad at you and to find that the problem is only one of getting them interested in you—is startling.

It suggests a potential multitude to be drawn to the South's side in non-metropolitan America.

RAYMOND MOLEY guesses in Newsweek that 50,000,000 Americans disapprove the Supreme Court's desegregation decision.

If that is so, and if there are another 25,000,000 like these in Central Kansas who aren't much interested but can be made so and on the Southern side—that's a majority in my arithmetic.

* * *

QUIETLY NEWSWEEK takes it back.

Those of us who romped on the magazine for its front cover story "Who Is Stirring Up the South?" and its monstrous implication that only a handful of "rabble-rousers, politicians, agitators and teen-agers" were responsible had what amounted to a retraction last week even if given no such display as the original story.

In a sort of "by the way" manner the magazine told its readers that "the South is unalterably opposed to integration.

"This feeling is not confined to Southern politicians or the agitators who stir up the trouble. The average white Southern citizen, man or woman, doctor or bus driver, still believes in the segregation of the races—especially in the schools."

* * *

DORIS FLEESON says "the secret weapon working for integration (in the South) is the increasing industrialization of the South....This economic factor is relatively new."

Now Doris, you stop and look!

Labor relations, not race relations, are the necessarily great concern of American industry. That could be why the southward march has continued undeflected since the Supreme Court's trouble-making desegregation decree.

A factor in the South against domination by great labor unions is the revolt of Southern white members against the integration policy and demand of national officials.

* * *

OF EDITOR HARRY Ashmore and his Arkansas Gazette, Walter Winchell says their "light in the darkness will undoubtedly win the recognition of the Pulitzer pickers." This may be. Pulitzer prizes go to Southerners now only if they have the proper ideology.

* * *

IN DENVER yesterday a sociable colored taxi driver from the airport briefed me on the pugilistic situation.

Sugar Ray Robinson, I was told, took care to lose to Basilio because that would mean a half million dollar return engagement—which Robinson will win with ease.

And Archie Moore let Floyd Patterson win just because Archie didn't want to set back the younger man's career. Archie could lick him any time he tried, that there are plenty of other people for Archie to make money licking.

* * *

"RUSSIA's artificial moon ends forever the American folk myth that everything in the United States is bigger, better, more efficient, more scientific" opines The Wichita Beacon.

And The Rocky Mountain News in Denver announces that "the balance of military power is in the process of shifting in favor of the Soviets."

Comments like these are proper parts of a process that will now, quite possibly, spur America to outer-spacial achievements which will make Russia sorry she ever made a moon. Just as Communist achievements in Korea launched an American rearmament without which Russia might have overrun the world by now.

Our "myth" of superiority, in other words, gets the shot in the arm it needs to keep us superior—and no myth about it!

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

With The Lights On

"For God, for country and for Auburn. . . ."

Blessed are the slightly insane whose hearts will belong madly to Auburn tomorrow against Florida!

The ones who will bleed over every lost yard, shout their larynxes loose for every first down, be translated to heaven with a touchdown.

There will be many now that Auburn is really challenged, is so top-ranking in the South and high-ranking in the nation—and has so many hungry lovers who yearn to be fed.

* * *

For God, for country and for Yale, Auburn, Princeton, Alabama, or whichever you love!

America needs more pulses like that.

Generations gone had many and a new generation may have as many. The jaundiced generations in between man do their mere existing but lights are being turned on these days.

* * *

The Lost Generation after World War I, the Beat Generation, after World War II, and now the Generation that Just Exists!

What's next?

I suggest the Generation with the Lights On. When Dylan Thomas, that dissolute genius who died so young, told his own dying father not to "go gentle into that good night" it seemed dissolute advice.

Should not the aged be reconciled, gentle, at peace?

But the poem may be interpreted not for indecorum in old age but for sense of light in all of life. It may be the poem of a new Generation With the Lights On.

"Do not go gentle into that good night.
Old age should burn and rave at close of day;
Rage, rage against the dying of the light.

"Though wise men at their end know dark is right,
Because their words had forked no lightning they
Do not go gentle into that good-night.

"Good men, the last wave by, crying how bright
Their frail deeds might have danced in a green bay,
Rage, rage against the dying of the light.

"Wild men who caught and sang the sun in flight,
And learn, too late, they grieved it on its way,
Do not go gentle into that good-night.

"Grave men, near death, who see with blinding sight
Blind eyes could blaze like meteors and be gay,
Rage, rage against the dying of the light.

"And you, my father, there on the sad height,
Curse, bless, me now with your fierce tears, I pray.
Do not go gentle into that good-night.
Rage, rage against the dying of the light."

* * *

BE GLAD if a time is returning when old men will hate to die because there are such light and life in the world, such faith and jump and heart, such hunger, worship and companioning, such as the lost, the beat and the pointless generations never knew.

* * *

An indicated three big job for Citizens Councils are (1) to influence the South to declarations of independence on presidential levels while holding Democratic organizations at home, (2) getting out the vote as never before, and (3) stopping the clock on a Ku Klux Klan which South Carolina's forthright Gov. Timmerman described last week as a Communist-inspired attempt to "mislead Southern people and to smear Southern officials. . . ."

He called it "a racket" for local organizers who collect dues from the "misguided." The Charleston News and Courier said loud Amen.

* * *

WOULD THEY explode?

The President is said to be considering for the Civil Rights Commission — Adlai Stevenson, Allan Shivers, Gen. Douglas MacArthur, former University of North Carolina President Frank Graham and Publisher Palmer Hoyt of The Denver Post.

It should be all right by us in the South. If they didn't explode they'd deadlock.

"I never saw a man who looked
As wistfully at the sky. . . ."

Pity all who must look wistfully at Autumn's matchless skies without getting out and under, without using them to conquer the world to run the four-minute mile, climb the highest mountain, win for Auburn, overthrow Khrushchev, or make love like love was never made before!

* * *

BING CROSBY, at 53, has married a 23-year-old starlet. The advantage in this is that some day when he is 130 she will be able to feel young and gay at 100.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald

County Vs. State

"Great fleas have little fleas
On their backs to bit 'em,
And little fleas have lesser fleas,
And so ad infinitum. . . ."

* * *

Are "county rights" like "states' rights"?

Of course not!

For a very practical reason, insofar as the South is concerned, state government will need to be emphasized over county now. There is no Negro majority in any state, but there are huge Negro majorities in many counties.

Bloc voting by them, when herded, agitated and manipulated, could result in a ruinous control of these counties—ruinous for both white and black—unless state law predominates.

* * *

A SOPHISTRY of Mrs. Agnes Meyer needs to be nailed on the spot, therefore.

In the aggressively regimented mind of Mrs. Meyer, wife of The Washington Post's board chairman, rights of counties against states are comparable with those of states against the federal government.

She told Arlington County, Va., school teachers as much the other day, having in mind the many in that county who are more Washingtonian than Virginian (but overlooking ones who migrated there solely to avoid integration in the national capital).

* * *

TO COMPARE county rights with states' rights, of course, is to operate in a history free vacuum. This is a nation of states. Its name says so. From the beginning and all the way, the state has been the unit. No county would think of claiming for itself any such sovereignty as belongs constitutionally and historically to the states.

Editor Kilpatrick points out in The Richmond News-Leader that "counties and cities are the children of the state in which they are located; their local powers come to them from the state . . . the states receive none of their powers from the Federal government; on the contrary, (that) government has no powers not delegated to it by the Constitution, which is to say, the states."

* * *

MR. KILPATRICK, brilliant author of the just-published "The Sovereign States" (Regnery) refers to Mrs. Meyer's speech as "the stony face of statism" and prints a photograph which does seem to have been done in stone.

The surprise is that one of the most powerful, high-placed and vocal women in America would venture so illiterate a comparison. Mrs. Meyer should have chosen some audience other than school teachers for the sophistry as seeing Federal-state-county relationships as uniformly those of fleas and lesser fleas.

* * *

THE ISSUE is a live one in Virginia. No Southern state is more determined against school integration, yet some of her counties across from Washington are more amenable. Editor Kilpatrick has that in mind but even more grave is the situation in counties like Clarendon in South Carolina where Negroes outnumber the whites eight to one.

* * *

SPEAKING OF CLARENDON, where the Supreme Court's attack began, even the South's well-wishers are preys to fancy.

Commenting on Ohio-born Barlow Martin's interesting article on this county in the current Saturday Evening Post, Editor Tom Waring points out in the Charleston News and Courier that it is traversed annually by thousands of motorists from New York to Florida yet "Mr. Martin describes the Negro farm cabins as though they were Eskimo igloos, unseen by any but intrepid explorers. In those cabins live thousands of Negro families. They have fed themselves, with the help of white land-owners, through good times and bad. They ate hog meat and hominy during the depression while hungry, jobless men sold apples on the streets of New York City . . ."

* * *

BOTH NEWSWEEK and Time featured our Tom Spies in their stories of the American Medical Association meeting—the medal he was given, the vitamins he gives.

* * *

A TRUE cosmopolite is Dick Barlow, talented pianist appearing with his orchestra now at The Club. He studied in New York City at the famous Juilliard School of Music, yet he speaks well of the outside world especially Birmingham.

Without having seen the Top of the Mark in San Francisco he thinks The Club unique. He'll think so still when he sees the Mark. Mr. Barlow comes here from a season at the St. Anthony in San Antonio the city where the little river goes shopping downtown. I wouldn't want to get him in wrong with young people by saying I like his music but they seem to, too.

"Read in my eyes—Love never dies . . ." What a place to dance and go to heaven that floor of The Club—half-way already is!

GRAVES

Post-Herald

GOP Gets Signals In Dixie Mixed

Birm. Ala.

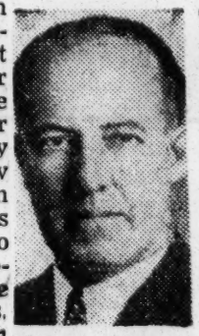
Wed. 6-19-57

"Watchman, what of the night!"

* * *

If the House hadn't rejected the jury trial amendment before passing the civil force bill, Southerners might have been appeased enough to let the bill pass the Senate.

If Republicans hadn't mixed their signals embarrassingly with a publicized bid for the South in 1958 and 1960 just when Ike and and his leaders were ignoring the South so brutally on civil force, the Grand Old Party might not have had to face up as it certainly does right now to the fact that the South isn't going to come without calling, without some enduring considerations such as belong to a nation's major minority.



Polyanna could say it's for the best.

GREETINGS to I. Lee Potter, of Arlington, Va., "Special Assistant to the Chairman for the Republican Party of the South."

Tell the chairman, please, Mr. Potter, and the chairman's chairman, that the South will neither stand without hitching nor come without calling. Tell them the South is in position to be the nation's major minority now and about to be more.

Tell them the South is a natural for a real Republican Party, but this doesn't mean either the Larson "moderns" or the Mark Hanna medievals, the Clifford Case or the Calvin Coolidge.

And most of all it doesn't mean the Brownell Republicans—whose line of descent from the hate-mongering New England abolitionists of a century ago is written in fury on the force bills.

* * *

DR. GALLUP'S latest poll shows about 11,000,000 more Democrats than Republicans in the country but that is an optical illusion. For the last three presidential elections a big percentage of the Democrats in the South have voted against the Democratic nominee.

More than a majority did in 1956, only slightly less in 1952. The pattern is fixed enough to invalidate Dr. Gallup's estimate. It is fixed enough to suggest again the political balance of power which lies with the "free Democrats" of the South.

* * *

IKE'S SIN ON civil rights is misplaced dependence of a fanatical attorney-general. After speaking of the jury trial question as a legal one on which he must have professional advice, he has consulted his adviser—and come back duped.

He rests his case on a statement in 1908 by William Howard Taft that putting a jury trial between a court order and the enforcement of that order would be "welcoming anarchy." He says he prefers this opinion to one "in the heat of partisan comment."

His adviser, the attorney-general, didn't tell him that Taft's statement itself was one "in the heat of partisan comment." It was made not from the bench but as a candidate for President in the partisan heat of a quarrel over labor's right to "relief from government by injunction."

Nor did his adviser remind him, it seems, that in 1932 Congress did for organized labor in this respect exactly what the South is asking now. It passed the Norris-LaGuardia Act providing jury trials in contempt cases stemming from labor disputes.

* * *

A COMMANDING general can't know everything and neither can a President. He has to depend on lieutenants. And he has to leave to lieutenants most of the actual operations and decisions. In Dwight Eisenhower, who became President after years of military command, the chain-of-command habit is stronger than in most Presidents.

Will it be the ruin of him?

* * *

JOSEPH N. GREENE, retiring after two years as head of Birmingham's Committee of 100, ought to be put under observation. Universal observation, I mean, for what makes him click. I've had several theories about it. One, resulting from experience with him as a neighbor and knowledge of him as a citizen and business leader, is that he is willing to take more pains to be right, fair, thorough, and loyal and to deliver all goods, than any 100 ordinary men.

* * *

WHO'LL SOLVE the mystery at Montgomery?

Why, if they have a case, don't good men and true speak out? There are such among the majority of the House Business and Labor Committee which won't even let there be a public hearing on the bills against small loan usury. This is the way it has happened through the years.

Put out the dragnet!

We-the-people are going to find out what is behind this not only because of the bitter need of these bills but because the Sergeant Friday in us is aroused. We want to know the plot and we expect a happy ending.

GRAVES

Post-Herald

Majority Rule Wrong Sometimes

Birm. Ala.

Sun. 6-21-57

"The tyranny of 51 per cent."

* * *

In this great country, under its Constitution and in its ideal, there are things a majority of us simply can't do to 49 percent of us.

Or to a third of us, or a fourth, or a single one of us.

Remember it when the filibuster begins in the Senate and as our Senator Talmadge's subcommittee continues its hearing on proposals to take the right of filibuster away.

* * *

Our battle at Washington begins with a deadly blow in the back from Montgomery unhappily, a misuse of the filibuster so hateful, immoral and trifling that the South's great weapon is impeached in mid-employment.

Score that against James E. Folsom!

* * *

JUST AS THAT jury decision in the Montgomery bombing case hurt the South's fight for jury trials in the proposed civil force injunctions, the visible cynicism and greed of the Folsom filibuster against competitive bidding has injured the South's coming filibuster at Washington against civil force.

It is bad enough to have an ultimate weapon like the filibuster used, as it tends to be now, or every trifling thing on which a few legislators feel strongly. But to have it used as this week at Montgomery for the selfish concerns of spoilsmen and machine politicians is far worse.

Word of it will not help Senator Russell and his gallant little group embattled for the South, the Constitution and the right to speak.

* * *

SENATOR TALMADGE has asked me to be one of many who will testify before his special subcommittee of two on proposed changes in Rule 22 (the filibuster rule). He is chairman, and the other member is Sen. Jacob Javits of New York.

What a two-some! You'd think it might explode.

* * *

THE PRINCIPAL argument in my mind for Rule 22 is the one Mr. Folsom and his spoilsmen are destroying. Ours is no government by 51 per cent and never meant to be.

The whole Constitution is a limitation on rule by majority. Depending on the fundamental nature of different questions or upon the relative concern of the involved minority and the casual majority, our system provides that a simple majority shall rule in some matters, a two-thirds majority in others, a three-fourths in still others, and, in some, nothing less than "unanimous consent."

It provides, too, that the body which reflects the popular majority—the House—may be checked by the Senate which represents the states without regard to population. The majority may be still further checked by presidential veto, and, beyond that, by the Supreme Court.

The test of what fraction may check what remainder, expressed sometimes, implied at all times, is this matter of the importance of the question to the fraction or to the country fundamentally.

* * *

RULE 22 doesn't let one man

alone hold up the great Senate of the United States, as some think. It is another of our two-thirds rules. It requires a two-thirds majority for closing debate.

There is nothing undemocratic, un-American or unfair about that.

Those who say otherwise point out that the rule is for two-thirds of the whole Senate, not just of those present. They say such a two-thirds is practically impossible to get.

But it all depends. If the majority is as passionate as the minority, it can certainly assemble 64 of 96 senators.

If it isn't, then the passionate minority should prevail.

That is the principle grained in the Constitution.

* * *

IT DOESN'T MAKE sense to say you can never hope to get 64 senators. On many important votes nearly the entire Senate is on hand.

If force bills are as vital as proponents make them out, 64 senators can surely be mustered against the South's little band of 18. Especially with the President, vice president and Minority Leader Knowland behind the call, and Lyndon Johnson, by consent, laying off.

* * *

WRITE SENATOR Talmadge how you feel about this and about the civil force bills. Write the President, too, for he is being mis-advised on the force bills by a fanatical attorney general, who tells him they are innocuous.

* * *

ARE THE Dutch about to take Holland?

Are drug stores about to be taken by drugs?

Alabama's Pharmaceutical Association in annual convention didn't get around to the question but with pills for everything in prospect, druggists may have to turn from toys, books and hardware to drugs.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald 7-18

Ike Loses Contact

"In the dawning of the morning of that bright and happy day
We shall know each other better when the mists—have—rolled—away. . . ."

* * *

How incomprehensible that the Ike we've loved in the South should look on the Gestapo-like civil force bill as a "very moderate and decent thing!"

There's obviously "trouble along the cable," a breakdown of communication somewhere.

You don't have to agree with Southerners who have turned bitter to understand why they have. "The transition of this man from a white knight of idealism to the obedient pawn of power-mad politicians," amazingly writes The Talladega Home, "has been a bitter thing to watch."

Such a description is intemperate and unfair, I think, reflecting hurt feelings more than facts.

Ike has lost no idealism. He has simply lost contact.

He gets his legal opinions about the South from a fanatical attorney general. And he seems to be held incommunicaddo by his "Secretary of Race Relations," Max Rabb, a gentleman knee-deep in Massachusetts and Harvard, in whose biography there is nothing remotely associated with our part of the country.

Southerners who, at this column's suggestion, have written the President to say how they feel, hear only from Mr. Rabb, who, according to Birmingham's Gene C. Von Riestenberg, says "exactly nothing."

"How on earth," the Birminghamian asks, "are our protests ever going to be heard by Ike when it is apparent that all such letters are being shuttled to the camp of 'the enemy'? No wonder Ike thinks his wonderful bill is just moderate. He apparently never has heard a word of the violent protests down here or of the constitutional crisis.

Oh, for Bob Taft!

At Jacksonville State College the other morning a professor whose name I didn't catch teased me after my talk for having mentioned William E. Borah and Robert A. Taft in the same breath here as "constitutional liberals."

I could see what he meant, since Taft is thought of as a great conservative, Borah as a great liberal.

But Taft wasn't conservative in the McCarthy-Jenner sense, nor was Borah a liberal in the Roosevelt-Truman sense.

And in respect for the letter and true intent of the Constitution they were "two hearts that beat as one."

Both sided with the South against Federal force bills, not in sympathy on the race question but in devotion to the Constitution of the United States.

Houston Cole, president of Jacksonville State College, is an educational "personality". He has imagination, charm, eloquence and a sense of people—along with a sum total of educational experience unsurpassed in our state.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald 7-10-57

Church-Bombing Acquittals Injure Cause Of South

"And he sees across a weary land a straggling road in Spain
Up which a lean and foolish knight
Forever rides in vain. . . . ."

IS THE Rev. Martin Luther King quaking in his well-heeled boots this week?

He is not. He is passing the national hat with new assurance. He is looking to Washington with new confidence that the civil force bills will pass.

The South suffered a bitter defeat in the church-bombing acquittals at Montgomery. Not only for what they will do in Washington but for their encouragement of what a defense attorney witlessly called "the man over the boys." By "men" he meant those who propose to scare Southern Negroes into line—as if anything were more obvious than that they won't scare—now that they have such national backing and know that attempts to scare them will increase the backing.

Will history say that these states, with victory half won through legislative and legal resistance and increasingly potent appeal to national opinion, had the precious thing snatched from them at the witching hour by their foolish knights?

There has been no "reign of terror" in the South, in spite of the wanton assertions of the NAACP and the Rev. King and company. The wonder is that there has been so little. Once let it come, and the South's cause is worse than lost, for it is lost to a night of hate, bloodshed and such dividing as we've never done before.

My Birmingham will have an opportunity today to offset the bad news from Montgomery by electing as commissioner of public safety Robert Lindbergh, a man whose devotion to law and order has won him the confidence and votes of both races, even as he stands unflinchingly for segregation as the police and biological necessity it is.

"The Supreme Court justices are not card-carrying members of the Communist Party," concedes Mrs. Frances P. Mims of Homer, La., who edits the Citizens' Council publication The Councilor, "but I think they are doing far more damage than if they were." Amen, Mrs. Mims, but what you and I need to remember is that we help them more than we hurt them when we foolishly call them Communists.

People tend to think we have a foolish case.

ALL THAT'S cultured, modern or top-notch in the South comes from outside, according to ex-Chicagoan Stan Windhorn in his column in The Sarasota (Fla), Herald-Tribune, and all that's left is what William Faulkner writes about in "The Town," a book which, according to Mr. Horn With the Wind, I mean Windhorn, makes Faulkner "for many the world's greatest living writer."

For this illiteracy Mr. Windhorn should be made to read "Who's Who" and list the grained-in-the-wood Southerners commanding the burgeoning South's industry, commerce, finance and education, writing its and the nation's best books and editorials, building their best buildings, praying their best prayers and playing their best politics.

AUBURN'S DROPPED Prof. Bud Hutchinson, who loves New York City's police state methods of enforcing school integration by long-distance bus, mixed his signals revealingly in his post-drop comments. Standing rightly for freedom of "intellectual discussion" on such matters, he ruined his point and made Auburn's by adding: "Professors who dare to perform their function of providing information do so at the peril of their jobs and professional reputations."

A professor before pupils is not engaged in "intellectual discussion" but in "providing information." That's what Prof. Hutchinson well-says and that's why "academic liberty" differs from ordinary "freedom of speech." With the nation in a constitutional crisis over public scrool segregation, therefore, and with millions seeing it one way and millions the other, a professor who deems advocacy of integration merely the providing of information is obviously not objective enough to teach.

GRAVES

Post-Herald

Is Hugo Warren's Guide?

"Ah Love, could you and I with Him conspire
To grasp this sorry Scheme of Things entire,
Would we not shatter it to bits—and then
Re-mould it nearer to the Heart's Desire!"

* * *

IS IT HUGO BLACK who is shattering our constitutional scheme of things entire?

Is it he who is re-moulding our American ideal to the alien heart's desire?

You can hear it said — and hearsay is admissible in this column when it is interesting and reasonable and the source is qualified — that Justice Black is the man behind Earl Warren. He and the Chief Justice's head law clerk. That Warren is no great shakes as a lawyer is pretty much accepted. That he has a New Deal type of mind, like Black's, is accepted, too. And Black is the member who has been longest on the court, is probably smartest and is most politically-experienced as well as legal-minded.

* * *

JUSTICE BLACK is not only a Perpetual New Dealer in his thinking but one whose concept of the court from the beginning has been the doing of social good. I know it because he told me so while we were resting after a tennis game in 1937 when he had just been appointed. He said he conceived his task to be all the social advancement he could achieve within the leeways of the Constitution.

He didn't indicate how much leeway he hoped to find.

Also to invent.

Additionally, to seize by force and arms.

* * *

CERTAINLY the Chief Justice and Justice Black are close in their thinking and deciding. Or should we say—in Justice Black's thinking and deciding. Earl Warren is a strong man but legally and philosophically he has needed a guiding light and our Hugo may be it.

* * *

EVEN THOUGH he was willing to join the Klan for politics' sake, Hugo Black is a sincere Liberal and social reformer, in my opinion. Also an embittered one, or one who began embittered. The late great Washington Columnist Raymond Clapper wrote me once that he looked upon Justice Black as a man suffering "from some deep psychological wound from which he would never recover" and which would always warp his thinking on certain subjects.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald 31a White

'National Interest' Is Urged By Lyndon

Birmingham, Ala
Tues 8-30-57
p. 16

"The national interest must come first."

Strom Thurmond isn't the greatest statesman in the South but he is the most free-minded and brave.

"Spit out your life and your protest!"

In that spirit the South's firstclass fighting man has made his hopeless marathon against the civil rights bill which is intolerable to the South.

Nine years ago—as the States' Rights presidential candidate — he fought without hope of winning, too, and in defeat established the new tradition of Southern political independence which is our hope of years ahead.

* * *

IT IS THE NATION'S hope, too.

Senate Leader Lyndon Johnson, of Texas, writes this column again of his conviction that "the national interest must come first" now.

And again this column wonders if he or someone else could somehow put together a national interest party devoted to the two abused principles that (1) the nation is more important than its pressure groups and (2) the rules of the nation's game must be respected as more important than winning.

* * *

COLUMNIST FRANK KENT says Lyndon Johnson is the best bet for the Democratic presidential nomination partly because he is a master politician, has no known convictions and no one seems to know exactly for what he stands."

Franklin Roosevelt was like that, too, says Mr. Kent. True or not, it would be—like Roosevelt—as a product of his times rather than a maker of them that Senator Johnson might come to national leadership now.

What his times need is a "national interest" movement such as he is talking, it continues to seem to me.

And with what he means by "national interest" the South could go along.

* * *

THOSE WHO THINK the South less qualified than any other region to be the core of a "national interest" movement because of its resistance to the national desegreation decision and the national civil force law —miss the great point.

If the greatest present national interest is against pressure group government and for playing the game according to the rules, that is basically what the South's animation is all about.

It makes this the most American part of America, with a passion, unanimity and (if we can be herd) logic to invite Americans to Americanism as never by none."

Who knows what triumphs could be ahead for South and nation if these states wage the constitutional cold war in the name of "the national interest" and prove their title with individual and public educational campaigns.

* * *

"Red pills in the sunset . . ."

As The Post-Herald begins publishing Thursday the sensational book described here last week (Nevile Shute's "On The Beach") many will find themselves glad it's Asiatic flu and not radio active dust that's settling slowly upon the world now.

The real creep of comparatively harmless flu will enhance the horrified attention given Mr. Shute's imagined creep of all-killing atomic dust.

Enhancing it, too, will be reports of an "ultimate weapon" that can deliver an atomic bomb anywhere from anywhere.

* * *

FOR A tranquilizer, fellow earthlings, the Miltown is that all this horror is what keeps the world at peace.

No weapon is ultimate which leaves anything for retaliatory horror.

Nothing in sight says any nation can start an atomic war and itself be spared.

That's why there can be no atomic war.

FRENCH ACTRESS Corinne Calvet says truly that it is flattering to be described as "sexy." But what is sometimes called that doesn't involve being well-endowed. "Sexy" behavior and talk can mean not an extra supply but an under supply which lets the phenomenon be taken casually as in "sexy" Hollywood but not the "sexy" South.

* * *

ROGER THAMES, a radio-TV editor who hews to his line and lets the hucksters fall where they may, says NBC's David Brinkley is to tour the country for atmosphere of opinion. Before he leaves headquarters he should be briefed on whether the country's opinions or his own are to be evolved.

Mr. Brinkley is good at opinion-having. He has them with acid. His acid against Jimmy Hoffa the other day was as pleasing to some of us as his one-time (but not any more) acid against the South was not.

Apparently he feels free to express opinions. Is that the policy of NBC? If so, there is the question of whether a limited and specially-privileged medium like television should have an editorial policy. And there is the general question of whether if editorial opinions are offered they should be on a program purporting to be a "news" cast.

On radio or television or in newspapers the sin of offering as news what is really editorial opinion is a sin of sins, it seems to me.

GRAVES

Post-Herald
Birmingham, Ala
Tues 8-7-57
p. 2

Alabama Beauties On Parade

"To stoop before your scepter and to swear
Allegiance to your lips and eyes and hair. . . ."

* * *

Alabama's brightest pledge to Miss Anna Stange talented and exquisite, who will walk in beauty—and speak and look—for us at Atlantic City!

A bended knee, also, to Miss Willie Lee Thornberry, first alternate, a young

woman of such crowd - winning personality that she shall have music wherever she goes and maybe some day run for governor.

And the weather girl, lady of stars, Miss Toni Moore, second alternate. We-the-people know her best of all. She comes to us so sweetly each evening with word of sun and rain and temperature, stars in their courses, and the readings from Tuscumbia to Mobile.

She tells us how blows the wind, how wet the rain or dry the want of it, and with so infiltrating a charm, that the weather—more important these modern days than it has been since sailing vessels and farm wagon wheels—is a poem.

* * *

If there continues to be weather and Miss Moore remains its evening star, we-her-public are sure the eventual crown of Alabala awaits her.

When our lady of stars comes to star for us at Atlantic City then, the set-up will inspire so much poetry that to avoid the rush here is mine in advance—

If I were the wind, assailing
The night with clouds blown high,
My lady of stars I'd steal you
Down from the topless sky!

* * *

Mail to me has Dick Russell running second only to Robert E. Lee. What will he do with it? Walter Reuther would never let the Democratic Party nominate him.

* * *

As The Post-Herald pointed out Monday, Lyndon Johnson, of Texas, inherits most in this situation. Excused, as majority leader, from taking sides, he came through without being disqualified nationally for Southernism and yet as engineer of the coalition that gave the South its final victory — the jury trial amendment.

Immediately afterward, he became foremost salesman of what remained of the bill. If he sells it as a forward step in civil rights even as he stands at the right hand of Dick Russell as the South's savior from its oppression, who can outrank him North or South, liberal or conservative, for the Democratic crown in 1960?

A Daniel come to judgment! A Henry Clay come to compromise!

THE WHOLE SOUTH should share the cost of completing the Confederate Memorial on Stone Mountain near Atlanta, thinks The Charleston News and Courier. Amen, but sometimes you wonder if it wouldn't be better to wait and see where those half-finished figures on the face are really riding—to oblivion, or to an America re-discovered in their principles and values.

* * *

IT TAKES ALABAMIANS a long time to be conditioned to Educational TV but, thanks to excellent programs and receptions, more and more are. A program that is making comeback customers is "Stones and Bones" on Thursdays from 8:30 to 9 p.m., presented by the Alabama Archeological Society and the Birmingham Anthropological Society.

The theme tomorrow night, post-dating stones and bones but perhaps as deep in history, is Horseshoe Bend—with Tom Martin himself the story-teller.

* * *

NEWS OF THE Chicago race riots last week has yet to reach the front pages of either Chicago or New York, but we should remember how long it took to carry the "message of Garcia." The New York Times ran an AP story abbreviated to seven inches on page 10.

John Knight's Chicago Daily News ran its own story on page 3 under a headline saying "Man Fined $50 in Race Flare-up."

SENATOR DOUGLAS says race trouble in Chicago is very different from race trouble in the Deep South.

It certainly is.

There's more trouble and more hypocrisy.

* * *

THE ANGEL AND arch-angel appearing here yesterday were Sophie and Jim (James M) Barry, not Berry as the misprint said.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Will Sherman Adams Be At Chattanooga?

"For the Constitution and common sense!"

Will Sherman Adams be detained in Washington this morning by Asiatic flu?

A picture you can't picture is Mr. Adams in Chattanooga today conferring with Southern Republicans on the South's financial contributions to the Grand Old Party.

The engagement was made B.L.R. (before Little Rock).

ALL OVER the South Republican organizations are damning the President's move.

Will there be a breed of "Southern Republicans" comparable to the one of "Southern Democrats," approaching Presidential elections with fingers crossed and capable of joining Southern Democrats to make a solid Southern electoral vote for which both parties will bargain as never before because it will be, for the first time the major minority?

OR WILL THERE be a poisonous, Brownell-made political segregation?

Satchmo Armstrong has kindly patted the President of America on the back after seeming to turn him down. And the NAACP has congratulated him on the bayonets at Little Rock.

That Mr. Brownell has won many Southern Negro votes with his strategies and tactics is certain. But they could not total enough by 1960 to subtract electoral votes from a solid Southern total for "the Constitution and commonsense."

* * *

IT MAY BE that Mr. Adams will brief his unhappy cohorts today on this segregation—of colored into one party, white into another, in the South. It may be he will promise for Mr. Brownell that, by hook and or crook, the colored vote will be swelled enough by election time to cancel any white Southern balance of national power.

But it may be, too, that he and Mr. Brownell are reckoning without their colored people.

Two currents are running.

One is pulling white and colored hatefully apart. But another is silently drawing them together—in awareness that they are the ones who have to live here and that, in spite of all, they have more in common against uncomprehending outsiders than they have in division.

The South as the nation's new major minority, core of a grand alliance of Americans for the Constitution and common sense, might include many more colored people than Messrs. Adams and Brownell count.

* * *

THE LATEST THING in do-it-yourself is self-hypnosis. Throw yourself into a trance and conquer the world. Wake up, and there's still one to conquer.

If Alexander the Great had known this trick he wouldn't have sighed so. Then, too, there would be more personal conquests—

"Dream that the lips once
breathless
Might quicken if they would,
Say that the soul is deathless,
Dream that the gods are
good . . . ."

* * *

THE "MISS SOUTHERN Accent" contest at Birmingham-Southern is described as a beauty contest. You presume that means beauty of speech as well as of face and tape recording. This contest could go awfully wrong, but with such judges as Mrs. Preston Haskell, Mary Eleanor Bridges, Lily May Caldwell, Bill Ozier and Revis Brasher, it should be helpfully right.

Some Southern "misses" cultivate an accent all infantile mush and slur.

They fancy themselves charmingly Southern when they are an abdomination of speech and an offense to sound.

The true—which is to say the educated—Southern accent is, next to French, the most beautiful in the world.

It pronounces its "I" gently rather than as if "opening wide" for the throat doctor.

It drops its final "g" but not without a trace—just as the French drop the final "n". The "g" isn't quite heard but it is there. And with all its might it refrains from ever, ever saying "pin" for "pen."

* * *

WHAT CURSE IS there on this land that debauchery should be so brilliant and moral and spiritual depravity command such genius in the most ballyhoo-ed book of recent times, Cozzen's "By Love Possessed", as described by Dr. Edmonds.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Help For Eisenhower

"Wisdom is the principal thing; therefore get wisdom. . . ."
—Proverbs 4:7.

There is in President Eisenhower a humility which should let him call honestly for help now. The greatest help in the country.

The Southern governors have gone home, concerned for their own troubled states. The last voice from them was the beautiful but banal one of Tennessee's Clement, spouting truisms.

The President had no wisdom from them even if some of them are wise. There were too many irreconcilables, too many faces to save, too much politics and ingrained political habit.

Now we picture Mr. Eisenhower left presiding over a deep crisis with no resources in his own experience and with only a fanatical, political-minded attorney general to depend on.

He needs help. He needs the wisdom of our wisest men.

* * *

In other lands crises like these are met by calling the "elder statesmen," men above the battle but wise in its ways, maturely, long-mindedly patriotic.

No Committee of the Nation would do, as some have suggested.

It would be too formal and unwieldy. Something personal and individual is indicated.

A handful of men—such as Herbert Hoover, Bernard M. Baruch, ex-President Conant of Harvard, some genuinely objective historian, and those two federal Judges who are superior to any on the Supreme Court—New York's Learned Hand, of Second Circuit (who retired in 1951) and North Carolina's John J. Parker, of the Fourth.

And, perhaps, the tough-minded, patriotic former Secretary of the Treasury, George Humphrey. And his philosophical successor, Robert Anderson, the Administration's most coming man.

* * *

THE PRESIDENT is angry. His dander is up. His life as a military man is suddenly clouding his civilian judgments. His loyalty to lieutenants is taking him into realms unknown to him, places he never thought to be, a use of force he had foresworn.

May the Providence which has looked out for our country so wondrously and so long give him now a sense of needing help and of insufficiency in help at hand!

* * *

WHAT A BOON to the country and President if there were one of the great chief justices to whom he might turn.

But Earl Warren is discovered more and more as of the ilk of Herbert Brownell, political-minded, sentimental (California style) if not fanatical, and a capital "L" Liberal in the sense of being one who calls his shots and tends to be totalitarian.

"Our Great 'Liberal' Chief Justcie," Virginius Dabney entitles an editorial in his Richmond Times-Dispatch in which is recalled Earl Warren's sorry part as attorney general of California in putting more than 100,000 Japanese-American men, women and children into "virtual concentration camps" in World War II.

"Tom Clark, now on the Supreme Court and then alien enemy co-ordinator for the Department of Justice, tried to stop him on his head-long course . . . but Warren refused to be deterred."

According to Prof. Eugene V. Rostov, of the Yale Law School, this was "our worst wartime mistake." "The Japanese-Americans were arrested without warrants and were held without indictment or a statement of charges . . . They were kept under prison conditions."

The chief justice calls his shots as a liberal. Witness his decision which has let Jimmy Hoffa be dictator of the Teamsters. And he is too fatuously committed in the present crisis to be of any help even if he were broad-gauged.

* * *

DAVE CAMPBELL, advised by a lady Wednesday that the present national crisis represents the Biblical "tribulations" that are to be followed by the end of the world, reminded her that this century has been periodically full of "tribulations."

It seems to me that religious people, believers in God and the Bible, ought to have more faith—

"Thou wilt not leave us in the
dust!
Thou madest man; he knows
not why;
He thinks he was not made to
die.
For Thou hast made him,
Thou art just."

* * *

IT IS good that Mr. Campbell seems determined to save his valuable radio feature by discouraging people who say the same thing over and over again and run off the subject between times. Only a nerve-wracking few of those and you find yourself turning the station off.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Civil Rights Bill Gives Government Great Power

"What boots it at one gate to make defense.
And at another to let in the foe?"

Post Herald

* * *

What boots it to save the South from those dim "land and naval forces" of Reconstruction times in Part Three of the Civil Force bill and at the other gate—Part Four to let in a modern Gestapo of federal agents, commissars, inspectors, policemen and subpena servers?

PRAISING the bill without noting or caring how he damns it for us and ignores states' rights and common law—Walter Lippmann rejoices that "it vests in the executive legal powers to intervene in Southern elections, to go into the federal courts for civil injunctions which, without jury trial, mean that imprisonment or fines can be imposed on those who violate the injunction."

Why this should be called a weak bill is more than I can understand. The procedure under civil contempt, which does not require a jury trial, is a very great power."

Birmingham

COLUMNIST BASCOM Timmons thinks the bill may be worse for the South, bring more discord and division, than the Supreme Court's school decision . . . It sets up a bureaucracy in the Department of Justice with power to put aside state election laws, procedures and administrative relief, and in the name of the attorney general to bring coercive legal action against states and state officials."

He says the Civil Rights Commission "may send a horde of lawyers into the states . . . be a sort of roving grand jury. . . . Insofar as Congress is concerned, its rights are limitless . . . nor are its activities restricted to voting rights. It may roam the universe . . ."

Times 8-20-57

NO WONDER the NAACP's Roy Wilkins is urging passage. As he well-says, it "provides the federal government with the instruments with which to enforce the right to vote . . . and promises wider implementation."

Wide is no word for the federal onsweep into the South which the bill will make possible and which the NAACP will insist on with all its balance of power.

* * *

Have we defeated a phantom army only to be beaten by one of flesh and blood?

* * *

"SCHIZOPHRENIA" may have to do with mental disorder but it is popularly used for plain two-mindedness. Witness the Supreme Court, eager to strain the Constitution and wink at precedents in favor of the NAACP but strict constructionist all the way against helping the FBI and Congress catch Communist subversives.

The court calls its winks.

And Ike—vetoing for skullduggery by outsiders a gas bill he favored but ignoring skullduggery by his very own in a civil rights bill he favors.

* * *

AMONG SHODDIER tricks of Class Three demagogs and hay-riders is pretending to be for something embarrassing to you but saying you want to improve it—and then adding something that defeats or de-tooths it.

Your governor and mine has used this trick often, beginning with the time in his first administration when he was all for the school teachers as he campaigned against legislation in their behalf.

He's been at it on the competitive bid bill.

"To the victor belongs the spoils" but if they are unconscionable and you try to take some away—as with this competitive bid bill—the infighting is tooth-and-claw business, no holds or hypocrisies barred.

* * *

AMONG THOSE protesting trash that passes for music is Miss Gisele MacKenzie, that is as should be. She and Pat Boone are best bets to lead overserved youth out of the woods. Miss MacKenzie is discovered more and more for an immensely comedic charm and so hi-fi an ear and voice, so totally faithful to lilt, tune and beat, that she may be able single-voiced to sing down the walls of Tin Pan Jericho.

Radio and television are ramming monstrosities "down the public's ear," says Oscar Hammerstein.

Bing Crosby, Steve Allen, Miss MacKenzie and many others agree. It could be that we fuddy-duddies can look our brain-and-ear-washed teen-agers in the eye and say music is still music.

Humbly aware of not being young and all-wise, we have let it go that these noises, these adenoidal wails, whines, grunts, jumps and wheezes are music.

Now word accumulates that adenoidal noises are adenoidal noises, put over perhaps by paid agents of cheapsters with no public demand.

Suddenly there's Pat Boone on Newsweek's front cover, the young man who is young, man of ballads, electric in more lasting electricities. Suddenly rock and roll is out.

But isn't there some way of making sure in future that "popular" music will be popular, will be music to which people take, not just music to which they are taken?

* * *

FREE SPEECH hit a new high Sunday when Drew Pearson told his 20,000,000 radio listeners all about an advertisement in The Montgomery Advertiser urging that paper to carry his column.

Drew added hopefully that Editor Grover Hall is a fine fellow. When you have so vast an audience as Drew Pearson's what you say for better or worse—is more than just free speech. It is special privilege.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Nixon Vs. Brownell

"Once more into the breach, dear friends, once more,
Or close the wall up with our English dead . . ."

* * *

If the civil rights bill becomes law, Vice President Nixon wants the Justice Department, under the Gestapo provisions, to send squads of investigators into the South immediately to prosecute all infringements of Negroes' rights to vote, according to Newsweek. He would "enforce the law with quick, mass action." Attorney General Brownell wants to "move more cautiously."

Let them fight it out between them.

Post Herald

PLEADING for the bill as it stands, the NAACP's Roy Wilkins says "it gives the Federal Government the instruments to enforce the right to vote and promises wider implementation." Wide is the word.

"Why this should be called a weak bill is more than I can understand," says Walter Lippman. "It vests in the executive legal powers to intervene in Southern elections . . . a very great power."

It's weak only in being weaker than the worst imaginable.

It's hot in Washington, and everyone wants to go home, and the civil rights bill is stripped of half its sin and skullduggery.

The inclination to call it a day is siren cool and sweet.

But new skullduggery has been added. And even without it the bill as it stands is an intolerable sin against South and nation.

Mem. 8-26-57

A Federal Gestapo is still provided. The loud-sung jury trial amendment has been so emasculated that little jury trial remains.

So long as the judge doesn't sentence the Southern culprit to more than 45 days in jail no jury can be demanded—and 45 days is a long time for the unaccustomed people who would be challenging federal interferers.

Birmingham

Call it filibuster or — with more truth than ever before—a campaign of education, the South's immortals are summoned to the breach again. They are called for more than just a protest before surrender. They are called to oppose this still unconscionable legislation with the same genius and will and truth and success they employed against the original.

* * *

They won a majority before and they can do it again for they have points as impressive and right. Failing, they can filibuster until the cows come home and flesh and blood on both sides cry halt.

No long filibuster is needed to persuade the Senate to adjourn now and leave this issue to next year. And some of us—including Dr. Gallup—begin to believe time is on our Southern side now, some Congressional elections or not.

Unless there's depression or war, the issue of 1958 and again of 1960 will be constitutionalism.

And that's us.

* * *

DO YOU HOWL through howlingly funny speeches? Or do you howl halfway and give out? There's a limit if it's one of those joke-book compositions with an allegedly serious and always trite theme to which the speaker conscientiously returns from time to time. Anybody can put one together and they are sure-fire for a little while.

* * *

WHEN I THINK of real wit and humor in speeches I think of Alabama's great Hugh Morrow. His addresses at many annual meetings of the American Iron and Steel Institute ought to be in book form, not only for industrial statesmanship but for students of public speaking.

As one of the South's most achieving lawyers and industrialists he has always had serious things to say and they dominate his speeches. The wit and humor of him simply bring home the wisdom of him.

Nobody gives out half-way on a Hugh Morrow speech. He's good to the last drop. That is because he is no entertainer pretending to think, but an entertaining thinker, majority, even if the majority is only one individual.

Naturally the NAACP will never consent to the long plan for dividing electoral votes in proportion to popular votes in each state.

But greater consideration than is now being given should be had for the proposal of Montgomery's Lea Harris that Alabama go it alone on this change (as she is perfectly free to do). There are pros and cons that deserve the thought of our best minds.

WHAT IS PROPOSED is very simple. Mr. Harris could help his cause by letting the simplicity be more apparent, it seems to me.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

National Interest Served On Rights Bill

"Is there a shadow shape in the confusion?"

Was there something which bound together the motley Union which Lyndon Johnson led for the jury trial amendment to the civil rights bill?

Something which might endure?

"You hit upon a basic truth which many others have escaped Senator Johnson writes this column.

"It is that for the first time in the history of this issue, the Civil Rights debate was conducted on the basis of whether the national interest was to be served or whether the only compelling consideration would be sectional politics.

"I am very proud of the fact that the Senate vote did not break down on regional or partisan lines. This indicates to me the members were voting their own convictions, and I am not concerned about the ill effects of legislation that is written on that basis."

* * *

OUT OF THIS "NATIONAL interest vote" there might come a national interest party devoted as the vote was in notable part to the propositions that (1) the nation is more precious than any of its pressure groups, and (2) the principles of God and man under which Americans live are not to be forgotten in do-goodery.

How this moment of peace and prosperity calls for these things after the years of war and depression which have inflamed the pressure groups, dimmed the principles, made lax both the umpires and the players of our American game!

* * *

BIRMINGHAM'S Harrison Richardson has written Ike a letter, and it's good, especially where it points out that "prejudice" is defined as "judgment or opinion without sufficient knowledge."

"How could we be prejudiced against colored people when all our lives have been spent with them?" he asks Mr. Eisenhower.

In the most furious integration centers, such as New York City, there are white people who rarely if ever see a colored person, much less talk or do business with one.

Segregation like that is hardly qualified to tell Southerners about integration or to say Southerners pass judgment "without sufficient knowledge."

* * *

THAT PERSONABLE, distinguished attorney, Mr. Walter Bouldin, has undertaken the biggest title case in Alabama history.

Mr. Bouldin, 52 last month, will become president of Alabama Power Co. which is off to immense start on that last half of the 20th Century whose title in fee simple, Tom Martin has claimed for the South.

As a native of Scottsboro where Mr. Martin himself was born and as a long-time law associate in Birmingham of Judge William Logan Martin, Mr. Bouldin is "in the tradition."

The announcement of his selection speaks of his "long experience in the legal and financial affairs of the company."

In great addition, I think, his personality, contacts, family background, loves, loyalties and inclinations, qualify him for the even wider affairs of the company, for the intangibles of citizenship and of Southern economic and psychological leadership that go with top place in this great company.

* * *

THE PRESIDENT apparently, is still without criticism of the skulduggery attempt in the original civil rights bill even though, for lesser misbehavior, he vetoed the gas bill last year.

For calling him a "schizophreniac," I am lambasted, and rightly, by Mrs. Maribel H. Snow, of Gainesville, Fla. She says the word is "associated with abnormal psychology" and she is "truly surprised" at me.

What I had in mind was that the President, like many of us, is of two minds on things. He is for the principle but not the application, the generality but not the particularity.

Unhappily that's normal, not abnormal, psyschology among Americans now.

* * *

OF HIS WINSOME television interview by Mike Wallace, Senator Eastland tells this column "we had decided to accept all invitations that would give us the opportunity to set our position before the country."

That's fine if you are as quick-witted, informed, mannered, composed and situation-mastering as Mr. Eastland. But here's hoping the policy is subject to enough screening of speakers to save the South from representation by some of the blowhards., two-steppers and Class Three demagogs.

This section has the national ear now and it can be mortally hurt by some who are most eager to speak for it.

* * *

IF, IN SPITE of all, James H. Hoffa is voted president of the gigantic Teamsters Union and spurred to national power as a Man on Horseback—that could be the most cynical and disastrous vote in American history.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Basic Values On This Labor Day

"In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread."

Labor Day finds Americans looking in so many question-marked directions that the basic values need remembering.

The basic value of organization, what it has achieved for workers and the sure need of saving it for ever finer use.

And the even more basic value of work itself.

God's decree at Eden's exit was for work as a psychological as well as an economic necessity.

We haven't learned to be happy and healthy without it and probably never will.

* * *

"We may not climb the heavenly steeps
To bring the Lord Christ down . . . "

The cost of trying mounts. It may be that the worst example yet of the tragedy of mixing church and state is the side-taking of church leaders against race separation in the Deep South. The cost in laymen confused in faith and loyalty is growing.

It could be the biggest blow God has suffered in the name of God.

* * *

"If this be contempt, then by the eternal they may make the most of it . . . "

Thus the Citizens Council, States' Rights and Constitutional Government leaders of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee and Texas in a bitter release against "the first Force Bill since Reconstruction."

You recall Henry Grady, in his second speech to New England in 1889 a week before he died, when Lodge's force bill was before Congress: "We wrested our state governments from Negro supremacy when the Federal drum-beat rolled closer to the ballot box and Federal boyonets hedged it deeper about than will ever again be permitted in this free government.

But, sir, though the cannon of this Republic thundered in every voting district of the South, we still should find in the mercy of God the means and the courage to prevent its re-establishment . . . "

* * *

THIS ISN'T 1889 any more than it's 1861 or 1865.

We propose to go on being our Uncle Sam's nephew and to carry on our constitutional cold war unyieldingly against those who are taking his name in vain.

The white South is more united than ever, and in spite of the civil force vote, more identified with its constitutional counterparts, liberal and conservative, in the rest of the country.

Never to be forgotten is that "motley" which Democratic Leader Lyndon Johnson put together to make a majority for the jury trial amendment (however sad its subsequent fate).

There was the outline of something which may be the hope of the South and nation, too, something which may recapture the Democratic Party for a new day of constitutionality and national interest.

* * *

THAT RECAPTURE is the only hope of the South now as between the two parties. The Republicans have ruined all Southern hope for themselves in with the civil force behavior and the prospect of a Nixon determined fanatically to champion integration.

And, as Davis Lawrence shows convincingly, they have lost the nation, too, are headed for sure defeat in 1960.

AS BETWEEN A Democratic Party dominated by Reuther and a Republican by Nixon, the South would choose neither, I believe, and go it alone insofar as the presidency is concerned even though preserving Democratic regularity and seniority on congressional levels.

But the indicated ambition and hope are capture of the Democratic Party in coalition with elements the South can live with.

That is why Lyndon Johnson, as nominee or leader, is important and why we should be glad he has not identified himself exclusively with the South even though he assumed command for both South and nation when that significant original majority for the trial amendment was put together in the Senate.

It may be that Senator Kennedy, far ahead of Johnson in Gallup-polling now, will be the man for a national interest Democratic Party—but Lyndon Johnson is indispensable, whatever his role.

* * *

IN A WIERD OUTBURST of bile, Karl Ramsey, of Memphis, writes The Jackson State Times with every bad name in the book for me because of my wonder if something of significance bound together the "motley" of North and South, liberal conservative, Democratic and Republican, which passed the original jury trial amendment for the South.

A literate writer but, apparently, an illiterate reader, he seems actually to think I was opposing the jury trial amendment. Or perhaps he forgot the original Southern victory I had in mind and thought me talking of the defeat at the finish.

In either case this loud gentleman is not aware that he and I are on the same side. I'm just as glad. His witlessness reflects on the side.

Maybe there'll be a law some day letting people write who can't read.

GRAVES

Post-Herald

Cold War Moves To New Phase

Fri. 9-6-57 B'ham, Ala. p. 12

"The Moving Finger writes and, having writ,
Moves on—nor all thy piety or wit
Can lure it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all thy tears wash out a word of it."

* * *

Senators depart. Governors are called. The constitutional cold war moves to new phase.

Mr. Brownell may be here any minute now.

And once the Moving Finger of Federal government writes what it proposes to write across the face of the South, nothing will erase it.

This is why Gov. Faubus' move and the South-wide chain reaction to it may be focusing the issues just in time. A year from now who knows what strength will come to integrationists and herd voters through the civil rights law as the attorney general and the vice president may mean immediately to apply it!

* * *

OMINOUSLY MONTGOMERY County's registrars have already been summoned before a federal grand jury.

* * *

NOTHING HAS been more statesmanlike than Rep. Hugh Saul's joint committee for screening segregation proposals.

Statesmanship suggests now that this committee "seize time by the forelocks"—or warn the Legislature. The Legislature has authorized it to "study" voting regulations and report to a coming Legislature. This is too leisurely.

The situation is for the present Legislature or a special session. Alabama's qualifications need not only "study" but immediate strengthening. Mr. Brownell and his associates are hell-bent on radical increases in Negro voting before the next election. And once such increases come, without strict qualifying, there will be no going back.

Witness our governor's constant wink at an expected Negro vote to come. Once it comes, nobler politicians than he will be tempted, too.

* * *

ONCE MORE as all eyes are on the South we are called to tell national radio and television commentators there is a constitutional crisis, not merely an issue of law-abiding or race oppression.

Something the War Between the States didn't settle has come up.

This nation wasn't created by people getting together and setting up a government. It was created by 13 existing nations. They agreed on a Federal nation under a constitution dividing sovereignty between the federal nation and themselves.

The Civil War abolished slavery and prevented division but it didn't settle what happens when state and Federal sovereignties clash on a matter vital to the state and belonging to it under the Constitution.

Two new amendments—the 14th and 15th—increased the Federal province, true, but they did not give it a right to usurp state provinces remaining, no matter what the Supreme Court, which is only an arm of the Federal government, says. When usurpation is attempted, no one knows what gives. That is why what is happening now is not outlawry but constitutional crisis and cold war.

* * *

STATES' RIGHTS are not only constitutional but right. Never more than now when the nation is so immense. What enables so much geography, economy, national origin and conflicting interest to remain "one and indivisible" is respect for the parts making the nation up, for states' rights and local rights.

* * *

WRITE THIS to a commentator, dear reader. Remind him, lest he interpret the news from the South as rebellion, lawlessness or oppression. We need these commentators in our business, and some of them will listen to sober reason and respond to literate protest.

* * *

AND REMIND fellow Southerners, dear reader, that much as we needed a United States in 1787 we need it more now.

If our country were not existing here as earth's great place in earth's great time and accepting earth's greatest responsibilities, communism and chaos would prevail.

The hope of the world is America, just as the hope of America is the South with its economic promise, its spiritual vitalities and devotions, its integrities of blood and soul, its American principles held not in theory alone but in passionate experience and special set-up.

Let us cherish our United States as tenderly and resolutely now, therefore, as we hold to our constitutional position, right and need.

* * *

INTERESTINGLY The Post-Herald has speculated on the absence of any rules of cold war and the need of them as we face the Communist dictatorship in a division as bitter, intense and, short of shooting, all-out as any in history.

You think of the other cold war, the constitutional one here at home. We of the South must resolve on a code for that, too.

A code that will tell us our state and local laws are to be respected all the more as we question federal ones.

A code to require—as someone, somewhere, profoundly, once (or twice) has said—that we mind our manners as we hold our lines.

* * *

UNDER THAT CODE the traitors who beat and mutilated a Negro man here solely because he was a Negro should be reported by their own friends and jailed for as many long years as the law allows.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald

Mountain Top Splendor

Fri. 9-13-57 B'ham, Ala.

"That all should cry 'beware, beware!
His flashing eye, his floating hair—
Weave a circle 'round him thrice
And close your eyes in holy dread,
For he on honey dew hath fed
And drunk the milk of paradise'."

* * *

I haven't asked Manager Ham or Mrs. Steele but it is obvious that Grover Hall orders honey dew and milk of paradise.

When The Montgomery Advertiser's famous young editor, green to metropolitan splendor, first visited our The Club, Inc., and in country-boy scorn described it to villagers back home as "Vulcan's platinum honky-tonk," I pled with him.

I told him the facts of life.

I let him know that no matter how virtuous he was there would be cakes and ale, also milk of paradise—and that The Club's were tops.

And, lo, he saw a high light, also a bright light.

He has come to be The Club's main member from Montgomery, its habitue, panegyrist, poet, propagandist, cake-eater plenipotentiary, ale-bibber extraordinary, and foremost milker of heaven.

Witness his leading editorial the other day called "Splendor Inc." The young man is bewitched and I only hope he isn't neglecting his work.

* * *

ONE OF GROVER'S nouns for The Club is "glory". Glory of the universe, 360 degrees of ceiling unlimited and heaven straight ahead! Through whose eyes has this famous bachelor seen the glory? It comes best in company.

* * *

LAURIE BATTLE, who led the field—including John Sparkman—for delegate to the Democratic National Convention, is sure to run a strong race for governor. His Congressional record, intelligence, character and industry, are too proved in action not to be appreciated at the polls, and his straight-forward, un-demagogic stand on "the prevailing issue" is all that could be asked.

What's more, he looks like a governor—a strong one. Many of us who can't say yet whom we are going to support have Laurie's name among the two or three in our top drawer.

* * *

GOVERNOR FOLSOM is right that there is no integration crisis in Alabama. But he should add that this is because there is no school integration that in Alabama. Sooner or later there may be one, but not yet. If extremists, gallery-players and school boys be advised.

* * *

CARLING DINKLER JR., told Birmingham's Rotarians Wednesday of inn-keeping ages gone. He said the first "hotel" was just a plot of ground where people would stop overnight with their camels and packs. Proving there's nothing new under the sun.

Today we have "plots of ground" upon which trailer campers spend the nights.

An easy speaker and attractive personality, Mr. Dinkler ornaments his profession. What's more, in this age of travel and more travel when so many cities mean to so many people merely what their hotels are or fail to be, he and his famous father give the South daily and nightly good name with excellencies of the Dinkler chain.

* * *

WHEN GOVERNOR Faubus meets the President today or tomorrow the question will have nothing to do with integration, although it is to be hoped that the governor digresses.

It will have nothing to do with the Constitution, either, no matter what Mr. Brownell has told the President, for the Constitution is silent.

It will concern the right of a Federal judge from uncomprehending North Dakota not only to ignore police powers of a sovereign state but to assert against its governor a superior knowledge of whether there is sufficient threat of disorder to require exercise of those powers.

* * *

BUT THE REAL question at Newport may be how all parties can save face, not only now but through critical days ahead in a Deep South situation which makes mass integration in public schools impossible.

Whether Little Rock's school could have taken in a few Negroes without disorder or not, Governor Faubus should impress the President with the sure fact that disorder will come sooner or later there and through all the Deep South if real (as distinguished from mere token or handful) integration is tried.

* * *

IS THE QUIRK in my brain or that of the three-way school planners, including my admired friend David Lawrence? To me it has always seemed that providing a "three-way" choice of white, mixed or colored schools is no three ways at all.

Since no whites would choose the mixed school it wouldn't be mixed. And if Negroes were denied the white school that would be precisely the exclusion because of race which the nervous nine forbade as they held hands and jurised.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald p. 10

No Capture Here

Wed. 8-14-57

"There is no longer a 'Solid South' controlled by one political party . . ."

—President Eisenhower

Birm. News

* * *

Only yesterday the President was calling on Republicans to capture the South with more candidates for Congress.

Now look at us!

Not a capture in a carload!

* * *

ALABAMA'S GALLANT Republican candidate for governor in 1954, Tom Abernethy, has written a bitter heart out to Republican Chairman Alcorn, vowing the South is "no more willing to accept domination at Republican hands than from our one-time Democratic masters."

* * *

"THE END of an era," The Roanoke, Va., Times calls the rejection of the South now by a President who had won it as no other Republicans ever had.

* * *

WAR OR DEPRESSION before 1960 might make some other issue more determining in the South than civil rights and integration, but the present prospect is that these will be decisive.

That means decisive against any Republican in sight and half the Democrats.

We are indeed in a new era.

Where is the "better 'ole'?"

* * *

THE NAACP'S Roy Wilkins has called Harry Truman, not Ike or FDR, real hero of integration. Sen. Douglas has been protesting "the presence of Southerners in the Democratic Party." as Editor Buchanan, of The Columbia Record, puts it, and Walter Reuther "has said in effect that the party should divest itself of its Southern wing."

Editor Buchanan sees no reason why Southerners who "tended away from the National Democratic Party should rush back. . . . It is not accurate to say that there is a refuge for them in the Democratic Party. Indeed, it is downright silly."

* * *

WHERE STANDS Dick Russell, once more the South's outstanding leader? He, too, damns both parties.

"Other minority groups," he said in that immortal speech of July 2 on the civil force bill, "have apparently convinced the leaders of both political parties that the presidential election of 1960 will go to the party willing to go the furthest in the drive to humiliate and punish the white South. . . ."

* * *

THE IRONY MAY be that no amount of "humiliating the white South" can win the Negro vote for Republicans—if David Lawrence's analysis is correct. Negroes are still overwhelmingly Democratic in spite of Republican gains.

* * *

THAT THESE STATES will join in efforts to recapture the Democratic Party with Lyndon Johnson or John Kennedy is certain.

Failing that they may still, with unity and a continuance of their progress - making educational campaign be a sufficient force in both national conventions to hold back the fanatics.

* * *

WITH THIS IN MIND, the South can't afford to let itself be led in its 1957-style resistance on the race question by holdovers from the 1887-style who would treat the Negro as if he had made no advance and were entitled to no recognition for advance.

It can't afford to be led by those who say there must be no slightest break in either segregation or political lines. That would be as foolish as it would be unfair.

For example, if the South's major resistance must be against Negro bloc domination at the polls, some one must find a way to shift the scene from Tuskegee, surely. It puts the worst possible light on our cause. To have the vote denied these indisputably qualified Negroes goes against the grain with Americans, including many Southerners.

* * *

IT CONTINUES to seem to this column that, far from forbidding Tuskegee's Negroes to incorporate a city of their own, as suggested here, they should be invited to do it, not only as proof of Southern earnest in letting qualified Negroes vote but as examples in citizenship for new Negro voters.

* * *

NEGRO LEADERS don't understand their own people (as indicated in the monstrous editing of Stephen Foster songs) the same may be said of white ones.

For example, a Citizens Council whch spends its money sending white Souterners slick paper Negro magazines printed in the North or West, showing well-heeled Negroes living pretty much as well-heeled whites do.

The idea seems to be that the very sight will enrage white Southerners and encourage them to resist integration. Just the opposite could be the effect. Seeing these magazines could make some Southern whites think integration might work where the class aspect is eliminated and white and colored are both well-heeled.

Certainly the literature doesn't enrage Southerners in this year of 1957.

And we don't want to be enraged anyhow.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

31 A Birmingham

Voice From The North

Post Herald p. 14

"Their hearts grow weary. . . ."

* * *

Momentarily swayed from his capital "L" Liberalism by atavistic yearnings, Richard Greenleaf half-regrets his ardor for the Civil Rights Bill.

Birmingham News

In a paraphrase of Cynara, written as the bill passed, he addresses this column from Taylor University in Indiana, where he is located now after his controversial years in Alabama:

"Last night, ah, yesternight, before the loud TV,
There fell thy shadow, Columnist; thy breath was shed
Upon my soul that cheered this thumping victory;
And I was desolate and sick of an old passion,
Yea, I was desolate and bowed my head —
I have been faithful to thee, Birmingham, in my fashion.

"All year my letters scored reluctant senators;
For months they dragged their heels and would not vote.
Surely the speeches of their bought loud mouths were bores,
For I was desolate and sick of an old passion
When I read what the moving finger wrote —
I have been faithful to thee, Dixieland, in my fashion.

Wed. 9-4-57

"I have forgot much, Mr. Graves! Gone with the wind,
Supported Civil Rights with all the Hoosier throng,
Writing, to put thy pale, lost columns out of mind;
But I am desolate and sick of an old passion,
Yea, all the time because the fight was long —
I have been faithful to thee, Dixiecrats, in my fashion.

"I cried for wider suffrage and for stronger laws,
But when the Bill is signed and that new board is set,
Then falls thy shadow, Journalist! Be thine the cause
I may be desolate and sick of an old passion:
John Temple Graves may halt this progress yet —
But I am faithful to thee, Southerners, in my fashion."

* * *

Mr. Greenleaf isn't the only one, white and colored, North and South, who begins to feel "far from the old folks at home" in a "sad and dreary" world as unconstitutionalism and centralism engulf so much that is dear and associations, competitions and threaten such disturbances of atmospheres to which they are peace. According to "Medical not suited by nature nor by Science" the Negro rate of ad- habit and to which they are not missions to mental hospitals in welcomed.

Virginia is increasing and is now more than double the rate of whites.

It has increased 41 points since the 1918-1925 period, and this in spite of the vastly improved economic and legal position of the Negro in that period.

Dr. David C. Wilson, University of Virginia psychiatrist, and Miss Laura M. Lanz, of the Virginia State Department of Mental Hygiene, who conducted the study, attribute the increase to (1) segregation and (2) "uncertainty accompanying cultural change."

Against this "most amazing paradox," let us strike out Reason No. 1, which is ridiculous in view of constantly decreasing segregation, and let us express Reason 2 in terms more scientific, to wit, ones recognizing heredity as well as environment.

Our colored people being enticed and Uncle Tommed into

Their hearts grow weary.

* * *

"Will you love me in December as you do in May?"

Why didn't the Senate love jury trial on Aug. 30 as a few days before? When the Thurmond filibuster ended and the civil force bill was passed with the jury trial amendment emasculated to death where was that noble and (I thought) meaningful majority which Dick Russell had inspired and Lyndon Johnson had put together for the same amendment so shortly before?

What had so spent the Senate's Anglo-Saxon passion? What had turned it from fusion to confusion?

The answer is lost in politics, impatience, inattention, fatigue.

But that fusion should not be forgotten. It spoke more truly the attitude of the American people than did the impatient and killing "compromise" at the end.

A high tide that can come again was attained, a national interest tide with the South's constitutionalism at its heart.

GRAVES

Post Herald Birm. Ala. Wed. 9-18-57 p. 14

No Apology Is Needed For Dixie

"Fair is foul and foul is fair. . . ."

* * *

Could any other people on Planet Earth—saving only perhaps, the British—have quarreled as deeply, bitterly and honestly as Americans have over desegregation with such discipline and good order?

There have been exceptions—some unconscionable — but in comparison with what might have been in so profoundly explosive a situation they are trifling.

Nest - fouling is foul indeed when it just simply isn't so.

The big story of Little Rock for Secretary Dulles Ed Murrow and other reporters to and on Asia, Africa, Germany, Japan and such is not the small disorders but the large disciplines.

Not a hair of anybody's head has been touched in the most passionate situation yet.

Apologizing all over the world for Little Rock is as false as apology can become.

There's nothing to apologize for.

The restraints and due processes advertise America.

* * *

FOR VICIOUS low-rating of Gov. Faubus as a hill-billy last week, Time has been told off by Alabama's distinguished Earl Elebash Sr., who points out that being a "hill-billy" has been done before, to wit, by Presidents of the United States Lincoln, Johnson and Andrew Jackson.

But Time may be entitled to this Little Rock spree. Its months of restraint and evenmindedness have proved the importance of Southern protests.

It has learned that we can read and write, that we wear shoes, and that we know even more than Time does about the Constitution of the United States.

* * *

But the most important learning process today may be that of Negro leaders about their own race.

Signs are growing. It was a good thing that bigotry of these leaders should lately have denied immortal Mark Twain to New York City's school children.

Something so extreme may have been needed to show up the false ideals of current Negro leadership.

The Negro is led backward, not forward, when his epochal story in America, its legend, lore and song, its underprivilege, its privilege and its preserving, its stages of relationship with the white race, are erased or bidden away in a narrow and self-conscious shame.

* * *

IN THE ADVANCE of colored people a time has come for a Society of Uncle Tom.

It is the sin of integrationists that they pretend to identities that don't and can't exist while denying rich varieties and forgetting diverse experiences that give life spice and civilization a guarantee.

* * *

HOW MUCH "Uncle Tom" sentiment is there? By "Uncle Tom" I use the NAACP's epithet for those who, in spite of all, prefer separate but equal schools, churches, memories, etc.

Currently the calls on Dave Campbell's "Free To Speak" radio program here indicate many "Uncle Toms." They sound as intelligent and informed as the integrationists and considerably more mature.

As a result of increasing confusion, trouble and upset, there may be enough to make up a considerable resistance of their own—along with whites—if they can find leaders other than the all-too-familiar mercenaries who make a living by agreeing with white people.

"Uncle Tom" could be made a term of common sense rather than epithet.

An "Uncle Tom" could be someone who demands his rights and equalities as a Negro but who knows white and colored have as much in common as in division in the South and are nearer together segregated than integrated.

* * *

IN THE NOBLER and more productive ideal of an American Order of "Uncle Tom" the picture of the Negro as sprung suddenly to dull identity with the white man would be contemptuously refused.

In its place would be the "up from slavery" picture, with all the brave and colorful things that have happened along the way, the tragedies and comedies, the brutalities and loving kindnesses, the music, the loves and hates, the differences due only to environment alone and the others enduringly hereditary, and the step by steps to a pride of race and color and story comparing with the white man's pride and the yellow man's and the red's.

* * *

WHEN THE COMMUNISTS at the United Nations complain that a man can't be objective when Myrna Loy is petitioning him, this column is a Communist sympathizer.

When she appeared with an unofficial committee for implementing the resolution against Russia's treatment of Hungary, Prince Wan, president of the Assembly, is accused of having been "deeply affcted" by her sex appeal.

If he was't, he must be much older than the 66 he reports.

What has made Myrna's so "deeply affecting" through the years is that there's not a Confidential story in a carload.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post Herald p. 10 Birm. Ala. 9-11-57

Satellite Sparks

"Ah, moon of my delight
That knows no wane."

ST. LOUIS—There is no truth in rumors that when the satellite wanes the Russians are going to put Khrushchev up there.

And that the sound will be not a beep but a burp.

Perhaps there's no truth either in talk that because of the satellite the world will never be the same.

Plenty will be, at any rate. Nobody's going to get ahead of anybody for long, and nobody ahead wants to start anything in the short meantime.

IS THERE violence anywhere this morning? Blame Little Rock. Even if it began long before.

* * *

YOU ARE reminded of that famous Army mule which fell over a cliff into the sea with a pack on its back. For years afterward missing equipment was reported as having been in that pack—until the total added to many tons.

* * *

SUDDENLY THE South is so solid it includes Republicans. "With National Democrats and Republicans in a race for the rest of the country," writes Editor Waring in The Charleston News and Courier, "a Solid South could break the tie with ease. . . . Now is the time for all Southern Democrats, original independents and old 'party of our forefathers' loyalists to join together to assert the power of the Southern states and to help save the Republic."

Add "Southern Republicans."

* * *

WHY CAN'T the South be a third force without being a third party?

Who has authority to tell the South it can't be a third force in presidential elections and remain Democratic on congressional, state and local levels, holding to whatever chairmanships result form seniority?

If a "third force" decides a national election for the Democrats, holding to chairmanships could be part of the bargain. If it decides for the Republicans, chairmanships could be the pay-off.

* * *

"HOW CAN you ask me or any other Southerner to contribute to an administration which is destroying everything in which we believe and all we hold dear?"

Thus Alabama's Mrs. B. L. Noojin Sr., whose late distinguished husband served the Republican Party so loyally and well here—replying to a request from the national committee for financial support. "We pray for a new day, and new leaders," she says, naming Byrnes, Russell and Byrd. "There are thousands of Southern Republicans who would join them."

* * *

"SOUTHERN Republican" may come to be as different a breed as "Southern Democrat."

Matching the Navy's "Join the Navy and see the world," says Alabama's Edgar D. Smith in a letter to Secretary of Defense McElroy could be "Join the Army and see the South."

* * *

ADD THE Christian Science Monitor to national periodicals which give the South a break. Because, perhaps, its "goodness" comes from on high and is not just Liberal do-goodery, it was able to say last week that "most of the South's critics would very likely find themselves taking this same position if they lived under the same conditions. Usually transplanted Northerners become the most ardent segregationists . . . The South does not hate the Negro; it cannot afford to let mobs present the face of hate as the face of the South. The South possesses the power—legal and peaceful resistance—to fight for its views on segregation."

The Monitor's Editor Canham even asks "the North to remember that there is much that is wise and inevitable in the South's way of life."

* * *

NOTING TIME'S quotation of this column on a President "loved long since and lost a while," Bruce W. Gurney, of Somerville, Mass., lectures me on the "gross ignorance of re-living a ridiculous conflict of the 1860-63 era."

He would have me know that "your great nation was founded by far-seeing forefathers on Christian principles."

It must be that Somerville isn't far from Salem where pietists burned the witches in the name of the Lord.

MEANWHILE, from Memphis, Mr. Karl Ramsey lifts his unfettered pen against me once more in a letter to The Jackson State-Times, naming me "a scalawag and a home-grown carpetbagger." If he were younger, I could call him a "crazy, mixed-up kid."

Mr. Ramsey accuses me, too, of "Republican pediculosis." Somehow that doesn't sound very nice. I'm afraid words come too easily to him—without giving him time to collect his thoughts.

* * *

IN HARTFORD, Conn., last week ex-Gov. Chester Bowles, Fair Dealer for fair, one-time Truman ambassador to India, startled all parties by avowing that to place the school integration question in the care of the courts asks them to "do something they are not required by nature or organization to do."

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Dixie & Newspapers

Post Herald P. 10

"The sun also rises . . ."

Mon 9-30-57

Addine Davis Drew, of this city accuses The Post-Herald of adding fuel to flames with its reports of racial disorder. She should consider that no newspaper worth its salt, North or South, could fail to report on matters so vital to our region and country, and that all papers, North and South, are doing as The Post-Herald is.

She should not further that the editorial restraint of this and other Southern papers, the leaning backward not to be inflammatory, the playing down of a subject which last week filled two-thirds of David Lawrence's United States News and World Report and much of such other national magazines as Time and Newsweek, and which featured the nightly telecasts and radio comments is so conspicuous that some Southerners are criticizing it.

ROSTAND'S ROOSTER, Chanticleer, who thought his early morning crowing caused the sun to rise, had something in common with those who think Southern newspaper stories responsible for the passionate opposition to public school integration.

The sun also rises!

* * *

WITHOUT the Southern press this epochal issue might fall exclusively into the hands of foolish knights (and worse) on one side and hatefully lying outsiders on the other. Then we would indeed be "here as on a darkling plain — swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight—Where ignorant armies clash by night."

* * *

THIS NEWSPAPERMAN, for one, was never prouder of his profession than right now in the South.

* * *

FINDING IT "rather irresponsible" of The Post-Herald even to dream that the Supreme Court might change its mind (although it changed drastically in 1954), Mr. Joe Vickers, of Bessemer, calls desegregation "clearly now the mandate of the American people." Did an ouija board tell him?

The nine who legislated their psychological and sociological judgment on 160,000,000 American people hadn't had a word from the American people. They hadn't been elected to anything nor has Congress voted for their decision (it refuses even now to inplement the decision as the Prohibition Amendment was implemented with the Volstead Act).

"The mood of the nation as a whole does not support us," reports Mr. Vickers. What an ouija board! It knows whole moods of the American people reaching high heaven with his board, "your proposal is morally wrong."

* * *

"ONE NATION, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all . . . "When Francis Ballamy composed "The Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag, in 1892, racial segregation prevailed in many states. Yet no one blushed for the description of our nation and contended there could not be "liberty and justice for all" with the races separated.

* * *

SINCE THE President chose to repeat the "one nation, indivisible" phrase when he ordered the bayonets for Little Rock, it is timely to consider what keeps this nation one and indivisible.

What is it that makes it possible—with such vast areas involved, so many different national origins, economies, natural resources, customs and local interests?

The answer is obvious.

What makes it possible to hold so many parts together is—respect for the parts.

The Constitution remembers if the President and the Court and Congress forget.

* * *

THE REPUBLICAN Party is dead in the South for many years to come. I agree with Alabama's Democratic Chairman Mayhall. But I agree equally with Republican National Committeewoman, Mrs. Tom Abernethy, who says it is "cold comfort for Southerners to believe they must look for help to such Democratic leaders as Harry Truman, Adlai Stevenson, Soapy Williams and Walter Reuther, who are perhaps the most radical integrationists of all." These have even less respect for states rights.

* * *

THE SOUTH'S cue is independent Southern Democracy, one that holds to the Democratic Party for its controls and positions in Congress, but approaches presdential elections in absolute independence as between Democratic and Republican nominees, and with this independence so known and organized that both parties will look to the South as the "major minority" in making nominations and drawing up platforms. The South at this moment is more solid than it has been since 1861, while labor, the Negro and the farmer are of two minds on much.

* * *

NO THIRD PARTY can win, but a resolidified South, associated with the nation's constitutionalists, both liberal and conservative, might capture an existing party.

I like to think that a grand alliance like this would include, if they were living, that grand liberal, William E. Borah, and that grand conservative, Robert A. Taft.

* * *

"Whaddayer mean women can see more out of the corner of the eye than man can?" an aroused reader writes ie New Orleans' women traffic police. The story is that the arc of a woman's vision is wider. Even with eyes half shut she can look beneath them and see or be aware of something not only alongside but slightly in rear. Then, too, there is the element of feminine curiosity. Women try harder.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Once-Friendly South Turns From Eisenhower

Post Herald. Tue. 9-27-57

"And thou shalt hear the 'never, never'
whispered by the phantom years
And a song from out the distance in
the ringing of thine ears. . ."

NEW ORLEANS—Like Asiatic flu, an anti-Eisenhower virus has permeated this city, and, apparently, all the South.

"He didn't have to do it"—that is what you hear on all sides even as all agree that mob violence is not to be tolerated and that the government of the United States, having taken a dramatic and positive stand, cannot be expected to back down.

It is sad, remembering how he has been loved in the South and how the South has forsaken its political home and mother and the loyalties of its lifetime for him to sense the "never, never," the totality of Southern turnaway now, and the certainty that it will endure.

The Federal troops at Little Rock will never be forgotten, never be forgiven. That is to be said without prejudice, simply in faithful reporting.

And we loved him so!

"What then, philosophers, to say?"

With what philosophy is Lyndon Johnson identified in your mind? With what John Kennedy?

How strange that these two of the top three Democratic Presidential possibilities should be so unidentified with any question or stand! Perhaps it qualifies them best for leading a national interest movement.

* * *

ALMOST YOU MIGHT say it is against Senator Johnson's philosophy to have a philosophy.

"It has been my observation," he writes this column, "that frequently people confuse their own stereotypes and their own prejudices with great metaphysical truths.

"I believe that a coherent philosophy for the present day can much better be formed out of action than out of pure thinking isolated from the realities of the world."

Is this the perfect stand for a man beckoned perhaps to put together a new conglomerate rivaling the one Franklin Roosevelt assembled but, let us hope, with a few more things in common?

I don't know.

* * *

REXFORD GUY TUGELL says Franklin Roosevelt would have run for a fifth term as a Progressive—making a new party of it.

By singular coincidence Prof. Tugell is a Progressive. A man who might well know more about this than any other is James F. Byrnes.

People forget how close Mr. Byrnes was to Roosevelt in those last days when the war was crowding the New Deal out of Roosevelt's psychology.

Roosevelt had named him to the Supreme Court in June, 1941; called him from that in 1942 to be director of Economic Stabilization; and in 1943 to be director of War Mobilization, a position in which he was serving in 1945 when Roosevelt died and Truman made Byrnes Secretary of State.

Was Roosevelt deciding there had been enough "Progressiveness" at the time of his death? There is evidence to that effect. He had discarded Henry Wallace, and Mr. Byrnes has told us how he was dissuaded from socialized medicine. There was the famous FDR statement that "Dr. New Deal is gone . . ." Add his gathering disillusion with Russia.

He was no congenital radical and centralist like Rex Tugwell. His states' rights speeches as governor of New York were used often against him while he was President.

And he had indicated his complete opportunism in the public interest when he said he would try one thing and if it didn't work, he would try something else.

He didn't mean more Tugwell.

* * *

ONE OF BRITAIN'S "angry young men"—indeed, the original one, Author John Osborne—says me—too against the monarchy, denouncing the "empty ritual" and asking how you can expect a young man to treat any complex social concept with any seriousness when he has to live in such a shadow.

A thousand years from now men may have learned to live in a vacuum, without "empty" ritual, form or fancy. In the meantime only the socially childish denounce it so long as it stays empty enough to do no harm.

Mr. Osborne would abolish national anthems, too, you may suppose, and, of course, flags.

* * *

NEARLY-ALWAYS-right Mrs. Walter Ferguson says "the public schools don't know how to teach sex and may as well give it up as a bad job."

Perhaps they could succeed if they had it taught by English teachers rather than biology teachers. The former, with their universal subjects-matter, are more aware than biologist that man is more than an animal.

You don't teach sex when you report only the birds and bees.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

If U. S. Name Is Hurt, Blame Supreme Court

31a Negro
Post Herald
Sat. 9-28-57

"Who Killed Cock Robin?"

NEW ORLEANS—If the President's allusion to a blot on the name and honor of our nation by the resistance at Little Rock, Editor George Healy Jr. of The Times-Picayune here wonders that the South should be asked to 'blot" out "its own 'peculiar' concept of human rights as a two-way proposition in order that our nation might grovel, so to speak, at the knees of world opinion, or coax the Soviets not to be too critical."

Amen! The South, after all, is among those needed for the hot - and - cold war with Russia!

* * *

IF AMERICA's name in Asia, Africa and among the Communist has been hurt, the hurt has come from a Supreme Court delivered over to do-gooders and a Chief Executive imprisoned by politicians.

Walter Lippman was more timely than he intended to be when, just before Little Rock, he suspected that the mistake in our foreign policy is its lack of humility, its assumption, that we are nobler than we are. If segregation of racial masses is ignoble, our country has been ignoble for 181 years and is for the most part ignoble still. We have always had segregation.

* * *

IF ONLY THE news reports hadn't had to describe the Federal troops as "crack" and speak of their great numbers' ridiculous great and their fixed bayonets and their efficiency. If only the bottom of something or other hadn't had to be reached with troops inside the school, posted outside each class room, providing a guard for each colored student in the corridors!

You blush indeed to have Asia and Africa know that our President and Supreme Court have ordered such things. You hate having Russia told.

You are ashamed, too, that our national intelligence should so be reflected upon that it should be thought our authorities believe you can run a school with bayonets any more than—as John Lewis once said—you can mine coal with bayonets.

* * *

IT DIDN'T HAVE to be! It wasn't the only way. Those who say so ignored the way of Gov. Faubus.

Forgetting his slight interest in segregation, they presume there was no threat of disorder beyond one he himself created as an excuse to prevent integration—even though he had accepted it in many other parts of Arkanasas.

* * *

BUT WE WHO LIVE in big cities of the Deep South know the fears of violence were justified and the attempts to force a postponement were the practical solution — unless the bayonets and "grim-faced" Federal troops are called back again and again or made permanent.

In Birmingham a few days before Little Rock, a mere gesture at bringing Negroes into the downtown white high school touched off such turmoil that no one could doubt the length, depth and totality of underlying passion.

* * *

TIME MAGAZINE, whose price has been 25 cents, is selling on newstands at 15 cents this week. They call it an "introductory offer." It could be they have been listening too hard for what Asia and Africa say, and need introduction to their own people again.

ECONOMY NOTE: New Orleans has women traffic officers in the French quarter now. The given reason is they will work for less and the city is hard up.

Also, they can see more out of the corner of the eye.

* * *

IN LAFAYETTE, La., Tuesnight, my audience heard the President's fedral-troops-to-Little Rock speech over the radio loud-speaker, immediately after which I was introduced for my talk entitled "The South Won't Surrender."

Thursday night here in New Orleans Gov. Faubus response was heard, and then I! It's fine to be "on top of the news"—but hard on the heart.

* * *

IN LAFAYETTE, as beautifully modern as it is beautifully old, there is oil on gentle waters rather than "on troubled waters."

The gentilities of the Teche country, the laughter, song and heart, are topped with the business of being a center of oil operations, with all the money and all the strange new people that means.

The "new" Lafayette is spread over expanding miles, with an automobile age modernity that does away with tall buildings. Most are one story.

MY FRENCH-and-English hosts, Dr. and Mrs. Sidney Frederick, natives both, have a compounded pride in all that's new here but are modestly unaware that what makes the new so beautiful here is the gentility of the Teche, curving in stone and structure and in the hearts of people.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Tell It To Them

31a White
Post Herald

"The moon has his eyes on you
So be careful of what you do. . . ."

Birmingham, Ala.

Let us hang like the moon over national telecasters, radio newscasters and newspapers and magazine commentators now, fellow Americans of the South.

Outnumbered, outweighed and out-shouted, we have nevertheless the advantage of caring more.

In that caring we are called to words of protest, correction or rebuke against all who, wititngly or unwittingly, make ours a mere case of "constitutional defiance and racial oppression."

Or who liken our mob scenes to a second Hungary.

* * *

THE MEDIA of communication may be in the hands of those who lie about us or whose philosophy is alien to ours (and to true America's) but there are friends in every state and in many a high place.

They can be made to understand and respond if we write with the dignity, calm, literacy and Americanism our cause deserves.

Hang over the intellectuals and men of letters, too. With all their enlightenments they are capable of strange darkness or evasions on the race question. Witness that fine man of light and letters, J. C. Furnas, in his new book, "Goodbye to Uncle Tom" (Sloane), reviewed recently in the Saturday Review.

Sun. 9-22-56

INTERESTINGLY, Mr. Furnas finds the world of racial attitude divided into three parts. There are racists, eugenists and equalitarians, he says. He finds error in all three but most, of course, in the racist, and least, of course in the equalitarian. He describes the racist as "violently resisting the suggestion that lack of cultural privileges might account for many American Negroes' blurring of mental skills above certain levels."

The eugenist he describes as "the racist's better-educated, though often half-educated, ally . . . overaware of the determinism in genetics and choosing to ignore its teachings about chance."

Finally, there is the equalitarian, "often more civilized" but who believes that aside from a few details, all arbitrary groups of mankind are exactly alike . . . the bare mention of distinctions among them only fosters unnatural feelings such as color prejudice."

* * *

AS USUAL when an educated and reasonable man undertakes to be scientific about race and is confronted, against his sociological, sentimental or equlitarian party line, with what Mr. Furnas admits is "the definiteness of race," Mr. Furnas falls back on the individual. His book's conclusion seems to be that we "should teach our children that skin color is a poor gauge of an individual's personal quality."

Amen, of course, but we aren't dealing with individuals.

We are dealing in the current crisis with two mass populations and the problem of how they shall live in the same country together en masse.

Mr. Furnas' upbringing, sentiment and sociology, tell him to say the most civilized of his threesome is the equalitarian, but every word he writes shows it is the eugenist — the true eugenist who knows that definite limits are set by heredity, but that within these there is much leeway for environment to operate. There are some things people of light like J. C. Furnas are just not permitted to say, even though they are the thing of light. Confronted with them they mumble, use negatives, skip from the general to the individual, or, imperceptibly change the subject.

* * *

When I asked Mr. Furnas about this he turned blue on me, proving my point: "I deny your statement that in trying to make sense out of the Negro problem 'we aren't dealing with individuals,'" he writes. "That is exactly what we are dealing with and if that were better understood the problem would be to that extent less thorny.

"The Negro population is made up not of mathematical abstractions or examples of rash generalities but of individuals . . . all, for the arbitrary reason of skin color, lumped as pariahs by traditional Southern opinion."

And this from a gentleman who writes of "the definiteness of race" and whose book generalizes about three attitudes towards race in general!

Certainly Negroes are individuals—and no two the same, and aren't we all! I've got a lecture about it. But the Southern problem with the Supreme Court's decision against segregation in public schools has to do with them in mass, all of them together. It has to do with the police, biological and cultural problems of mass mixing.

The Court didn't decide about them one by one.

Mr. Furnas is too intelligent not to know what I mean, so I accuse him of a little high-minded demagogy.

In the South we look upon Negroes as individuals far more than do the people around Mr. Furnas. But when you are making laws to cover all, you have to consider characteristics that cover, if not all, the average. You have to consider, if it may steal a term, "the definiteness of race."

* * *

As for being lumped as Pariahs social outcasts "by traditional Southern opinion," the Negro is socially more outcast where he is turning up in the North, East and West now, no matter what admission tickets he is allowed by law. The average Southerner has many friendly contacts with Negroes. The average Northerner rarely sees or speaks to one.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post Herald, B'ham, Ala. Mon. 10-14-57

1st Law Of Nature

"Not in vain the distance beacons,
Forward, forward, let us range;
Let the great world spin forever
Down the ringing grooves of change. . . ."

* * *

But don't forget the grooves—of ternal truth!

Daughters of the Confederacy in Jacksonville, Fla., have passed resolutions against Governor Collins' "moderate" stand on the arce question and his warning that the South will destroy itself politically and economically if it "wraps itself in a Confederate blanket and consumes itself in racial fury."

The resolution quotes with disapproval his statement "that first law of nature is change and the second is survival of those who put themselves in accord with the change. . . ."

You wonder if the governor meant anything so naive.

This blanket endorsement of change is a mustier blanket than any Confederate one he might name.

Change is the law of nature, yes, but far from meekly putting ourselves in line, we who live in a land of the free and a home of the brave who say we are made in the image of God, are supposed to do battle for right changes against wrong ones.

* * *

The Governor should take care not to be Bishop Oxnam.

* * *

LECTURING AT Southwestern University in Winfield, Kan., yesterday the Bishop preserved his reputation for God-playing by governments and state-playing by churches with a dissertation on this same subject of inevitable change.

He told his audience it is the duty of everyone everywhere now to bring about a graceful molding to the changes the world is facing.

* * *

WE EARLY AMERICANS prefer to roll our own charges, not just take what comes.

* * *

BISHOP OXNAM rang the bell, though, when he defined "culture" as "not encyclopediaism but what is left after you've forgotten everything." That leaves culture well outside the isolation booths of the $64,000 questioners.

* * *

FROM THE REV. Mr. B. B. Hughes Jr., of Taylorville Methodist Church in Tuscaloosa comes a pleasing rebuke. He objects to my "assuming that ministers (in the South) generally are integrationists."

Well, you think of many ministers in the South as integrationists, true, but by no means all. It is the national organizations of the churches whose stands, pro or con, on this police and biological question are criticized.

* * *

ON WITH THE DANCE! Proposals to widen New Orleans' famous Canal Street are running into a practical difficulty. The street can't be spared long enough. It can't be spared even for a few weeks from its eternities of carnival festival and parade, certainly not with Thanksgiving, Christmas, New Year, the Sugar Bowl and the Mardi Gras en route.

* * *

OF ATLANTA IT IS said that she would be animated until the heavens fall.

But New Orleans, whose animations are more fundamental and religious, would be gay long after the heavens had fallen and all hope was gone, gay against the "never-nevers" of all the phantom years.

I see no prospect of any time-out for broadening Canal Street.

* * *

IF, AS SOME HAVING authority say, Khrushchev is talking and acting tough now to divert his people from trouble at home and to save his own tottering position, if he is showing them moons and missiles to make them look the other way what is the loudest and most be-accepted voice with which we can go over this head to the Russian people and tell them (1) that nuclear warfare means individual as well as collective death for them and all the rest of us, and (2) that America will do anything for peace—but trust Khrushchev?

That voice would be President Eisenhower's.

* * *

PEOPLE OUGHT to restrain themselves.

Why get more and more infuriated at these free-readers who take up all the room at newsstands, glancing through front pages of papers, thumbing through a magazine, reading the latest installment of a story, taking in the pictures of the pictorials! Why be tempted to hand them a nickel or quarter and tell them to be your guest and get out of the way of honest customers and non-cheapsters!

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

South's Answer

"A voice that rang through Shiloh's woods
And Chickamauga's solitudes,
The fierce South calling on its sons. . . ."

That 33-000-voiced ovation for Orval Faubus at the football game in Atlanta Saturday was answer enough to Newsweek and others who see only a little handful of troublemakers agitating a cowed and cowlike South.

Post Herald, B'ham Ala.

It was the biggest rebel yell in history.

Its noise, heard around the nation and taken to heart at home, could call together enough Americans to rule the presidential decision of 1960 and dominate the Congress.

It was the Re-solidified South with no time to lose.

* * *

More solid than in 1948 against Federal usurpations and socialisms, the South has to consider that time is of the essence. It may have only one more Presidential election in which to secure its American positions.

Mr. Brownell could be here any minute.

* * *

With the New Deal dealt and the Fair Deal so repudiated it is not an issue unless depression comes, Southern political leaders no longer have that to divide them.

This and the fact of far more feeling against Washington on the race question than in 1948, make possible a re-solidified South with a genuine balance of national power.

But some of our governors will have to be told.

* * *

Of the four big minority groups union labor, the farmer, the Negro and the South—the South is more united than ever while the other three are more divided.

The labor, farm and Negro votes cannot be delivered and are likely to be dissipated in division between parties.

The South looms as the nation's major minority.

* * *

The independence on which this will depend calls for no third party, it seems to me. It calls only for a solid Southern Democracy, one that brings together the so-called loyalists and the states righters, and that holds itself under a Democratic name but absolutely free as between national Democrats and National Republicans.

Let Reuther take the Democratic Party and the South will defeat it. Let Nixon take the Republican and the South will make his nomination meaningless. And let this Southern balance and plan be known beforehand and one party or the other may choose the South over the objectionable candidate and platform.

* * *

IS IT FANTASTIC to suggest that Fair Dealers lie down with "Dixiecrats" in a South made solid again by constitutional crisis and cold war—and that they may be joined by constitutional liberals as well as Republican conservatives from other parts of the country in some such grand alliance of constitutionalists as Lyndon Johnson's Senate majority for the jury trial amendment made last month?

Perhaps so, but note famously conservative Editor Tom Waring, of The Charleston News and Courier, proposing last week that Democrats actually join Democrats in the South for 1960.

* * *

Overlooked in the excitement at Little Rock and the filibusters and confusions before adjournment at Montgomery was a joint resolution of the Alabama Legislature which expressed clearly what Gov. Faubus expressed not so clearly. It ranks with the important documents of the constitutional crisis.

Passed without a dissent, it reveals as well as resolves—and recent weeks have indicated an amazing need among Americans to have the nature of their government and philosophy revealed to them.

The province of the states in preserving law and order is declared as a matter of constitutional law and as a matter of common sense alike.

Federal agencies and officers are "earnestly advised and urgently requested" to recognize this duty of the states.

"The final authority and responsibility for making the controlling determinations of fact and the final decision as to the time when and the extent to which police, military or other action by the state is reasonably necessary to assure public peace and order is rested solely in the state authorities and it is not a proper function of the United States courts or any other agency of the federal government to review any such determinations and decisions arrived at in good faith or to question their good faith without cause . . ."

* * *

The resolution is no defiance, no waving of the bloody shirt, but a restrained, temperate, dignified assertion of the police power of Alabama.

It's calm is as impressive as its clarity.

The federal government is put quietly on notice of the unwisdom as well as the unconstitutionality of interfering at a time like this.

The resolution was ordered sent to the President and attorney general and to governors and attorneys general of the other states. Would that it could be ordered printed in the national press and read on national networks.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald p. 16

Picking On Dixie

Mon. 6-17-57

"The All-American South."

* * *

Harold Lord Varney in the July American Mercury finds so many people "picking on Dixie" that his piece is a must for those who don't know we've got a fight on our hands.

We do have friends, however, and he and The Mercury are among them, along with David Lawrence and the United States News, Newsweek on occasion, the Saturday Evening Post, The Wall Street Journal and such.

Birm. Ala.

* * *

On our side, too, are the Constitution of the United States, human nature, millions who don't live in big cities, the counter-revolution against One-ism, our dawning economic power, our potential political balance of power, the seniority rule in Congress, Rule 22, the electoral college, and perhaps a Supreme Court justice or two now.

And the nation's ablest and most experienced statesmen.

And the Lord.

* * *

THE SOUTH HAS, too, presumably, the ultra conservatives, the McCarthy-Jenner ones, for whom The Mercury and Associate Editor Varney speak. Indeed Mr. Varney pictures the whole anti-South drive as a plot against these by the "liberals."

But that way leads to madness. To identify the Southern cause with this hopeless minority is not only to weaken it by long division but to misrepresent it.

The socialist and Fair Deal crowd oppose the South on the race question, but there is also the long-standing "abolitionist" spirit which imbues against the South some of the nation's most conservative people. At the same time, the South has had on its side some of the greatest constitutional liberals, such as William E. Borah and Robert Taft.

* * *

IT IS INTERESTING to remember that Senator McCarthy never championed the South and that Gallup polls showed him with consistently less following here than in any other region, ardent as this following was and is.

* * *

THE SOUTH needs all who take its side. But for that very reason it can't let itself be taken over by the national extreme right—any more than by home fascists and foolish knights.

Its cause is American, all-American.

* * *

THE SATURDAY Evening Post should be advised that when Southerners seem to say Nigra they are saying Negro just as certainly as Northerners are when they seem to say Kneegrow.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald

Filibuster Is King

Birm. Ala.

"Of love that ever finds your face more fair,
I could not give thee any godlier thing
If I were king!"

Tues. 6-18-57

"King Filibuster," Senator McNamara calls it. It is a constitutional monarch at any rate. It is what Senator Talmadge in his great speech at Montgomery described well as "an integral part of the delicate balance of powers afforded under our form of government."

In this country there are things a majority simply can't do to the 49 per cent of us, or 10, or a single one of us. That Second Principle of America ranks right next to rule by majority.

In support of it we require sometimes a two-thirds or a three-fourths vote, sometimes even unanimous consent.

We have a Senate, representing states without regard to popular majority, a President elected by a college whose composition reflects both the majority and the minority principle, and 48 states constitutionally sovereign against the national majority in all respects not specified otherwise.

We have a Supreme Court, too, but suffering presently from trouble on the cable.

"The delicate balance!"

Senator Talmadge has the word for it.

If requiring two-thirds to shut off debate and free speech in the Senate is a filibuster, what's in a name?

If it is kingly, long live the king!

* * *

"MANY ARE called but few are chosen." If the civil force bill is now before the Senate, it's a long way to Tipperary.

The South has just begun to fight. Fighting over a mere motion to consider would have been bad psychology. The bill itself is the thing. Perhaps there'll be a "compromise" which will let politicians who need to pass a force bill say they passed one but which won't have any force.

"Tennis balls, my liege. . . .

Shakespeare spoke of tennis but died too young for golf. He was only 50. This is a mean thought, at any rate, for tennis players at Vestavia this week in the Chamber of Commerce Dixie tournament who find that mostly golfers have been there before them.

* * *

COMPARING the games is good clean locker-room fun.

Tennis is the most all-out activity in national sport, golf the least.

Tennis depends on footwork, golf on stance. In tennis you play against an opponent, in golf alongside. In tennis the best player wins nine times out of 10, in golf only about half as often because of the variables.

Big Bill Tilden (to drop a name!) told me once he kept his eye on the ball until he could see it bend the strings of his racquet. That was hard to believe. Tilden was always certain the best woman player in the world could win only a few points from the best man. He proved it once against Suzane Lenglen, losing only eight points in a 6-0 set.

In golf a best woman player can do better but never enough to win.

The world's woman tennis champion is a Negro. Negroes excell it seems to me, in sports that require legs as much as arms.

In golf and football, which require mostly arms, comparatively few Negroes have ever made a name. They shine in baseball, track and prize fighting, which call on the legs at least as much as the arms.

Tennis is like that, too. But for both economic and social reasons colored people haven't had a fair chance heretofore at either golf or tennis.

Do you dye your hair? Do you wear a wig? To what vibrations are you most exposed?

There may be a relationship, and, after all, this is National Save Your Hair Month. Seventy-five per cent of women dye their hair, according to a Helene Curvey survey, and most of them dye it some other color, perhaps because it is impossible not to look dyed when you use the color nature gave. Twenty-two per cent of men dye their hair. Twenty per cent of men have their wives cut their hair.

Ninety-five per cent of toupee-wearers are men. And the number of bald-headed men between the ages of 30 and 40 is increasing steadily.

It could be that increase of baldness is due to modern music. In any given orchestra, it is said, most of the players of stringed instruments have fine heads of hair while most of those who play wind instruments are bald or near it. Its the vibrations. The adenoidal harm, heart of modern "music," may be guilty of even more crimes than charged, destroying hair as well as art.

Perhaps Elvis Presley is of some use in the world, may even mean a better day. Certainly the hirsute effect of his stringed "gittar," if any, is overwhelming.

It runs down both cheeks.

* * *

Whenever England is ruled by a queen a vogue for beards on men breaks out, they say. How will the oh, so vocal safety razor people get around the pro-5-o'clock-shadow implication?

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Dixie People Could Be Marines Of Politics

Post-Herald, Birmingham, Ala.
Thurs. 11-14-57 p. 4

"The Marines have landed and have the situation in hand."

Florida's personable, perspicacious Senator Smathers doesn't "believe we in the South should pin our hopes on a third party."

Amen, but how about pinning them on Southern Democrats and Southern Republicans so free of their national headquarters that they become the U. S. Marines of national politics, able to land anywhere and have the situation in hand?

Perhaps Adlai and his new job will warm up to each other, after signing up at below freezing in the dark.

* * *

Most of the unfairness to the South in national print is merely an acceptance of integration as so right there is failure to remember it is still being debated by millions of good Americans.

The Associated Press' able Relman Morin, for example, reporting on the six Negro children now "peacefully" attending Clinton High School after the initial trouble, says "none has attended any of the school's social functions."

"This is an important point" he adds, finding in it a vindication of integrationists against those who feared the colored children would insist on attending these functions.

But the more important find would be that the psychology the Supreme Court stressed is in reverse when colored children are thus deprived of social activities in school and made creatures apart—as they would not have been in their colored schools.

* * *

ON MOST STORIES an ace reporter like Relman Morin never misses a trick, yet he misses this one point blank. And in complete honesty, I believe.

The Supreme Court relied not on law but on psychology and here is a striking indication that the psychology was wrong but it doesn't strike Mr. Morin.

* * *

GRANTING THAT no segregationist has a presidential chance, how about a constitutional desegregationist, to wit one who is for having segregation abolished but by the states not by the Federal Government? Homer E. Harris, of Birmingham, speculates interestingly on

FLASH! THEY'VE run out of organizations to honor Dr. Tom Spies (the spru and pellagra killer) and have had to start all over again!

The Southern Medical Association, an old hand at honoring him, did it again, enthusiastically, at its recent meeting in Havana. The itch seems to be as irresistible as it is understandable.

* * *

"I THOROUGHLY appreciate it that you think we have endeavored to be fair to the south," writes Newsweek's Dwight W. Norris, noting comment here "Certainly it is our intent."

* * *

SOME THINGS are personal but apply so obviously to everybody that they are general, too, and entitled to public comment.

Every time a reader modestly indicates that I have him or her personally in mind I remember the gentleman some years ago who challenged me to a duel because he said I had insulted him.

I had written something general about frontal sinus and he had an infected one, it seemed. I forget the point but it ended in a silly rhyme that didn't rhyme—

Mark the stone, the lay for mine is
"He died of love and frontal sinus."

* * *

THAT POOR little dog in Sputnik II seems to have gone to his suffocation without ever seeing the cow jump over the moon and having a good laugh at such sport. But since he was up so high gravity couldn't have been working very well he may have seen a dish run away with a spoon.

* * *

SOMETHING TO CHEW over is that ovation Sen. Kennedy won from the Young Democrats of Mississippi after he had forthrightly said he considered the Supreme Court decision the "law of the land."

The ovation came when, after this bad news for Southerners, he challenged Mississippi's Republican officials to say how they felt about Nixon and Eisenhower.

Can it be that the young men of Mississippi understand what so needs to be understand, that nobody, but nobody, with a chance of being elected President is going to take the Southern position on the race question and that all we can hope for is a man who will (1) recognize our constitutional case, and (2) refuse to seek the Negro vote cynically at our expense?

John Kennedy, the Democrat, and William Knowland, the Republican, may be such men. So was Robert Taft, and, before him, William E. Borah.

* * *

ROSE SAYS MY real solution for all ills of mankind is to have Taft resurrected.

* * *

OUT OF TOWN when Amos Culp died I am remembering the completeness of his touch with life, with people and things, his business, his friends, his family. He cared about it all.

In a world emerging blessedly now from what the French call "existentialism," meaning, for the man in the street, just existing, to care is to be way out front.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Sun Shines Bright

Post-Herald, Birmingham, Ala.
Thurs. 11-15-57 p. 4

"If the red slayer thinks he slays,
Or if the slain think he is slain,
They know not well the subtle ways
I keep, and pass, and turn again. . . ."

WEST POINT, Ga.—So let it be said of an undying South as death notices issue from Editors Ralph McGill and Harry Ashmore.

Editor McGill weeps for the industry we are losing because of our agitations against integration—but we aren't losing any.

Editor Ashmore composes an "Epitaph for Dixie" because of the moonlight and magnolias which he sees industry taking away from us—but it's a long, long time since moonlight and magnolias and nearly as long since industry was what Mr. Ashmore datedly thinks it is.

* * *

THANKS TO electricity and gas—the decentralizers — the South's industrial revolution is giving us an old South room to breathe again and grow and be free and fair, to have gardens, live among trees and near crops, not be socialists or slaves or dialectical materialists or faceless items of eating societies or integrationists.

Editor Ashmore seems to think we are going to be carbon copies of the damnations of Detroit, but industry is changing more than the South is.

There's change in both, of course, but there may be more moonlight-and-magnolia than Detroit in the wave of American industry's future. Last words on many things are not yet written, and the resurgent South may write them.

* * *

HERE WHERE THE great up-to-the-minute West Point Manufacturing Co. is having its 77th annual stockholders meeting in the high school auditorium, my subject is "These States and the Nation."

You can believe industry is saving more in these states than it is destroying. Company buildings, spread far and wide, are set in trees and surrounded by grass. They make graceful marks against the sky. The effect is of a campus rather than of an industrial huddle.

In very fact "the sun shines bright"—and you can see it.

"Old times are not forgotten"—they couldn't be with generation after generation of Laniers in command and many a second and third generation of employes.

And you "look away," as President Joseph Lamar Lanier's Cousin Sidney Lanier wrote it—"out of the hills of Habersham—Down the valleys of Hall."

* * *

YOU REMEMBER that poet of the undying South in vision of what can be and seems to be coming in Southern industrialization now. It is a new industry, touched with a Southern agriculture wondrously redeemed, and with blessednesses of an earlier South, but modern-minded against the pain and underprivilege of that earlier South—

"Ye spread and span like the Catholic man who hath mightily won
God out of knowledge and good out of infinite pain
And sight out of blindness and purity out of a stain. . . ."

* * *

THE SOUTH needs no epitaph. Its changes are "sea-changes" and "into something rich and strange" to the New York with which Editor Ashmore tells us modestly he has "made his peace," and to the New Deal-Fair Deal days in which he seems still to be living and pronouncing his sentence of death.

* * *

AS FOR EDITOR Ralph McGill's fervor to show Southern resistance to race integration is costing us new industry, the contradicting figures pile against him.

This region paces the nation still. Logically you might have expected such a loss—but it didn't happen.

God moves in so mysterious a way that segregation quarrels in the ranks of union labor locally and between locals and nationals are actually saving the South from union domination at a time when union despotism and cynicism begin to be intolerable to the whole country.

What's more, the desegregation controversy is making the South more conscious of its obligations to the Negro and the Negro more aware of his opportunities.

The resulting increases in Negro purchasing power will contribute to making ours the greatest potential new market in the Western Hemisphere.

Industry is attracted not for the materials and workers alone now, but even more for the market, for money in the pockets of our "old folks at home."

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald

Young Man In Motion

"But thou shalt flourish in immortal youth,
Unhurt amid the war of elements,
The wreck of matter, and the crush of worlds. . . ."

* * *

John Kennedy voted with the South last week against by-passing the Senate Judiciary Committee on the civil force bill.

It may be that the most important political event in sight is the wooing of this sensationally young and mop-headed senator from Massachusetts by the South—and his wooing back.

He was commencement speaker at the University of Georgia and the University of South Carolina this month and a center of political excitement in both states.

Georgia's Democratic Chairman John Bell made no bones about it that he would probably have Georgia's support for the presidential nomination in 1960.

* * *

"THE YOUNG MAN seems to see, as Adlai Stevenson never saw," said The Augusta Herald, "the real value of politicking in the South."

* * *

ADD THAT LAST Sunday Gallup poll showed the relative popularity of Kennedy and Kefauver among Democrats dramatically reversed, with Kennedy leading now by a wide margin.

* * *

ANTHONY HARRIGAN, in The Charleston News and Courier, has pointed out much which the South could hold against Senator Kennedy—mainly "liberalism" and New Englandism.

It is true that the South's vote for him at the convention was mostly a vote against Kefauver. But John Kennedy is young, wide-minded, and in motion. What he is today is not necessarily what he was a year ago or four or eight, as his recent behavior shows.

A man from Massachusetts has moorings—as one from California may not.

A Roman Catholic has a sense of things eternal—the Constitution, the verities, the higher law—as a Californian like Chief Justice Warren who doesn't list any religious preference at all in "Who's Who," may not.

* * *

CAN IT BE THAT America is witnessing once more in a time of confusion the dawn of a man?

* * *

IF JOHN KENNEDY turns out to be the "conservative liberal" David Lawrence (also a conspicuous new friend of the South) acclaims and, if he is able to consolidate the millions who are that themselves and wish to fight for the Constitution in such terms, his hold on the South can give him a foothold—and the South a foothold—on destiny.

A mop-headed youth, 40 last month, all charm and modern wisdom, with (let us imagine) the master politician of these times, Lyndon Johnson, for mentor and with a passionate South behind him for constitutionalism without regard to race—might thrill this nation in 1960 as young Franklin Roosevelt did in 1932, be an answer to the prayer of Southerners and Constitutionalists of both liberal and conservative ilk, sweep the country for a "conservative liberal" cause, a "modern Americanism" as remote from reactionaries as from socialists. There is a majority for such a cause if it can be put together, I believe.

Kennedy may not be its man but it is calling him to be.

* * *

THEY TALK of "crying issues" but only one really cries. That is what Earl Warren and Company are doing to the Supreme Court and to the United States of America. On other issues in this hour of prosperity and peace there is a certain ennui. But there are both fire and depth in the Supreme Court issue.

The fire comes from the South because of the desegregation ruling but the depth is accumulated through many years of rulings, including ones of recent weeks.

Many who refuse to get excited for the South are convinced at last that something more than the race question is involved now, that court is embarked on a policy of centralizing power in Washington and in itself, that it is coolly making America over.

The people are free enough of other concerns to become passionately concerned about this by 1960, in my guess.

* * *

THOSE NINE MEN were not named for this. They were named to adjudge the laws our legislatures make under the Constitution our fathers drew up.

The people have not elected them, God has not appointed them, their abilities have not qualified them. Less than the President and less than the Congress should they be the ones to make America over if it is to be made over.

Yet there they are—and this is what they are doing.

* * *

THE SOUTH won't surrender!

Make that mean the South won't surrender the Constitution, not just public school segregation; make it the vow of a liberal as well as a conservative South and nation; give it a novel personality like John Kennedy to be the living antithesis of Earl Warren—and this nation and these states may flourish together in a newly immortal youth!

* * *

MR. FOLSOM'S non-competitive bid man, Senator Roberts, really ought to meet the press. How can he abolish it if he doesn't know it! Now he calls Editor Mills of this paper bald-headed. Mr. Mills hasn't as much hair as Senator Kennedy but he has all he ever had. Some of us feel there's no justice when we contemplate his magnificent array.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald P. 10

South Gets New Backing

Fri. 6-28-57

"Stare decisis et non quieta movere. . . ."

* * *

Or, as we say in English, "to stand by decisions and not disturb settled matters." The judicial principle of "stare decisis" is not inflexible, of course.

That would be intolerable to a free and moving people. But it is deserving of vast day-to-day respect, for without it there is no being sure of what the law of the land is or will be a few hours hence.

Yet the Supreme Court is violating the principle of "stare decisis" at the drop of a sociological hat or the bat of a do-gooder's eye.

Everything begins to seem subject to change overnight without notice.

It is no way to run earth's great place at earth's great time.

Noting an article called "Revolutionary Tribunal" by William H. Fitzpatrick in The Wall Street Journal, in which the court's happy-go-lucky disregard of its own precedents on segregation and many other matters is scored for resultant confusion, instability and uncertainty, Alabama's Lewis F. Jeffers says truly that we of the South "begin to get more and more people from all over the country to agree with the position which we have taken."

It is our repeat signal to mind our manners and hold our lines.

A nation is coming to our side, not in agreement on the race question, but in certainty that the nation's high court should be both constitutional and consistent.

It is being neither, and there's chaos to pay.

* * *

SOME OF US here in Birmingham will have this all-American aspect of the political South in mind as we welcome today officials of the nation-wide American-Marietta Co. who have come to celebrate their Southern Cement Co. Division's new plant at Roberta with Southern Cement's loved and distinguished President W. J. Cabaniss for host and guide.

The economic South, booming now as never before, is all-American, too, and should be happy to be so when the Americans with whom it is associated love what it loves.

Under Board Chairman Grover M. Hermann and President Robert E. Pflaumer, this American-Marietta Co. which began in 1913 as a maker of paints, is a major national producer now of many other products as well, including resins, adhesives, chemicals and heavy construction materials, especially cement.

Decentralized authority, nation-wide ownership (through 21,467 stockholders) and unceasing research, feature its set-up.

It has five plants in Alabama.

* * *

THE SOUTH NEEDS all the national contacts it can get now that contact means no longer colonial exploitation of materials and men but a burgeoning region's participation with philosophies, skills and managers of its own and with a market which, all things considered, is the greatest potential one in the Western Hemisphere.

The All-American South! It needs all contacts that are not slave ones.

Contact with the national Democratic Party has been slavish in some respects but we are in revolution against that now, not with Republicans necessarily but with "free Democrats" who vote as they please on national levels.

* * *

WHO IS CAUGHT napping here—that Dr. F. Edward Lund should be seized in broad daylight for Kenyon College? It is a very great honor and opportunity for him.

Kenyon is famous, top-ranking in liberal arts.

But we needed Dr. Lund here—as we bitterly need every fine educator possible to us in this time of a confusion and ill-repute that must be reversed.

* * *

THE DEPARTURE of Chancellor Guy Snavely from Birmingham-Southern is another matter. There is a man who has crowned years of service with a crowning last two, a good and faithful servant of education at Birmingham-Southern and throughout the nation upon whom "well-done" falls for a long race run—and a last mile in magnificent spurt.

* * *

GOOD LUCK to Andrew Glaze Jr., young man of letters, fire and philosophy, as he moves to New York and new worlds!

He'll always be glad he was a newspaper man for a while and always be glad, too, I suspect, that he stopped in time to give his temperament and literary talent play.

* * *

"Let us go hence, my songs—
She will not hear . . ."

If you are literary enough you can enjoy singing unheard songs. But if you aren't, the inattention kills you—and being literary is a curse.

Some of Mr. Glaze's songs may have more attention elsewhere than here.

I believe we'll be reading about him and by him.

GRAVES

Post-Herald

Prices Or Wages At Fault?

Wed. 7-3-57

"All is not gold that glitters. . . ."

* * * P. 12

NEITHER is all sensible that says "segregation."

With millions of us and our legislators bent on action against the Supreme Court, it stands to reason that things which won't work or work the wrong way or against each other are proposed.

And people are afraid to object to them.

Alabama's Legislature has passed Rep. Hugh Kaul's proposal for a 14-member coordination committee to review all legislation affecting the racial problem. The committee will try to (1) present a united front and (2) avoid duplication. It will also, let us hope, (3) discourage stampedes to unwise proposals.

* * *

SOME PEOPLE would vote for a law against blowing the nose or brushing the teeth if told it was for segregation.

* * *

ALBERT BOUTWELL for chairman of this coordinating committee is a natural. With the great aid and counsel of Atty. Joseph F. Johnston, he has contrived mightily to set up the law of Alabama against the Supreme Court's usurpations. His legally competent and carefully thought-out and prepared legislation is a model for other states, and his determination is unlimited.

* * *

THE COORDINATING committee will have in mind, too, the voting situation. There is the real front line, and it can't be held by the noisy, violent or erratic. "White supremacy" must mean "human supremacy," absolute qualifications applying absolutely to all.

* * *

IF THE PRESIDENT could just be reached on this jury trial issue in the civil force bill, many of us who go on liking him be-

lieve he would see the South's case as the nation's. The Baltimore Sun nails it thus: "The injunction contemplated would forbid actions already forbidden under federal criminal laws. This being so, the injunction procedure is obviously a judicial short cut, and one which would deprive those cited for contempt of a right which would be guaranteed them under the federal Constitution (if they) were indicted for the same offense. It is proposed to assure one right—the right to vote—by ignoring another right—the right to a jury trial."

As pointed out here many times, jury trial should be stretched just as far as contempt is stretched. The "civil rights" bill would stretch contempt into areas that ordinarily involve jury trial. It should not be permitted to deny jury trial, therefore, on the plea that contempt cases don't allow for them.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald P. 14

The Best Answer

Tues. 7-2-57

"From Greenland's icy mountains,
To India's coral strands,
They call us to deliver. . . ."

* * *

Laurie Battle, the progressive-minded States' Righter!

Jimmy Faulkner, the Liberal drawn home by Southern circumstances!

George Wallace, one-time Folsomite, who, like other friends of the people, has found no light there in spite of the illumination!

From icy mountains and coral strands, Alabama's gubernatorial possibilities are calling in with their no-surrenders.

* * *

THE BEST ANSWER to foolish knights is wise ones, and Judge George Wallace is outstanding among these. None is more resolute and un-surrendering, but none is more modern and wise about it, either. Not for him the foolish talk of "blood and guts" or the infantalism of those who imagine themselves "men over boys."

He knows that violence, threat of it and condoning of it, will get less than nowhere in 1957. But he surpasses the foolish ones in worth-while defiance, promising quite simply to arrest federal officers undertaking to interfere in his jurisdiction with a state decision on Alabama's constitutional sovereignty over such matters as school desegregation. The promise looks to an extreme situation which all of us hope will never arise, but it advertises dramatically the difference Alabama and the South must make between foolish knights and wise ones, between outlaw resistance and resistance in the very name of our law.

* * *

"IF THERE ARE to be any clashes,'" Judge Wallace wrote in a recent letter to this column, "let them be clashes between the authorities — federal and state—and let the issues be resolved between them. There should never be any clashes among the people. Strong executive, legislative and judicial arms of our state governments can maintain segregation within the law and maintain, too, the peace and tranquility of our citizens. . . ." Amen!

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald Mon. 7-1-57

Weep No More

"Give sorrow words; the grief that does not speak
Whispers the o'er-fraught heart and bids it break. . ."

* * *

P. 10

Some of us who might have tears for the less articulate have none for Mrs. Sarah Patton Boyle, University of Virginia wife who wrote a pro-integration piece for The Saturday Evening Post two years ago and has since been writing for other magazines to say how mean they are to her in Charlottesville.

A reprint of one piece, for The Nation, called "Spit in the Devil's Eye" is being circulated by the Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee, as assistant secretary of the Christian Citizenship Committee of the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

He calls it a manifectation of "demonic prejudice" at the University of Virginia and Charlottesville.

A sympathetic Roanoker sends it to me with a note which says: "You and your 'foolish knights' are responsible for this kind of persecution. How can you sleep at night, or can you?"

* * *

IT IS GOOD to know that in spite of her terrific treatment Mrs. Boyle is able to sit up and take nourishment—and better yet, to tell the doctors and do a little spit-firing.

She has the solace of being a hero in many national quarters, and of having liberals and church people like the Rev. Mr. Tarplee rushing to her side with lamentations and reprints.

And even though she reminds herself heroically in national print that "the early Christians went singing to ugly deaths" and resolves indomitably in the same print to "spit in the devil's eye" her experiences in Charlottesville seem hardly "demonic."

It's pretty bad to be subjected to many telephone calls from the well-known hoodlum and foolish knight front of anti-integrationists but those early Christians wouldn't have thought it worth mentioning, much less a song in reprint.

* * *

THE POINT OF Mrs. Boyle's original article in The Saturday Evening Post was that Southerners are readier for integration than they think.

If it turns out now that they are not as ready as she herself thought and that her crusade is more resented than she had imagined, she has the solace against heartbreak of being able to speak.

She can cry in national print and be tenderly reprinted.

She has plenty of friends left in Charlottesville and the University, and is miles ahead of the Christian martyrs. There are national solaces and ones within the church now for speaking out against the South on the most delicate and difficult race problem with which any people anywhere ever had to deal.

Her initial courage was admirable but her publicized self-pity isn't. She should try to think of some of us on the other side whose national speaking and writing business has been ruined by taboos and iron curtains and who have even lost caste at home in well-loved church and academic circles. It's all in the game. We, too, sing on.

* * *

IN A LONG LIFE I have lost sleep over many ladies but Mrs. Boyle's sad case just somehow doesn't give me insomnia.

* * *

O wind, if Audrey comes so early can Zsa Zsa be due by snowfall? If this turns out to be the year of years for hurricanes, the case against the atom may be irresistible.

Already, they say, a main conversational topic in Europe is what Americans have done to the world's weather with their explosions. There's nothing in it, according to scientists, but nature certainly does seem upset about something.

Maybe it's too many radio waves hitting the Heaviside Layer or too much television relayed around the earth's curve. Billy Graham says it could be the devil, but what could possibly have displeased his Satanic Majesty? Haven't we been doing all right by him? Heaven knows we've tried!

* * *

MRS. BOYLE ought to consider how terribly, terribly hard it is on me, for example, to have the Rev. Mr. Tarplee putting out reprints in the name of my own church and inciting readers of my column to call me a persecutor and even ask if I can sleep at night.

As for those "foolish knights" who telephone her, they telephone me, too.

* * *

ENGLAND'S MEN of law—and America's.

What will they say to each other in London this Summer as, thousands strong, they meet again after 25 years? Will they speak of the eternal verities, so clear-named in our Constitution that we tend to forget them there, so ingrained in England without any writing down that they are forgotten never?

Life goes on, forever changing but forever subject to its laws, forever the old two and two of arithmetic making four even though what is made four is never twice the same.

Philosophers of Anglo-Saxony may merge in London on a two-edged rule against both stationaries and those who plunge onward off the track.

GRAVES

Majority Rule Wrong Sometimes

Post-Herald

"The tyranny of 51 per cent."

Fri. 6-21-57

P. 10

In this great country, under its Constitution and in its ideal, there are things a majority of us simply can't do to 49 percent of us.

Or to a third

of us, or a fourth, or a single one of us.

Remember it when the filibuster begins in the Senate and as our Senator Talmadge's subcommittee continues its hearing on proposals to take the right of filibuster away.

* * *

Our battle at Washington begins with a deadly blow in the back from Montgomery unhappily, a misuse of the filibuster so hateful, immoral and trifling that the South's great weapon is impeached in mid-employment.

Score that against James E. Folsom!

* * *

JUST AS THAT jury decision in the Montgomery bombing case hurt the South's fight for jury trials in the proposed civil force injunctions, the visible cynicism and greed of the Folsom filibuster against competitive bidding has injured the South's coming filibuster at Washington against civil force.

It is bad enough to have an ultimate weapon like the filibuster used, as it tends to be now, or every trifling thing on which a few legislators feel strongly. But to have it used as this week at Montgomery for the selfish concerns of spoilsmen and machine politicians is far worse.

Word of it will not help Senator Russell and his gallant little group embattled for the South, the Constitution and the right to speak.

* * *

SENATOR TALMADGE has asked me to be one of many who will testify before his special subcommittee of two on proposed changes in Rule 22 (the filibuster rule). He is chairman, and the other member is Sen. Jacob Javits of New York.

What a two-some! You'd think it might explode.

* * *

THE PRINCIPAL argument in my mind for Rule 22 is the one Mr. Folsom and his spoilsmen are destroying. Ours is no government by 51 per cent and never meant to be.

The whole Constitution is a limitation on rule by majority. Depending on the fundamental nature of different questions or upon the relative concern of the involved minority and the casual majority, our system provides that a simple majority shall rule in some matters, a two-thirds majority in others, a three-fourths in still others, and, in some, nothing less than "unanimous consent."

It provides, too, that the body which reflects the popular majority—the House—may be checked by the Senate which represents the states without regard to population. The majority may be still further checked by presidential veto, and, beyond that, by the Supreme Court.

The test of what fraction may check what remainder, expressed sometimes, implied at all times, is this matter of the importance of the question to the fraction or to the country fundamentally.

* * *

RULE 22 doesn't let one man alone hold up the great Senate of the United States, as some think. It is another of our two-thirds rules. It requires a two-thirds majority for closing debate.

There is nothing undemocratic, un-American or unfair about that.

Those who say otherwise point out that the rule is for two-thirds of the whole Senate, not just of those present. They say such a two-thirds is practically impossible to get.

But it all depends. If the majority is as passionate as the minority, it can certainly assemble 64 of 96 senators.

If it isn't, then the passionate minority should prevail.

That is the principle grained in the Constitution.

* * *

IT DOESN'T MAKE sense to say you can never hope to get 64 senators. On many important votes nearly the entire Senate is on hand.

If force bills are as vital as proponents make them out, 64 senators can surely be mustered against the South's little band of 18. Especially with the President, vice president and Minority Leader Knowland behind the call, and Lyndon Johnson, by consent, laying off.

* * *

WRITE SENATOR Talmadge how you feel about this and about the civil force bills. Write the President, too, for he is being mis-advised on the force bills by a fanatical attorney general, who tells him they are innocuous.

* * *

ARE THE Dutch about to take Holland?

Are drug stores about to be taken by drugs?

Alabama's Pharmaceutical Association in annual convention didn't get around to the question but with pills for everything in prospect, druggists may have to turn from toys, books and hardware to drugs.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald Birm, Ala. Wed. 4-10-57

South Might Help Return Fair Deal

"It's the Texas point!"

Is the South about to bring the Fair Deal back?

It could be.

If one half of the South is held in blind loyalty to a Democratic Party which Walter Reuther or Soapy Williams controls and the other half is drawn to the small but divisive Jenner-McCarthy-Malone minority of the Republican Party, we may contribute more than our share to defeat of our own best hopes.

Without benefit of any majority in South or nation, the Fair Deal may come back.

It's the Texas point.

* * *

GIVE SENATORS Jenner, McCarthy and Malone all the virtues which Tuscaloosa's James C. Kelly attributed to them in his thoughtful letter to The Post-Herald yesterday, and there would still be the Texas point.

The Texas point is that when anti-Fair Dealers divide, Fair Dealers win. With far less than a majority of the state's votes, Fair Dealer Ralph Yarborough has been elected to the Senate over a State's Rights Democrat and an Eisenhower Republican whose total vote was 489,000 against his 346,000.

This column opposes not Jenner, McCarthy and Malone, but the divisive attacks they and their followers make on Ike.

If Ike seems to be a Fair Dealer in office that is because we have had no chance lately to see a real Fair Dealer in office. Come Walter Reuther or the politically resurgent Soapy Williams and we'll see and be sorry too late.

* * *

WHAT IS ESPECIALLY to be regretted is that some of our Southern leaders would identify us with the Jenner-Malone-McCarthy group.

The gentlemen of this group have not been our champions against the civil rights measures or desegregation. As for foreign aid, their opposition hardly makes them our cousins in conservation since there is equal opposition from radical Senators Humphrey of Minnesota, and Morse of Oregon.

* * *

THE OVERWHELMING national vote for Ike last November and the recent three to one Gallup vote for him in his own party against the Jenner-McCarthy-Malone elements, do not destroy "the Texas Point." The Fair Deal can win nationally as in Texas—by long division of its opposition.

* * *

PRESUMING THAT this column chooses Ike as the "lesser of two evils," Mrs. W. Harry Sperow, of Bluefield, W. Va., says she likes me but that, as for her, she voted for T. Coleman Andrews.

Certainly on the race question it is as the "lesser of two evils" that I choose Ike. But Mr. Andrews wasn't much identified with that question and he would have lost some of the 312,000 votes he won if he had been. It was income tax reform that brought him into the picture.

* * *

ON THE STATE of the nation and world, I choose Ike not as any "lesser evil" but as the hope against socialism and centralism.

The creep will never be stopped by those who want to turn back to imagined days of no national socialism at all. It will be stopped only by those who say the New Deal is dealt.

David Lawrence, a conservative who knows—as Taft did—that the New Deal can't be abolished, hopes states may take over some of the social operations now conducted by the Federal government.

But he agrees that the operations will go on, and that the cost will increase as population and cost of living increase.

* * *

MR. ANDREWS expects his ticket to do much better in 1960, what with the clamor against Ike's foreign and domestic spending. Perhaps it will do enough better to defeat a Republican candidate and get a bigger-spending Democrat elected, says Reuther.

Mr. Andrews writes me that "you should remove your mask of conservatism and stand forth frankly as the advocate of the contrary philosophy your writings and speeches prove you to be." But who is entitled to say what makes a conservative?

I respect Mr. Andrews' understandable idea that he is, but I suggest much confusion.

The name is not important, but some sort of identification is needed for the big American majority which believes as I do that the New Deal is dealt and not to be done away with and that the real fight is against those who would go on with more and more. There's no going back.

* * *

MR. ANDREWS is against "unbridled spending, ruinous taxation and one-world internationalism." And aren't we all! Since Ike's spending is within his budget, it isn't unbridled even if it can be reduced. Taxes are terrible but the country is several miles from ruin.

As for "one-world internationalism," that was Mrs. Roosevelt. To oppose Ike's foreign policy may be wise but certainly it isn't being "conservative" with Morse of Oregon and Humphrey of Minnesota leading in opposition.

GRAVES

Post-Herald Birm, Ala. Sat. 5-4-57

Jury Trials Allowed At Clinton

"Up which a lean and foolish knight
Forever rides in vain. . . ."

* * *

The handcuffs at Clinton have clanked in Washington.

The Federal Government, too, has foolish knights, and they, too, are being repudiated.

Thanks to counsel for the defense, including Alabama's Grover S. McLeod and to the calm resolve and support of millions of Southerners and of many Americans everywhere, Federal Judge Taylor has seen a great light.

He has granted jury trials to the Clinton defendants.

* * *

JUDGE TAYLOR has yet to decide whether he will let the defendants be tried separately from strange Rabble-rouser John Kasper with whom they positively and understandably do not want to be identified.

* * *

A BALANCE SHEET on this famous affair shows profit and loss.

There was loss initially in the false national impression of the Southern situation which resulted from the intervention of the two foolish knights from North and South.

Because of their antics and because Clinton was not typical of the South at all, Southern resistance was made to seem not nearly so passionate, universal and respectable as it is but rather a thing imposed by outside agitators, lacking both local and state support.

But on the profit side of the Clinton balance are (1) the subsequent showing up and repudiation of the follish knights and their followers who were compromising the whole Southern cause, and (2) the showing up, also, of the Federal Government's foolish knights, especially as regards jury trials. It is being said with reason that the outrageous Clinton case has been a decisive factor in delaying and perhaps defeating the civil force bills in Congress.

* * *

THE HANDCUFFS at Clinton! History may have them in its showcase—for history made.

* * *

IF EVER A MAN belonged to us it was Eugene Hawkins. Mary Lee, of Knoxville, the girl he married; Mary Douglas, his daughter; Douglas and Eugene Jr., his sons—have a whole community's company in their sorrow.

In church and state and school, in affairs military and civilian, public and private, social and political, as a citizen, friend and devoted family man—we shall remember him in all and noble in all.

* * *

THE CLUB celebrates another 90 degrees today.

That will be the view to the west from the new cocktail lounge.

"Lounge" in this instance means no cubbyhole but a gracious and generous new island in the sky, covering the whole 180 degree western expanse of The Club.

Even without the Golden Gate bridge, the Pacific Ocean and the inland waters, San Francisco's famous "Top of the Mark" is beggared by our showplace here now for size, variety and expanse.

* * *

THE HEAVENLY maid comes on Monday. Nothing that happens to us in the high arts is quite like the annual two days of opera with all its different appeals to all the different ones of us.

* * *

NO GREAT SHAKES as a public speaker is quiet, modest Bob Lindbergh. He could never get anywhere trying to rouse a rabble. Nor does he have enough theatrical ability to play-act.

He would never sound well loud or look right armed. And even though he directs a great city's police force, he could never write a detective story or whodunit.

But there are more things in heaven and earth required for this job, and happily, he has them. He has quiet efficiency and determination, sober courage, modest patriotism, a sense of our whole people.

Most important of all at a critical time like today, he has absolute determination to see law and order prevail—and it is Southern order.

* * *

HOW DO THEY SLEEP of nights—the nervous nine who held hands and jumped?

If our city commission was willing in 1953 to amend the laws and let us play Spring baseball with some of the big national teams which have occasional Negro players, that is a comment on what the Supreme Court's 1954 decision has done to "the advancement of colored people."

Not one of those commissioners would deem such a thing possible now.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald 5/12

Faulkner And 1957

Birm. Ala.

And if thou sayest I am not peer
To any lord in Scotland here,
Highland or lowland, far or near,
Lord Angus, thou lieest!"

Sat. 5-18-57

Jimmy Faulkner says he spoke up for segregation in some 1500 answers during that famous television answering stunt of his in the 1954 gubernatorial campaign.

He did at that.

Since then we have had a Supreme Court decision. He'll have to count on giving at least 1501 answers if he runs again, and each one louder.

* * *

All would-be governors are going to be nailed to the spot.

JIMMY well-says we should follow Teddy Roosevelt's maxim to "speak softly and carry a big stick."

Amen! Our real enemies don't live here, and both white and colored among us are exploited by their do-goodery. We can never defeat them with big sticks, big revolvers, Sam Browne belts, hoods, mumbo-jumbo, fascist marchings and foolish knights.

We can defeat them only with law—led by our lawyers, legislators, judges, editors—and governors.

* * *

JUST GIVING correct answers—even 1500 of them—isn't going to be enough in 1958. Articulate, high-minded, intelligent, courageous Jimmy Faulkner, who ran so sensationally in 1954, knows it.

Alabama must have a governor who passionately cares, no matter how soft he speaks. And who counts, who doesn't merely answer but asks, demands, contrives, aggresses in our behalf.

* * *

THE NATURAL LEADERS, since they preside over the sovereignty, we invoke, are the governors. Not all get the great point.

Our Mr. Folsom, a repudiated politician, couldn't be expected to get it or to consider any point but the politics in which he is so poorly advised. But there are other governors who should count.

Where, for example, is the imagination of Florida's able Gov. Leroy Collins, who turns up his nose uncomprehendingly at his Legislature's interposition resolution and vows that he could "never attribute any moral value to a lie."

These interposition resolutions in the South are not lies, governor, even if they are not yet intended to have the force of law when they say the desegregation decision is void.

They are expressing a legal opinion, a moral judgment and a warrant for the torture to which we are putting the decision that tortured the Constitution.

They have not the force of law but they invoke the compact behind the law to justify every legal maneuver, obstruction, filibuster, delay and obfuscation our lawyers and legislators contrive.

VIRGINIA HAS LED the way to this doctrine Jefferson and Madison gave us, but neither Virginia nor any of the other states have meant business yet to this legal extent. Governor Collins' Florida has come nearer via its court's recent Hawkins decision.

* * *

INTERPOSITION is no lie. It is the Constitution's truth, the truth of the 13 nations before Especially, and in reverence, it is God's truth.

It is the higher law which will still be true when Gabriel blows his horn.

* * *

EDITOR KILPATRICK'S "The Sovereign States" would be sounding brass if the sovereignty whose history he marshals in such scholarship and pleads in such passion were only history.

Time flies and the world grows small and new relations obliterate old lines. Only moss-backs expect Jefferson and Madison to be followed now unless they fit.

Much has changed since 1798.

But nothing has dimmed the truth behind the doctrine which Governor Collins' Florida legislature declared—that too much government too far from the governed is slavery, that men have rights against their own majorities, that what God has put asunder men may not join together, and that the God-playing which brought Babel down is as anti-God as ever.

These ideals are right today because they make great sense today, because they are eternals without which progress can't progress or justice be just or the future a wave.

WHATEVER INTERPOSITION may come to be if Southern resistance is forced too far, it means today simply resistance—within the law. It is the South's declaration of moral right to oppose the Supreme Court with the same letter of the law the Court itself employed, and more of the intent.

* * *

SINCE IKE isn't going to appoint a Ben Cameron, it should be enough for Citizens Councils opposing confirmation of John Minor Wisdom for the Fifth Federal Circuit that Judge Cameron tells the Jackson State Times he will welcome Mr. Wisdom as a colleague. Politics is the art of the possible, and so is Southern resistance.

* * *

IT IS GOOD NEWS that Judge Cameron, who has suffered a mild heart attack, will be back on the bench in about two weeks now. His heart and mind are worth much to the South, the country and the Constitution.

* * *

FROM ATLANTA my famous old friend Russell Bridges of Alkahest, sends a slogan: "Lord, give me an idea for today and forgive me for the one I had yesterday."

I hope I misunderstand him.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald 5/18

Whither Folsom?

Birm. Ala.

"Of dreams that wave before the half-shut eye . . ."

Sat. 5-18-57

Your governor and mine may be at it again.

Cryptically he told University of Alabama students Thursday (in effect) that he wouldn't run for office again unless the Lord forced him.

You could guess which particular group of voters, or voters-to-be, he thought the Lord might use force.

It's an old dream with James E. Folsom, some believe.

Putting two and two together, it is possible to guess that after being scared off for a time but finding it too late to take the other side, the governor is looking once more to a possibly enormously increased Negro vote in Alabama.

This is suggested in his conspicuous failure to mention segregation in his address to the Legislature, and in his remarks at the University in defense of the so-called Open Forum which has been voted down by the student legislature after being picketed by the Klan.

The same student legislature damned, also the arrogance of the Klan's attempt to interfere on the campus.

* * *

AN OPEN FORUM run of business at the University of Alabama!

A professor dropped at Auburn for writing in favor of integration!

It makes bad national reading. It is a set-up for ready-and-waiting critics in the blessed names of free speech and academic liberty. But several points suggest themselves:—

(1) In both cases historic limit applies—that you aren't free to yell "fire" in a crowded theater or to say things which create a "clear and present danger."

(2) There are additional limitations on academic liberty. The Constitution says nothing of academic liberty, although it is precious, naturally. But a campus is not an ordinary community. Neither is it a "community of scholars" as rhapsodists would have it. A campus is a place where men having intellectual authority instruct men without authority, who have come to be told.

That's what teaching is. A teacher, like preacher, has responsibility and authority over a world of his own which morally limit his speech to some extents.

(3) There is also the allegation that the "Open Forum," formerly called the "Human Relations Forum," wasn't really open but was composed mainly of crusading "liberals" on the race and other questions. Freedom under a false name isn't freedom, of course.

(4) There is a constitutional crisis. It has brought about in the South a constitutional cold war necessitating something like a moral martial law at times against some of the ordinaries of freedom. That is one of the tragedies and tyrannies imposed by the Supreme Court.

* * *

THIS "MARTIAL LAW" is recognized in the North and East. You can't imagine an "Open Forum" favoring segregation allowed to do business as "Open" on the New York University campus. You can't imagine a professor favoring segregation ever being hired at the University of Chicago, or hired without knowledge lasting long if he broke out with it.

* * *

DENYING THAT Virginia's Francis Pickens Miller in anywise "dominated" the recent Presbyterian Assembly here, avowing that only ignorance of Presbyterian hierarchy lets me think it possible, and asserting additionally that Col. Miller hasn't the magnetism to dominate, the Rev. Emmett G. Sheppard, of Springville Presbyterian Church, moves me nevertheless to loud amen, inconsistently, he concludes with this: "Remember, Mr. Graves, that contrary to the opinion of many, Christianity is not synonymous with Americanism, with the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, with the NAM, the CIO AFL-CIO."

Amen! Or with democracy, socailism, private enterprise, integration or amalgamation!

* * *

TO COL. MILLER'S insufficiencies as a dominator, some of us who have worked on committees with him in the past can testify. He is the type who wins by working harder, caring more, and being more painstaking, meticulous and insistent than anybody else.

* * *

NEVERTHELESS somebody has put the Presbyterian General Assembly out of line with the Presbyterian people. Perhaps it was the Rev. Dr. Albert J. Kissling, of Jacksonville, Fla., whose impassioned address just before the report on Interchurch Relations is credited by the Southern Presbyterian Journal with "bad taste and poor judging" for bringing in "controversial subjects" and with influencing the commissioners to support one particular side, arousing hostile feelings "in the hearts of all who believe in fairness."

Of Dr. Kissling's rhetorical question "Where is the voice of God?" in his denunciation of "Southern politicians" who oppose "civil liberties" bills, this Presbyterian journal opines that "the speaker equates in his mind the voice of Kissling with the voice of God."

Thus has the Supreme Court set Presbyterian brother against brother in the troubled South!

* * *

CONGRATULATIONS to Assistant Director Rollin Osgood for his major part in organizing the Southern Research Institute's amazingly attended, reported and mandated Age of Space conference! Director Murray warmly cited Mr. Osgood for this as the conference opened.

3la 1957

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald

Salute To Lawrence

Birmingham, Ala.

3la

"The man whom the king delighteth to honor . . ."

* * *

"For your fearless and accurate presentation of facts, for your painstaking efforts to arrive at fundamental truth, for your astuteness as a news analyst . . ." — that was James Heflin Newman, interim president of the University of Alabama, bestowing the University's doctorate of laws yesterday afternoon on David Lawrence.

Mon. 6-3-57

Our sovereign state delights to honor Mr. Lawrence, who was the University's commencement speaker. The University gives him its degree, the Legislature gives him its accolade in joint resolution.

In Columbia the University of South Carolina is bestowing its honorary doctorate on him, too.

* * *

NEITHER THE universities nor the Legislature stressed his epochal championship of the Southern position in the nation's constitutional and social crisis. That is as should be.

Presidents Newman and Russell indicate in the omission their sense of this crisis as nation-wide and history-long.

* * *

GRANTING that the inspiration for Southern honors is Mr. Lawrence's nationally epochal stand against the nervous nine who held hands and jumped on May 17, 1954, here is one more illustration of God's mysterious way with the hateful race problem in our states.

Because of that problem, we are invited to the most American positions alongside the most American Americans. The problem directs us to states' rights, local self-government, social-mindedness as against state-mindedness, the cult of excellence in individuals, man as truly his brother's keeper — "human supremacy."

It directs us to things we are standing for, yes, and for some things we forget to stand for.

* * *

WE NEED NOT only to honor David Lawrence but to take note of him. Like Robert Taft he takes the indicated Southern position, not because it is Southern but because it is right, because it is fundamental to the American dream, constitution and way.

* * *

SOME WHO think of Mr. Lawrence as conservative are confused by his world-mindedness, social-mindedness and Ike-mindedness.

They would have been confused by the conservatism of Thomas Jefferson, too. The Sage of Monticello was social-minded, also, in spite of his stands for individualism against too much government too far from the governed.

Ditto for Bob Taft and Woodrow Wilson.

* * *

IN AN EDITORIAL he called "Conservative Liberalism Versus Radical Liberalism" Mr. Lawrence has taken his stand for "Conservative Liberalism" and meant both words.

He means what Ike means—that even though America has come to new responsibilities as earth's great place and even though an age of mass and machine requires more social action than heretofore, it is possible to serve the needs of our people within the framework of our Constitution and ideal.

* * *

"THE CONSERVATIVE Liberal," wrote David Lawrence, "believes in individual responsibility —he condemns irresponsible individualism." H is for the state and for the unions, but as servants, not masters of their people.

The conservative liberal believes he is "really his brother's keeper." He attributes to the state "all necessary powers to carry on government" but disputes forever the idea that it has power to do anything it pleases.

He is for the 10th Amendment —and the forgotten Ninth. He is for law and order, civil rights, freedom of economic opportunity, and he believes these are to be achieved primarily at home through "the process of education and the aggressive power of an informed public opinion."

He doesn't believe "morals can be legislated" but he does believe "morals can be agitated."

* * *

AND SO FORTH, with more than can be printed here. David Lawrence's dramatic salute from the South should be more than a salute. It should draw Southerners and Americans everywhere to this modern philosophy of his which results from the New Deal revolution and the counter-revolution against more.

Ike may call it "modern Republicanism" but the ampler name is "modern Americanism." It says American liberties and ham-and-eggs (as Mencken put it) can both be had.

* * *

AS "DOCTOR DAVID Lawrence goes home from his salute, let us keep in mind what and whom we have saluted.

* * *

SO LONG AS THERE are plenty of Southerners to deplore the verdict in Montgomery's church-bombing trial, the less heard from loud, loose Adam Clayton Powell, of New York, the better.

Also from pious Senator Douglas of Illinois.

Violence and the condoning of violence do bitter harm to the Southern resistance, but the marvel is there has been so little and so instantly denounced.

Southern people are human. It is human, even if intolerably self-destructive and wrong, for some of them to react extremely to what the Supreme Court and such do-gooders as Senator Douglas and such agitators as Congressman Powell have terribly imposed on our part of the country.

Answers Graves On Jury Case

Post-Herald 3/10

Birmingham, Ala.

John Temple Graves, in his criticism of the Jury Decision is emulating the Yankees. But the Yankees themselves, (rank and file), not the columnists, stand, mostly with the South in our fight for States Rights.

John admits that the Supreme Court was wrong and will perhaps agree that the blood of every citizen who has lost, and who will lose his life, in on the hands of the high court for ever having passed such a monstrosity as their famed miscarriage of justice; he would make the greater sin, that to err in the seat of a juror.

John claims the right to say thus and so. He also has the right to poison his neighbor's dog, or to jump off of a bluff. But let it be remembered that the jury had 12 times that much right to decide the case as it the jury saw it.

JOHN KELTON,
Oneonta.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald 3/9 white

Birmingham, Ala.

Mote And Beam

"And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?" . . Matthew 7:3.

Tues 6-4-57

Southern Democrats at Rome Saturday — or some of them — played mote and beam.

They beheld a mote in "modern Republicanism" but they considered not the beam of Reuther - Williams Democracy.

Fondly imagining themselves the National Democratic Party, they blasted this mote. It was their conventionally indicated blast as party politicians under a national discipline. But they exposed themselves to deadly fall-out.

Unless Southern Democrats, with or without their leaders, continue to hold themselves free nationally, unless they keep in mind the infinitely more socialism their own party contains than the other, and unless they reconcile themselves to a New Deal dealt, they are going to bring about a Fair Deal regime that will "make your hair curl."

* * *

"When in Rome, do as the Romans do."

The Romans do all right, for theirs is one of the brightly-burgeoning cities of the South and a storied one as well. But the difficulty at last week's three-state Democratic rally was in doing as the Democrats do.

It involved being two-headed, two-tongued and tickle-toed.

It involved pretending that Senator Gore, the conventional New Dealer, was a fraternity brother of Senator Talmadge, a man thinking ever more boldly and widely in terms of "modern Southernism" (and destined to learn that it is neither McCarthyism nor Reutherism, but reflects both the New Deal revolution and the counter-revolution against more).

* * *

GORE IS A MAN at rest, asleep in the lap of a New Deal dealt. Talmadge is a man in motion, making mistakes, but moving.

When he warned that the Democratic Party must seek new leaders from a new generation of Democrats who have "had their values warped by bureaucratic philosophies" he nominated what could be himself if he holds with the right's moderns rather than its moss-backs and lunatics.

* * *

IT WAS THOUGHT-provoking to hear young Princetonians asking old Princetonian David Lawrence questions in a conversation at Mountain Brook Club Saturday evening.

Alert young Biddle Worthington Jr. asked, as from conservative brother to brother, why we can't develop a real conservative party.

But the sort of conservatism for which some are talking these days never will be on land or sea. Miles from David Lawrence, who calls himself a "conservative liberal" as distinguished from a "radical liberal" its only potential is for splitting the country's anti-socialists enough to bring about a Walter Reuther or Soapy Williams.

THE ALTERNATIVE to Ike isn't that flagrantly misnamed "Taft Wing" of the Republican Party. It is Reuther or the equivalent. If only Bob Taft, the "conservative liberal," were alive to say so to those who take his name in vain!

* * *

DAVID LAWRENCE doubts that there will ever be a genuine, precinct-level two-party system in the South. I think he is wrong, and only hope it won't be a terrible one based on race. But Mr. Lawrence can't doubt that there is not a "free Democrat" system here, 10 years old and able to carry on, a system under which Democrats vote as they please for president.

* * *

GO TO THE POLLS today, fellow citizens, and tell the world that Birmingham, at the heart of the South's industrial revolution and of its social resistance, too, means to conduct both under a law and order in which both its white and colored have faith!

* * *

THE NEGRO vote will count today. It is going to count in the South more than ever before now. It must and will be rigorously qualified, but it is going to count.

The situation calls upon both our colored people and our white. It calls on our colored to avoid the blind herd-voting that is no real democracy but threatens democracy. And it calls on our white people not to damn every candidate favored by colored people.

There are situations in which most colored people naturally and freely choose one candidate over another, and that candidate may be perfectly satisfactory to white people, too.

It's going to be a good thing, a blessed thing, to have men in office who are trusted by both races. It will save us from falling into two bitter camps, politically or otherwise, of white and black.

Just having the Negro vote shouldn't damn a candidate with white voters.

But he should be damned with white voters if he wins the Negro with double-talk or two-way Folsom tickle-toe, or if he sides with integrationists against the vital police and biological necessity of the South.

* * *

THE IDEAL candidate is going to be the one who, without failing in loyalty to our Southern way can win both white and colored votes.

GRAVES

Post-Herald

Faulkner's Stand Wins High Praise

Birmingham, Ala.

3/2 white

Stars 6-6-3

"If anyone had to go to to jail to maintain our segregated schools, as your governor, I would go."

* * *

Give Gubernatorial Candidate Jimmy Faulkner a perfect score on his statement to Montgomery's Optimist Club Friday!

"It is the responsibility of the governor of Alabama to maintain law and order," he said. "Forced integration in Alabama's school system is a threat to law and order, and were I governor of Alabama I would maintain segregation by maintaining law and order.

"I would give an order to all school authorities not to permit integration of races in public education because it is a threat to our civil and domestic peace. We must restore peace and harmony among our people and

stamp out violence wherever it may be."

Then came Jimmy's punch line: "I would take full responsibility for such an order to maintain segregation, and if anyone had to go to jail to maintain our segregated schools, as your governor, I would go."

* * *

THAT IS NOT only unqualified, it makes big sense. No foolish knights, acting outside of both state and Federal law, can save school segregation.

Our state and local officials can and must do it, acting under state and local law. The only law-breaking we can use is an official one like this in the name of constitutional crisis. Bomb-throwers, pistol-wavers, mobsters, hoodlums and mumbo-jumbos needn't apply.

State and local laws are more important than ever. To flout them is to flout the sovereignty with which we mean to defeat the Supreme Court's denial of the compact under which our country was put together.

* * *

BECAUSE his come-back road has been long and hard and because he returns at a time so critical and demanding, it is easy to congratulate Bull Connor and not only to wish him well but to believe he will do well.

He has many fine qualities for the job and many fine people supporting him. Some of us who have known him through the years and been sometimes with him, sometimes against him, are resolved in all good will now to go on being that way.

Colorful, decisive, experienced, a distinctive personality, he is sure to be much in the picture, national as well as local. He can go terribly wrong or magnificently right.

On the race question Mr. Connor is as positively for law and order as for maintainance of segregation. In this column's lights, that is the perfect position. Our foolish knights will have no support from him. He has indicated that.

In view of Jimmy Faulkner's statement and Mr. Connor's victory, this is a good time to make emphatic the position of Birmingham, of Alabama and of the South against racial agitation and violence.

We are coming to understand that law must be preserved and peace be preserved more meticulously than anywhere else or ever before. If, when and as, we refuse the Supreme Court's decision we'll do it officially, in accordance with our state and local law and to the tune of all possible good will and fairness as regards the two races.

* * *

COMMISSIONER Lindbergh, defeated by only a handful, is entitled to consider himself still much in the political picture, it seems to me, not only because of his big vote but because it included both white and colored in circumstances involving no disloyalty to the Southern position.

More and more now, we are going to need men in whom both races have faith.

* * *

IS IT CHRISTIAN to foul your own nest? Is it Baptist to bear false witness against your own people?

Let the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention ask itself that.

Its report on race relations to the convention in Chicago last month pictured its Southern home as a snake-pit of such oppression and terror as doesn't exist even in Detroit, Los Angeles or Chicago, much less in the South. It reported "violence in all its ugly forms" and suspected that the nation "cannot long endure" such a hell-on-earth.

Surely sins in liberty's name begin to be beggared by sins in God's name.

"The marvel," marvels The Augusta Herald, "is that people living in the South can write a report that gives the impression that the Negro people of the South live under a reign of terror, where lynchings, bombings and violence 'in all its ugly forms' are so common that the continued existence of the American Republic is in jeopardy."

Agreeing that there have been "scattered instances of violence, usually the result of extreme provocation, as that of the militantly-organized Negroes of Montgomery or the intense campaign to push Arthurine Lucy into the University of Alabama," the Augusta paper finds it "incredible that the Christian Life Commission should take cognizance of them without also making reference to the good relations that exist between the races throughout the South in spite of the pressure of agitators."

Amen and amen!

* * *

ON AND ON through time to come, the modest, devoted, many-itemed life of Howard's Dean P. P. Burns will be reflected in other lives. His 36 years as dean count for many times 36. Fine educators are like that, especially this one in this era.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald

Picking On Dixie

"The All-American South."

Mon. 6-11-

Birm, Ala.

Harold Lord Varney in the July American Mercury finds so many people "picking on Dixie" that his piece is a must for those who don't know we've got a fight on our hands.

We do have friends, however, and he and The Mercury are among them, along with David Lawrence and the United States News, Newsweek on occasion, the Saturday Evening Post, The Wall Street Journal and such.

* * *

On our side, too, are the Constitution of the United States, human nature, millions who don't live in big cities, the counter-revolution against One-ism, our dawning economic power, our potential political balance of power, the seniority rule in Congress, Rule 22, the electoral college, and perhaps a Supreme Court justice or two now.

And the nation's ablest and most experienced statesmen.

And the Lord.

* * *

THE SOUTH HAS, too, presumably, the ultra conservatives, the McCarthy-Jenner ones, for whom The Mercury and Associate Editor Varney speak. Indeed Mr. Varney pictures the whole anti-South drive as a plot against these by the "liberals."

But that way leads to madness. To identify the Southern cause with this hopeless minority is not only to weaken it by long division but to misrepresent it.

The socialist and Fair Deal crowd oppose the South on the race question, but there is also the long-standing "abolitionist" spirit which imbues against the South some of the nation's most conservative people. At the same time, the South has had on its side some of the greatest constitutional liberals, such as William E. Borah and Robert Taft.

* * *

IT IS INTERESTING to remember that Senator McCarthy never championed the South and that Gallup polls showed him with consistently less following here than in any other region, ardent as this following was and is.

* * *

THE SOUTH needs all who take its side. But for that very reason it can't let itself be taken over by the national extreme right—any more than by home fascists and foolish knights.

Its cause is American, all-American.

THE SATURDAY Evening Post should be advised that when Southerners seem to say Nigra they are saying Negro just as certainly as Northerners are when they seem to say Kneegrow.

* * *

CALLING LATIN scholars for a word to indicate 37th and 87th anniversaries (and so on up) now that New Englanders find semi-centennial and centennial (and so on up) unsuitable for the 13-year-late Mayflower!

* * *

IN ALL THE world what is so gracious as young people who have grace! In all the world what is so graceless as young people who don't!

* * *

PUT AWAY OTHER nominations! The Fathers' Day grandfather of the year, for youth, beauty and benignity, was John N. Lukens, pastor of the Independent Presbyterian Church, as pictured with his Barbara and Marie Hall in this paper Friday morning. In him grandfatherdom gets a new face, smile, heart and life expectancy.

* * *

AT PRINCETON there's an argument on whether to be forthright or to be clever—about the determination not to have more than a token number of Negroes.

* * *

I. M. WHITE of Roanoke, Va., is still after me for "backbone and nerve." Admitting now that I had already answered his question about equal schools which he had been demanding I have the "backbone and nerve" to answer, he says he's been asking me four subsequent questions which I haven't yet had the "backbone and nerve" to answer.

My backbone itches and my nerve is scraping, Mr. White. You just work these four out for yourself.

* * *

DOES THE Presbyterian General Assembly speak for the church's rank and file? In church law it does, apparently, whether in fact or not. In a useful pamphlet, "Our Church Government," Mentone's A. H. Clement says "the General Assembly is the Supreme Court of the Presbyterian Church. It represents the whole church by a proportion of delegates or ministers and elders from every Presbytery."

* * *

PEOPLE WHO think this column vulgar for printing personal things might make allowances by remembering (1) that if you've been in print most of your life you forget to feel vulgar about it, (2) that this decorus editorial page isn't like being in a headline or naked out front, (3) that a column is a man being himself, and through the years things crop out, and (4) that many personal things are also universal things and print-worthy for that, dear heart!

Also, that this is a personal world. Hungrily so.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Law Is Permanent

Post-Herald

"Something is rotten in the state of Denmark . . ."

Birm, Ala.

* * *

WHO COULD have dreamed that a court or attorney general in this land of the free and home of the brave would ever so threaten a whole section that the President would have to assure its people he didn't propose to shoot them down!

* * *

IT IS NAIVE of Ike to say he has no intention of using troops against the South. Nobody thinks he does. But the civil force bill, if passed, is supposed to be permanent.

What's more, Ike just doesn't seem to have won the complete confidence of Chief Justice Warren and Attorney General Brownell. They don't tell him all their plans.

They may have some military secrets.

* * *

YOU CAN'T INDICT a whole people, Burke said. He meant something must be wrong with the indictment. Challenging the contention that Southern juries will not convict white men for violating civil rights of Negroes, The Wall Street Journal makes the important additional point that even if the contention were true "it could be argued with some logic that any law so objectionable that one-fourth of the population of the entire country can be immediately counted on to disobey it is a law that ought to be looked at before it is enacted."

* * *

HASN'T IT TURNED the President just a little bit against his attorney general that all these things are being found in the bill which he wasn't told about and which so many senators failed to notice in the fine print?

The sin of the bill is not only what's in it but the devious and tricky ways things were put there. Even the conventional New York Times, after first lecturing Senator Russell for his strong language, condescends to say the bill has more in it than appears on the surface and needs a going over.

Wouldn't The Times use strong language, too, more even than is "fit to print," at a thing like this about something it cared about as the senator cares and The Times doesn't?

* * *

"WHEN YOU CALL me that name — smile!"

When you call me a flea, Mr. W. M. Williams, you Southerner-for-Ike, you—smile! Lots of us fleas are suspected still of being just like you. It's hard to keep up with myself. Under presumption of liking Ike, I am politely wondered at by Birmingham's Robert Clarke Redus. He wonders "how much latitude a columnist has who is working for a chain paper." Under presumption of not liking Ike, I am impolitely held up to scorn by Mr. Williams, whose flea-calling letter to The Post-Herald yesterday seemed even to deny me the privilege he and all other Americans enjoy of telling Ike what to do.

I must search my heart. Do I like Ike or do I not?

But, great Scotts, gentlemen, isn't there such a thing as a man having opinions opposed to your own (or imagined so) without being (1) dishonest, (2) vain or (3) dumb?

* * *

WHO WANTS a slice of Macon for breakfast?

If adjoining counties don't want any Macon, what then? Having made no impression with my good segregationist proposal that there be both a white and colored city at Tuskegee, this column hopes not to disturb the peace by suggesting now a new county as well as a new city, both composed of the colored population gerrymandered out of the city of Tuskegee.

Tuskegee is a highly special situation.

* * *

"THERE IS no such word as 'unalienable' in the dictionary," protests a lady who knows. But there's such in the Declaration of Independence, dear heart—as I've learned now from Judge Henry Howze. Who ever heard of Henry Howze being wrong about America's great documents!

* * *

WHO SHOULD make this country over if it needed making over? Not the Supreme Court, certainly.

The people haven't elected it.

God hasn't commissioned it.

Nature hasn't endowed it.

"It was never intended."

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald 3-31-57

U. S. Bill Threatens Civil Rights

Sat. 3-30-57

"The Republic could not survive such a piece of legislation."

Birm. Ala.

That men of honor, patriotism and principle should be willing to ignore the very makings of this country and say anything goes when the race issue is up—is a comment on blind passion and sentimentality.

LET CONGRESS pass the so-called Omnibus Civil Rights Bill and there would be very few dependable civil rights left any of us.

We would hold what ones we have on suffrance, subject to denial without notice whenever a federal official deemed it worthwhile.

Joseph F. Johnston, graduate of Princeton University and Harvard Law School, who is one of the leading attorneys of the South today and much too much of one to exaggerate, puts no limit on the menace he sees in this Omnibus bill.

"The extent of (its) injection of the power of the federal government into the local affairs of every state and its supervisory control over every state and local official is such that it is no exaggeration to say the Republic could not survive such a piece of legislation. . ." he writes.

* * *

REMOVE POLITICS and race from the consideration of these "civil rights" measures and they would shock the nation and all its legislators to outraged rejection. Sureely the South will not have to stand alone against them when—and if—a vote comes.

* * *

"UNDER which King, Bezonian—speak or die!"

Who knows but that the Negro named King who is to stand highest some day in the race history of these unhappy times will be not Martin Luther but Clennon!

* * *

CLENNON KING is the college instructor who, for taking issue with NAACP, has been ostracized, threatened, abused and subjected to the NAACP's special brand of rabble-rousing. He exercised his American right to tell his students at Alcorn A. and M. College in Mississippi and readers of his articles in The Jackson State Times that (as Associate Editor Robert Webb, of The State Times, summarizes it) "racial integrity, morality and harmony are much preferred to naked mass integration."

* * *

IN CHAMPIONING this Negro, reporting his story, printing and circulating in booklet his articles, Editor Webb and The State Times have struck a blow for the leadership Southern Negroes bitterly need and lack.

* * *

RESPONSE TO Clennon King's challenge has been nation-wide. The State Times' booklet is being distributed as fast as it can be printed.

Many a troubled Southern Negro who wants his race to advance but deeply mistrusts the hate-making, South-dividing NAACP way has feared to speak out lest he be pilloried as an "Uncle Tom."

He may take heart and find voice in the suddenly appearing leadership of this Negro whom no one can call "Uncle Tom."

Clennon King, Georgia-born, 37 years old, is better-educated than Martin Luther King. He has a B.S. degree from Tuskegee, an M.A. from Western Reserve in Cleveland, has attended Oberlin Graduate School of Divinity, has studied Egyptology at the University of Chicago, has taught in six Southern Negro colleges—and is founder of an International Society on African Culture for bringing to Negroes greater knowledge of and pride in their race. (At his request, money from The State Times for his now famous series of articles was turned over to this society.)

* * *

HE IS NO UNCLE Tom and, what is of more import (for "Uncle Tom" is just an NAACP epithet) neither is he one of the all-too-familiar "white man's Negroes" who make a cheap living agreeing with whites and undertaking for a profit to organize Negroes. He is a proud, resolute, free-minded Negro American, a credit to his country and his race.

He may be, also, a man of destiny.

* * *

IT IS A COMMENT on time and tide and television that so many of us knew more participants in the Emmy Awards this year than the Oscars.

* * *

HERE'S TO ALL taxi drivers on Florida's East Coast. To a man, they are philosophers, good fellows and imparters of confidences.

One in Miami was a German soldier in World War I and has a hole in his leg. He was right across from the French Seventh Army to which I was attached but my unit had British eight-inch howitzers and would have made a little bigger hole—we agreed.

GRAVES

Post-Herald 3-31-57

Birm. Ala.

Dreams In Florida Do Come True

Sun. 3-28-57

"A coral finger, dipped in blue, pointing the Gulf Stream to its place in the Atlantic. . . ."

* * *

FT. LAUDERDALE, Fla.—The coral finger points North America to South America, too, and that is more to the point.

A Florida state agency called the Inter-American Center Authority holds an option on 1675 acres on U. S. 1 at Ocean Boulevard in Miami and is trying to finance a huge "Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center"—"Interama"—there.

Tomorrow or the next day it will succeed, as dreams always succeed here, and the Greater Florida will be nearer high noon.

* * *

THAT GREATER FLORIDA is the dawning one of industry, and of gateway and trade center for the two Americas and all the seven seas as well as playground and retiring place.

* * *

"WHAT LOS ANGELES is to San Francisco, Miami is to Jacksonville," opined my lovely dinner companion at a speaker's table here last night. I have thought much of her point, and of her, ever since. The analogy doesn't quite analge, however.

* * *

MIAMI IS NO LOS ANGELES. It is no "six suburbs in search of a city," no home of lunatics of right and left, no scene of democracy-gone-mad, no exile from the sun, chained in smog. It has problems—of morals, taste, and medflies—but it is the world's great city-in-the-sun.

* * *

JACKSONVILLE as San Francisco is more reasonable. The 360-degrees of water, headlands and lights visible from the River Club on top of Jacksonville's Prudential Building do compare with San Francisco's "Top of the Mark."

There are the same compactitudes of closing waters, exactitudes of cooler temperature, less tropical moods, deeper romances, more disciplined and enduring splendors of economy, culture and finance.

And the same identifiable people. You can recognize a Jacksonvillian or San Franciscan as you never can a Miamian or Los Angeline.

* * *

WE WHO HAVE been thinking Georg a most likely actually to practice "Interposition" against the Supreme Court's usurpation may find it is Florida. In the light of her own Supreme Court's Hawkins case decision, if her Legislature declares Interposition this week it may be the real thing.

By Temple Graves

IN OTHER WORDS Florida may be growing as rapidly in sovereignty as in size. Its Supreme Court's decision had sovereignty in all its obiters at any rate.

Chief Justice Glenn Terrell reviewed the occasions through history, beginning with the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of Madison and Jefferson in 1798, in which states have asserted their sovereignty against the federal government. In none, he well-says, has any attempt been made to coerce the states.

Of course, we've never had the NAACP on our backs before, and all the politicians it bullies. Coercion would be sure to be loudly demanded, at any rate.

* * *

IN HIS MAJORITY opinion in this history-making case, Justice B. K. Roberts warned of "a progressive disappearance of state sovereignty." Most pointedly of all he warned the federal court that the people and not the court is lawmaker in these United States. "Whatever one's ideology may be," he wrote, "whether one is a strong defender of the state sovereignty or equally fervent advocate of centralized government—we think the great majority of persons would agree that if the death knoll of this fundamental principle of Jeffersonian democracy is to be tolled, the bell should be run by the people themselves as the Constitution contemplates . . ."

* * *

THERE IS THE SIN of the United States Supreme Court—the arrogance of undertaking to alter the way and form our own government without mandate from anybody, the Congress, the states, the people or the Constitution.

* * *

FLORIDA'S Supreme Court has come nearest yet to actual interposing of Florida's naked sovereignty against naked federal usurpation.

Where do we go from here?

GRAVES

Post-Herald 3-31-57

Birm. Ala.

Eyes Will Be Turned On Ghana

Wed. 3-27-57

"The world turned on in the lathe of time,
The hot lands heaved amain. . ."

By Temple Graves

Africa's new nation of Ghana will be watched for many things.

Unlike a lot of Asia, says Newsweek, "Africa was never deprived of its inheritance by the arrival of the white man. It has little to lose. In 10,000 years, many parts of black Africa domesticated no animals, developed no agricultural crops, established no great civilizations, kept no written records. . . ."

* * *

The Post-Herald wonders interestingly if Africa can "live and learn—or, rather, learn fast enough to stay alive" in a world of Communist aggression: "A Dark Continent which has stood still through long ages while the other continents moved, is being invited to march in a world of competition—and conquest."

* * *

HARVARD's Prof. Pitirim Sorokin cited recently this failure of the Negro to advance in all his long history in Africa while civilizations were being developed elsewhere, and so did Alabama's Marion Rushton in his great speech to our state bar association.

But Historian Arnold Toynbee will not have it that this has anything to do with heredity, or environment, either.

As summarized by D. C. Somervell, Toynbee believes Africa stood still merely for lack of "challenge." "Man achieves civilization not as a result of superior biological endowment or geographical endowment, but as a response to a challenge in a situation of special difficulty which rouses him to make a hitherto unprecedented effort . . ."

But in the courses of time all men and races are confronted with challenges, surely.

It must be that some men and races are more responsive than others.

Were there no challenges in those long African years?

* * *

MANY A WISE word is said in jest—and many a foolish one makes unwritting sense.

Drew Pearson's, here Friday night, for example, that "inasmuch as the Federal Government is putting up 90 per cent of the cost (of the new Federal highway program), that should override the rights of states or local control."

Substitute the school for the highway program and you hit a mighty nail on the head. Birmingham's Richard Hail Brown has written Drew that "the Federal Government puts up no money. It has no money, makes no money. Every penny of it comes from the people in the states and cities, and because it takes all the money, the states find the well dry when they look for income sources."

Mr. Brown may overlook the modern logic and inevitability of federal spending, but he strikes home when he hits the tendency to identify spending with control.

* * *

"They're hanging men and women there
For wearing of the green. . ."

SUBTRACT the race question from the "civil liberties" debate and there would be no debate. The measures would be damned so universally for their un-Americanism and for the Gestapo they threaten, with ADA, AFL-CIO, NAACP and American Civil Liberties Union leading the damnations, that they would

die in subcommittee or earlier.

* * *

EDITOR RUSSELL, in The Augusta Herald, thinks that because filibusters are supposed to contain time-filling "nonsense" the best arguments against the "civil rights" measures tend to be unheard. But he will agree that thus far our Southerners, with Georgia's Herman Talmadge especially to be counted on for fire, force and attention, have been heard.

They have been heard not only on Capitol Hill but all around the land. And certain senators who dare not for their political lives oppose anything the NAACP demands may have been bolstered enough by a developing counter-opinion to be even more hypocritical than usual about this legislation, secretly inviting defeat even as they put on a show of fighting.

* * *

SPEAKING OF people who "roll their own" facts to fit their arguments, one confounded me in an audience at Memphis' Goodwyn Institute.

During the question period he challenged me with some literally unanswerable statistics on a somewhat remote subject. I could only say frankly that the statistics amazed me.

Afterwards he came up to shake hands and I told him I found his figures hard to believe.

"Oh, you don't have to," he said, "I just made them up for the argument."

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald 3-14-57 B'ham, Ala.

Where Jefferson Stood

"The devil can cite Scripture for his purpose . . ."

Mem. 4-8-57

* * *

It might do Lamar Weaver a lot of good to go on "debating" John Altman as he did in a letter to this paper Saturday.

If required to expose his idealism day after day to the more informed and mature idealism of Mr. Altman, he might, for example, come to at least an elementary school understanding of Thomas Jefferson.

* * *

Mr. Weaver actually cites Jefferson as champion of "a stronger national government." That was Hamilton, Jefferson's great opponent, who was for "loose construction" of the Constitution.

Jefferson was for "strict construction." He wanted the central government confined to the letter of its constitutional powers.

He would have opposed the modern strainings, the "loose construction" of the welfare and commerce clauses and the 14th Amendment to let the Federal Government do anything and everything.

* * *

IN THE SAME unhappy breath in which Mr. Weaver misattributed to Jefferson a belief in stronger national government, he spoke truly of Jefferson's love of free speech. Mr. Weaver's history teacher could tell him that in this very love Jefferson struck American history's first blow against "strong national government."

That was in 1798 when he wrote Kentucky's Interposition resolution, declaring the Sedition Law null and void in the names of freedom of speech and sovereignty of states.

* * *

FROM PATRICK HENRY on, the liberty Americans have had most in mind has been liberty against too much government too far from the governed.

* * *

JEFFERSON SAID so many things you can quote him in many directions, true. You can do the Bible that way, too. But some things about the Sage of Monticello are such landmarks in American history that everybody is supposed to have them straight.

* * *

MR. WEAVER shouldn't misunderstand the quotation which leads this column. He's no devil. He's just a foolish knight, in my opinion. We have them on both sides.

* * *

WHAT STRANGE bedfellows this America-long idea which Ike calls "modern Republicanism" has in our history!

Jefferson, Woodrow Wilson and Bob Taft are three.

They believed, one and all three, that the needs of the people can be served without having a central government take away the liberties of the people. Wilson supplemented Jefferson's anti-federalism with a philosophy for having the government preserve and umpire the competition of the people.

That meant more government, true, but in the Jeffersonian deal. Taft supplemented Wilson with a philosophy for having the federal government help marginal people in our mass economy, and that meant still more government but still, too, in the Jeffersonian deal again Federal domination.

THE MODERN PROPHET of this "modern Republicanism" which is really time-long Americanism is not Ike but Taft. If Toynbee was right and history eventually rights itself, Taft will be saved from the reactionaries who sun themselves in his greater name than any they own. They need him so they take him, but he doesn't belong.

He was actually slightly left of Ike at the time of his death.

Would Ike have said as Taft had: "Our religious faiths have taught us our obligations to those who fall behind in the race for decent living . . . I believe that the federal government should aid education in those states below the average national income, should aid states to give free medical care to all those unable to pay for it, should assist local governments in eliminating slums and providing minimum decent housing, and should, in a crisis, undertake to assist states to provide food."

* * *

REPUBLICAN CHAIRMAN Alcorn, quoting Taft with this in the United States News, says Taft believed "that the party had to be responsive to the needs of the people and that it could be done within the framework of the traditional Republican principles."

* * *

AND THAT IS the big idea of Ike. He forgets or is swept off his feet at times, yes, in political or social enthusiasm or necessity as Taft would not have been because Taft's whole life was bound up in the philosophy as Eisenhower's, naturally, is not.

But this is what Ike believes. It is the direction in which he faces and it is a reverse direction from the Socialists and Fair Dealers.

GRAVES

Post Herald 3-14-57

Shed No Tears Now For Pinza

Sat. 5-11-57 B'ham, Ala.

P. 8

"Still dreaming of Paradise—
This nearly was mine. . . ."

* * *

Who that was ever young and grew slightly older, who that sings in secret a gallant song, who that knows love dies only in the dead and true love never then, who that walks the earth more romantic by far than humdrum contemporaries suppose,

who that is victim of a foul plot to make him out older than he is merely by accident of years, who that anticipates an enchanted evening anytime now—will not weep for Ezio Pinza!

3/8/57

His death recalls every song in South Pacific.

Those who would capture teen-agers from Igorotte stompings and adenoidal ravings have available in golden mean between such and rejected classics this light opera that made Pinza famous—the total vitality, robustitude, lift, tune and "contact" of South Pacific!

* * *

ALL OF OUTER space next week will be a suburb of our urb. The Conference sponsored by the Southern Research Institute for Thursday and Friday is described as "non-technical" and the subject-matters as "missiles, rockets, and space travel—and their impact on our times."

Outstanding on this fascinating program will be Air Force Surgeon-General Dan C. Ogle's talk on "space medicine." That has to do with how we-the-human-beings are going to feel about it all.

You can think offhand on many pills required.

For example, a distance pill. Something to calm you against that already familiar sense of being too far from home, of not being able to get back by candlelight.

You can have that even in Wichita.

* * *

WORD THAT Lewis M. Smith is ill in New York City sparks enough good wishes from more walks, ways, ages, accents and viewpoints to blow a fuse—or let a man take up his bed and walk. They'd better take good care of Lewis Smith up there. He's important to us.

* * *

"Speak softly and carry a big stick. . . ."

NEITHER TEDDY Roosevelt, who advised this in foreign affairs nor Jimmy Faulkner who recalled it approvingly here Wednesday on the race question proposed dodging any issues, we must believe. That would have been against their natures and the nature of their problems.

* * *

THERE CAN BE no softness of the straddler in any Alabama gubernatorial candidate next year, no matter how large a Negro vote is looming. Every candidate is going to be watched for that, I believe.

Sharp - sighted Grover Hall wrote Thursday that NAACP strategy seeems to be shifting from law suits to votes. "There has not been much NAACP battering on white school doors this year through law suits," he notes.

"This inactivity and the current movements to qualify new Negro voters suggests that there has been a change in strategy, that the ballot is now seen as the most reliable lever that can be gained in the struggle. . ."

This was bound to be. There is sure to be an increase in Negroes voting in the South, and we have no right to stop it or to damn our politicians, including candidates for governor who take it into account.

But two things stand out. One is that candidates cannot be allowed to talk two ways or to say one thing and mean something else or to talk big and act little.

The other is that our Legislature has voting qualifications rather than segregation laws as the biggest job before it now. Not tricky, two-timing qualifications that keep all possible colored people out and let all possible white ones in, but genuine qualifications that make for "human supremacy."

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald 3-10 White

Issue Will Be Joined

B'ham, Ala.

"A dangerous usurpation of power . . . no binding authority upon Vermont . . ." —Resolution of Vermont Legislature in 1857 against the Dred Scott Decision.

Mon. 3-11-57

Relying on its police powers, Florida's Supreme Court has refused to order a Negro admitted to the university in spite of a ruling by the United States Supreme Court that he should be.

This isn't as defiant as it sounds but it is defiant enough to suggest a coming time when sovereignty may face sovereignty under the compact of 13 nations called the Constitution of the United States.

A hundred years ago this month Northern states began interposing all over the place.

The Dred Scott decision so enraged the abolitionists that 22 states interposed against the Court, not only with resolutions declaring the opinion void, but with fresh laws effectively to make it so.

* * *

Conspicuous was Wisconsin. Already at odds with the United States Supreme Court the Wisconsin Supreme Court had flatly disregarded an order of the Federal Court to send up a record.

When the pro-Southern Dred Scott decision came, the Wisconsin Legislature resolved: "That the government formed by the Constitution was not the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself; but that, as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself . . ."

"A positive defiance" said Wisconsin, "is the rightful remedy of all unauthorized acts done under color of that instrument (the Constitution)."

* * *

THE CIVIL WAR settled secession but not interposition. It did not settle the question raised in that Wisconsin resolution. No Southern state today has gone as far as Wisconsin went in interposing its naked sovereignty against naked unsurpation.

Force and arms alone could settle it, of course. No one is proposing or expecting that. But, step by step, it seems, with Florida's Court taking the latest, this issue approaches joining.

* * *

LET US BELIEVE there is gathering, also, on the changing United States Supreme Court, in the awareness of the people of the United States and among members of the Congress, a will to remove this legally unanswerable issue with legal measures which in one way or another void the desegregation decision.

The philosophy of the latest nominee to the Court, Charles Evans Whittaker, is being combed for every comma.

He is disclosed as a jurist whose passion is the law alone.

He is free of the disease that persuades some of the present members to legislate in the name of the Lord, straining the Constitution in all directions and through every loophole in self-nomination for the doing of good.

* * *

Congratulations to Congressman Huddleston for the effective way he got into the Senate subcommittee record alongside Lamar Weaver's statement Lamar Weaver's record.

This was victory on the front line. The South's battleground is not in any Southern field between white and colored but in the legislatures, the courts and national opinion. The South needs to appear before the nation in all the intelligence and factualism it can muster.

George Huddleston is a resolute knight, not a foolish one.

* * *

"THE SOUTH is bucking both major parties," well-says Editor Russell in The Augusta Herald. Here's believing the South is going to make a dent in one or the other party, forward line of a push that wins one to the greatest degree of sates rights, decentralization and anti-socialism these times can contain.

But it won't if it gives itself to more of these than the times can indeed contain.

It's all a matter of degree. Those who want to go back too far play into the hands of those who want to go on and on.

* * *

IF THE ISSUE were between Alabama and Tuskegee alone i would make sense to say no state money could go to tha famous Negro institution if Negroes were being enrolled a white colleges.

WHITE(JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES)

But Tuskegee couldn't stop the enrollment effort if it would.

Charles Nice is right, I think. The effect might be simply to increase Negro pressure on white colleges.

GRAVES

Knowing Everything Not Enough

Post-Herald B'ham, Ala. Wed. 3-13-57

Sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought. . . .

* * * P. 10

We who have found the terrific ratiocinations (look that one up!) of Mrs. Nearing even more heart-rending and winsome than those of Charles Van Doren salute her as new champion of universal knowledge!

But something seems wrong when so much name, fame and fortune can come of knowing who the King of Belgium is.

Cultural — or educational — as the "21" television program may be, there is such a thing as cluttering up the mind with random information that may actually impede ratiocination.

* * *

THE PALE CAST of thought is the important thing, even if it makes you sick. And it is possible to know so much you have no room for thought.

The encyclopedia, after all, could never grow up and get to be President.

* * *

ISN'T THE MORAL, fellow earthlings, that knowing everything isn't everything.

* * *

THERE IS SOMETHING comfortable as well as consecrated and spiritual about the Rt. Rev Oliver J. Hart, bishop of Pennsylvania, who is making the noonday talks at the Church of the Advent this week.

I've just figured out what it is.

He is "North-and-South." Although born in South Carolina, his education and assign through a long life have about equally divided between the two parts of the country.

He appeals to you as England does—foreign yet home folks too, with the excitement of one, the kinship of the other.

* * *

WHEN SO DEVOTED a Southerner and man of God as John Buchanan mistakes the real nature of Citizens Councils and lumps them alongside the Klan for comparison with the NAACP in extremism, the harm done the Council movement in the Birmingham area by Agitators Kasper and Carter is plain.

If Dr. Buchanan should read the rosters of the Councils in Shreveport, Jackson, Columbia and other centers he could think them rosters of Rotary and Kiwanis for local leaderships and sobrieties.

* * *

We live and learn—and have second thoughts.

My second thought about the police in the Terminal Station fracas is still that they are to be praised for their main original job of protecting Agitator Shuttlesworth against the agitations he hoped to arouse.

But they should not have left Agitator Weaver to the trouble his own agitating was sure to bring when he left the station.

Why shouldn't both agitators have been arrested for obviously planned disturbances of the peace? And why should there not have been police to stop or arrest the men who attacked Weaver at the parking place?

Agitator Weaver deserved to be fined, it seems to me, for the damage and danger to others in his flight from the results of his agitations. But those who attacked him could have been arrested and punished, too, it would seem.

The bad smell for Birmingham was the NBC television story that Weaver had been both attacked and fined while his assailants went scot free, making him the martyr—pious and pluperfect—he desired to be.

* * *

GOING OVER this is worthwhile, it seems to me. I believe our police force and officials genuinely mean to put law and order above all else. If mistakes are made and recognized, they won't be made again.

In the tremendous interest of all of us, our police force has got to stick to its job of saving law and order. It can't afford to take sides.

Imagine the chaos for everybody — white and colored — if John Kasper or his buddy controlled our police. Or if Agitator Weaver did.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald 3-12

Budget Not Sacred

B'ham, Ala.

"Turning the clock back."

* * *

That's what conservative, pro-McCarthy, anti-Fair Deal David Lawrence calls the rash of isolationism that has broken out in America and afflicts some of our heretofore immune Southern leaders.

Thurs. 3-14-57

Budget-cutting and isolationism are not the same even though isolationists make them seem to be. The budget-cutting clamor needs to go on. It is called for and it is effective.

It should go far beyond those who say only 12 per cent of the budget is subject to cutting. The enormously major part of the budget is for national security but that doesn't mean it is untouchable. It can be searched for economies which efficiency, consolidation and avoidance of duplication, obsolescence and waste would make.

The big hope may lie in this. Security is a must, but there is nothing sacred to forbid combing its expenditures for their dollar's worth or waste.

The military are notoriously careless with money. Now that they are nearly the whole works, they need to be penny-wise.

* * *

ISOLATIONISM IS something else — or ought to be. David Lawrence does well to identify it with the 1920s and 1930s. It brought disaster enough then, but no such disaster as it can bring now.

* * *

THERE ARE atomic bombs now, and nuclears.

There are jet planes that will soon circle the earth in 24 hours without coming down.

There are atomic submarines that need never come up except for payday.

There are about to be guided missiles that can hit anywhere from anywhere.

There's about to be a man-made satellite, watching the whole planet at once.

There are radio waves which carry to the other side of the world faster than Bryan's voice at the Democratic convention of 1912 carried to the back row.

And there is Russia, bestriding half the earth infiltrating the other half, aggressing openly and secretly everywhere, without conscience or concern for man or God.

And, amid it all, earth's great place is—America.

* * *

AMERICANS in their senses are going to come to them, I believe.

We just forget. We've just been living with these dangers and immensities so long we've lost some of the necessary awareness of them, some of the eternal vigilance required, some of the sense of responsibility our supreme place means.

* * *

Write your congressman to cut the budget, yes, just as many business leaders are asking you to do, fellow Americans.

But put in a big postscript, to which equally many business leaders subscribe, saying you know the time of day.

* * *

A DEVOUT lady in Tuscaloosa, to whom religion means the world and who is kind to all God's creatures, was rudely and cruely interrupted in her prayers for peace last week when she came to a part in the National Council's World Day of Prayer service which petitioned: "May we work for integration, not only among the churches but also amidst all the nations."

Will heaven forgive the arrogance of those who, without sanction of man or God, or mandate anywhere, drag this issue ruthlessly into every service of man or God? What right has the National Council to interrupt this good woman's prayer's with its prejudice on a police and biological question?

* * *

HERE'S A COMPLIMENT so discriminating and prized that I by-pass my bottomless modesty? and report it. "Among newspapermen of the nation who write in harmony with their surroundings—and few achieve it," writes Dean Sims from the executive office of the National Management Association in Dayton, Ohio, "you are doing the most remarkable job of all." Camera, please!

* * *

THE NAACP, in southeast regional congress assembled, has approved a campaign to triple the number of Negro voters in these states by 1958. That is a laudable ambition for

Southerners both white and colored as the South prepares to be more strict and fair about voter qualification than ever before or than any other parts of the nation. Not only to intelligence to be accented now, I believe, but character and responsibility.

Especially in sex behavior.

If some say this is matching hypocrisy about democracy with hypocrisy about sex, so be it.

* * *

YOU CAN'T HELP thinking that if we do begin to have a new Supreme Court, as the United States News hints, and it wishes some day to modify the unconscionable desegregation desegregation decision without openly going back on it, it will reply on the principle on which our Birmingham city fathers are relying for bus segregation, to wit, police power and necessity.

Ditto for school placement laws.

We should try them on the "new Supreme Court anyhow.

GRAVES

Post-Herald

Van Doren Illustrates Tax Bite

Birm, Ala.

Sat. 3-16-57

p. 12

"Beautiful dreamer — wake unto me. . . ."

* * *

Last night, ah, yesternight, I dreamed of Mrs. Nearing.

An intellectual dream of course.

I dreamed she struck a blow for liberty and knowledge, too by dropping dramatically out of the "21" contest with her $14,000 on hand, explaining to a public robbed thus of an expected all-absorbing show that she was doing it to make America more conscious that while this is still a country where any little boy may hope to grow up and be Pesident it is no longer one where he—or she—may hope to grow up and build a fortune, however modest.

Not while the super-tax rates stand.

* * *

I DREAMED that she asked tears for Charles Van Doren, her predecessor, as he pays his income tax on the $134,000 he will have earned and has only $29,000 left.

Nothing so brings the monstosity home, for here is no rich man, only a school teacher with a salary of $4500 a year whose strivings in a booth the wide world happens to have looked at.

* * *

WITH THE PICTURE of super-taxed Mr. Van Doren should go, however, it seems to me, a picture of the foolish ones who demand abolition of the income tax altogether, a demand that will never be honored and that only impeaches the good sense of having the rates held within economic sanity and limited by law.

* * *

RE SNOBBISHNESS, Virginia's Mary McGavock, roaming in the gloaming through her Meadows Max, arrives at the thought there is such a thing as snobbish pride in not being snobbish. Democracy itself, she opines, may be "a form of inverted snobbishness."

That way leads to madness, Mary.

* * *

VIRGINIA'S VIRGINIUS Dabney, who wrote "Liberalism in the South" before the socialists and dealers stole the name, made an epochal speech to the National Association of Secondary School Principals last month.

It is reprinted in the current United States News.

With more courage than some of our "conservatives" he went straight to the mongrelization issue behind the integration quarrel. This, he reports truly, is the argument most influencing the South against mixed schools.

To those who sneer at it and say integration doesn't mean amalgamation, he suggests an opposite conclusion might come of a visit "most of the countries of South and Central America, with eyes open. . . ." And even if integration wouldn't mean amalgamation, he says, it would still be undesirable, for "the Negro should wish, no less than the white, to retain his racial identity and his cultural heritage."

* * *

NO ONE HAS labored more for the Negro's true advance in the South than Virginius Dabney. No Southerner has been more social-minded. But realism always brings him home at last on the South's problem.

I have teased him for years as one having to be constantly drawn back from national socialism and capital "L" Liberalism by the "centripetal force of Southern regional circumstances."

It should be of significance to the country educators that such a Southerner, while finding fault on both sides of this question, does not hesitate to tell the nation "there are no indications whatever of a shift of opinion" in the South, including his own Virginia, and that "the Deep South, it must be said in all frankness, has no present intention of integrating its public schools."

* * *

MR. DABNEY'S brave and helpful speech will not be winning any more Pulitzer prizes. The only Southerners who may hope for that now are those who avoid the issue at home by "discovering" it elsewhere.

* * *

IS IKE "IMPEACHING" the Supreme Court? Of his four appointees all but Warren seem to be "men of the law," devoted mainly to what new Justice Whittaker calls "an understanding of its meaning" rather than an adaptation of the meaning of some social ideal.

There's no knowing how much the court may have changed since the desegregation decision of 1954. It would seem worthwhile to get some fundamental cases up to it.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Post-Herald p. 12

Salute To The DAR

Birm, Ala.

Now it catches the gleam
Of the morning's first
beam. . . ."

F.M. 3-15-57

Salue to National President General Mrs. Frederick A. Groves, to State Regent Mrs. John T. Clarke and to Alabama's Daughters of the American Revolution assembled here while American revolution is being fought again and this time two ways at once!

What times for the true Daughter!

She is called to the colors against socialists to left of her, fascists to right of her, she is required to defend not only what made America but what America owes a dangerously shrunken world as earth's great place.

She is asked to be social-minded with all moderns and yet to remember as too many moderns forget that society is you and I, the individuals, and we've got to be good.

* * *

ESPECIALLY in America, of all the world, we have got to be good.

* * *

WHO WILL BE confronting whom in the 60s? The Daughters will be doing American revolution business as usual then of course, and need to know.

A book reviewer points out that the "confrontation" of the 50s has been of "the psychiatrist and the man of God," while in the 40s the "man of freedom locked wills with the totalitarian zealot," in the 30s "the worker at the barricades shook his fist at the bloated capitalist" and in the 20s "the disenchanted and emancipated young confronted their hypocritical elders."

And who will confront whom in the 60s?

The confrontation will be of quality with mere equality.

It has to be that—or we die.

As civilization is ever more complex, our common men can't be allowed to be too common, our lowest common denominator must have a limit on lowness.

Qualitarians will have to stand against mere equalitarians. No matter how the sentimentalists sob and the demagogs howl, rule by the people will have to have better people.

* * *

A REVOLUTION like this is a natural for the daughters, of course. And in Alabama and the South they needn't—and can't—wait for the 60s.

The confrontation must come right now. More even than the school segregation problem, we have the problem of Negro voting.

That vote is going to be demanded with more right and response than the demand for integrated schools. It can result in a dreadful revolution, or it can be the basis of a blessed revolution that lets the South shine above all other regions in the quality of its electorate and citizenship.

* * *

AGREEING WITH this column (and with Frank Samford) that the prospect of greatly increased Negro voting calls for instant attention by Southern legislatures to strict qualifications, Editor Tom Waring of The Charleston News and Courier agrees, too, that the qualifications must be fair, that many white citizens will have to be disqualified with the colored, and that God in His mysterious way may thus give the South an electorate not merely of white supremacy "but of human supremacy, one with the mental and moral excellences which must come to democracy everywhere if it is not to die on its lowest common denominator.

"We believe," says Editor Waring, "that South Carolina is capable of administering a test fairly and decently."

I believe it of Alabama.

* * *

"O, SAY CAN YOU SEE by the dawn's early light . . .?" There is dawning in Americans a realization that their much-touted "Progressive" education has been debasing them with its pamperments and laxities . . . Read the current United States News.

It may be beginning to dawn upon Americans that their sentimentalities for racial integration threaten still greater debasement through physical, spiritual and cultural mongrelizations that rob us of what makes us earth's great place.

* * *

WE WILL HAVE Russia to thank if the menace of her competition and cold war brings these two dawns. For we are faced with the fact that we can't go on winning the cold war or outrivalling Russia if our people are either pampered or polluted.

And racial mixture is pollution —for both races.

* * *

IMAGINE THE SITUATION of the people if certain South American counrties were substituted for us and given the job of manning and running the United States in a world that contains Russia!

Or if the whole United States were manned and womanned by Progressive Education's spoiled and spoon-fed namby-pambies!

Post-Herald

Birm, Ala.

Tues. 3-26-57

p. 12

EDITOR HERVE CHAREST, of The Tallassee Tribune, was visited the other day by John Kasper and the only one of his two buddies who dares admit it now — Admiral Crommelin. Editor Charest found Kasper a "mild-appearing, affable man," frankly anti-Semitic and convinced that newspapers are "controlled by a web of communists and Jews."

It is said that "a man may smile and smile and be a villain still," but Kasper and company are not villains. They are something far more dangerous — crack-brained fanatics with messiah complexes, honestly dedicated to a hate-mongering demonism, rabble-rousing and eventual violence that do the South's cause incalculable harm.

Happily they are being recognized now for what they are — and repudiated.

By - John Temple Graves

IF THEY SMILE, talk sweet, look pretty, if one has a fine voice, eloquence and clarity of speech, if two are personable — that is what makes them as dangerous as they are foolish.

And one proposes actually to be police commissioner of the great key city of Birmingham! God forbid!

* * *

THOSE WHO remember when the NAACP was a responsible organization can't recognize it now. Its current folder, entitled in enormous letters "Mis is For Mississippi and Murder" would have you believe something like a general massacre is in process. Yet all it can report is three.

To fill the empty space it uses such headlines as "Blood On Marble Steps" over what is only a Jackson editor's reasonable prediction that bloodshed would follow an attempt to send Negro children to school with whites in the state; and "Gun and Torch" over a Mississippi Bar Association president's merely factual statement that this is one of three ways of conti[illegible] segregation — but is "abho[illegible] to him. And so forth, a[illegible] seam.

* * *

"WE WOULD appreciate comment" invites a printe[illegible] from the NAACP's Roy W[illegible]

Mine is that such want[illegible] dishonest hate-peddling [illegible]fies every action Southern[illegible] are taking against the N[illegible] It is treason to truth, d[illegible] and the peace and order [illegible] United States.

NEGRO (WILLIAM GORDON)

31a 1957

REVIEWING THE NEWS

31a negro

BY WILLIAM GORDON

When Character Sits In Office . . .

He took me over to the window where the light of the Sun was strong. Daily Record

"Take a look," he said, "good look. This city is being run with men of character. We have Negroes on every important city government committee, not as Negroes, but as men of character."

The thought has remained. It became alive again last week when we had two Negroes to run in the Atlanta primary election, both of substantial character. P. 4

I don't need to sell the names of Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University and T. M. Alexander, Atlanta businessman to the public. They have already made their marks.

Both represent the calibre and kind of men seeking public office that the Mayor of a North Carolina town talked about a few months ago. In this particular Southern city Negroes are represented at almost every governmental level. They have been picked for various posts, without opposition. They sit on the library and hospital boards, and represent their communities with distinction. Atlanta, Ga.

Many other deep South cities are gradually beginning to accept the Negro public official for what he is, a capable, well trained skillful person, not narrowed by prejudice.

Sun. 5-12-57

"The letter I received from a Negro candidate the other day," said a Southern businessman, "was superior in every sense. It actually put his opponents far into the background."

The Negro public servant can learn a lesson from his white counterpart. He will not make the mistakes of the demagogues, the corrupt-minded official seeking office for his own personal gains. He knows the brunt of neglect, the poverty and the grind linked with being without. The Negro public official has too much at stake, not only his own reputation, but that of an entire race which rests on his shoulders. He must make good wherever he serves. The South is gradually getting around to accepting this.

The Negro public servant takes his lesson from history. Where dishonesty, corruption and inefficiency prevail, not a few but many people have lost and failed. Decisions in government cannot be made on the basis of race, color or creed. Public office is a sacred trust and that principle cannot be sacrificed for the sake of expediency. Good government prevails only when character sits in office.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

31a negro

BY WILLIAM GORDON

15,000 Stood Without Hatred . . .

P. 4 Herald Sun 5-19-57

Ask those who have been there. They'll tell you of the reverence, the spiritual uplift and the sacredness found in the shadow of the monument of the man who saved the Union.

One can almost see the woman, even to this day, a black woman, standing with tears dripping down her ebony cheeks, holding her small child high above her head to get a view over the crowd during the funeral procession in April 1865.

"Look, take a good look child. There goes the man who set you free." Atlanta, Ga.

Friday, May 17, 1957 over 15,000 men and women stood in the shadow of the Lincoln Memorial, listening to speeches with the same feeling and force of the Gettysburg address. Their appeals were without bitterness or hate. They were more in line with what the Great Emancipator would have said himself if alive today.

"Give us the ballot and we will no longer have to worry the Federal government about our basic rights," they said.

There was protest; the kind calling for full human decency the kind already promised through the U. S. Constitution.

There was demonstration, not the kind of a Monroe, Georgia lynch mob, and not one seeking revenge for the Emmett Till case, but that advocating free use of the ballot to every American citizen, regardless of color.

There were featured speeches by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. labor leader A. Philip Randolph, educator Dr. Mordecai Johnson, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell and Rep. Charles Diggs. The tone of their talks was without emotions. They did not trade on ignorance as is the practice of the politician with a vested interest.

They did not advise hate as is the manner and methods of those who cling to the moth-eaten myth of white supremacy.

There was prayer in their hearts. There was sympathy and feeling for the bigot who tries to tell his child that black folk have no rights that a white man is bound to respect.

There was no hatred or malice for the white man. Although two-thirds of the people in the world are colored, there was no attempt to generate dislike for the white man. As the crowd faded away, as it did when the great Emancipator's funeral procession left Washington, April 23, 1865, one could almost hear these utterances: "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do."

REVIEWING THE NEWS

World P. 2
B'ham, Ala.
31 a ago

BY WILLIAM GORDON

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Wed. 5-22-57

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REVIEWING THE NEWS

World Wed. 7-24-57
B'ham, Ala. P. 6

BY WILLIAM GORDON

31 a ago

The South Takes The Low Road

Not so long ago, a young Negro lawyer stood before a judge in a large Southern town. It was a tense moment when he spoke; white and Negro alike, stood almost at attention listening to proceedings.

"It will be left with the South," he said, "to take the low or the high road in granting full human rights to the Negro. Take the low road, and you will lose many of your best citizens, white and Negro. Much of the rabble will be left and a new crop of hate groups will emerge to haunt you."

The attorney was pleading for the entrance of a young Negro into a Southern medical school. Even the judge did not overlook the fact that, perhaps, more than any other profession, medicine is one of the most crippled, the least considered, yet the need is most vast. The South suffers miserably from the shortage of doctors and other specialists. So, instead of taking the initiative to improve conditions generally, the South has taken the low road. The net result has spilled over into international feelings.

"We no longer want to talk with the segregationists," a newspaperman from Europe said recently. "We know their story from the Lucy case, and more recently, we are getting it from debates in the Senate on Civil Rights."

In electing to take the low road, the South continues to cripple itself. It has permitted a group in Louisiana to purge as many as 10,000 names, mostly Negroes from the qualified voters list. It has allowed people in 13 parishes to be challenged by members of the White Citizens Council.

The South has permitted itself to sink so far into apathy, that in Alabama, the little town of Tuskegee is suffering from a boycott due to action by the legislature.

So ingrained is the feeling of prejudice that whites are cutting away their own freedom in an effort to cripple Negroes. But the Negro is not the ultimate loser; it is the South that suffers and the nation also.

The South suffers for lack of leadership. It has dropped to the level of groups like the National Association for the Preservation of the White Race, Inc.; The Southerners of Mobile, Alabama; Florida States Righters, and the Heritage Crusade of Gulfport, Miss.

The nation suffers, because the South has become a millstone, a burden of stagnation, embarrassment and frustration that plagues it before the eyes of the free world. It's most unfortunate, but today, we are further away from the true ideals of the freedom we have fought several wars to preserve, all because the South has elected to take the low instead of the high road of reasoning.

REVIEWING THE NEWS
World P. 6
Wed. 8-21-57
BY WILLIAM GORDON
31 B'ham, Ala.

Never Tell Him He's Inferior

It was one of those typical school days in the late fall. The principal of Oak Ridge High School at Oak Ridge, Tennessee had been very obliging in showing us about the building of almost 2,000 pupils. About 300 Negro pupils dotted the various class rooms.

"Willie is a nice boy and I want to help him," spoke a middle-aged white woman, a teacher, whose parents came from Memphis, Tennessee.

"He feels that he is behind in his studies. He is smart, alert and above the average, so I remain here evenings after school to help him."

Willie was not a special case, even at Oak Ridge; many white children fell into the same category. Willie's main handicap was that he came from an environment, void of the necessary tools. He had little basic training in the fundamentals of English, history and math. His mother had recently died. He didn't even know where his father was at the time. He came to Oak Ridge with his mother from some place in Arkansas. His background represented what most Negroes are given in Southern schools, overcrowded conditions, an inferior study plan and teachers without equipment to work with. Despite his background, he had been running twice as fast to get half as far. And the distance by uphill grade, is a long way from Arkansas to Oak Ridge. It is a long way for Negroes anywhere in the South who have to run and make the best of their poor education facilities.

The recent Atlanta, Georgia school board study is indicative of the results as well as the struggles, Negroes face in preparing themselves for society. The study, which revealed that Negroes finish four grades behind whites in the public schools gave only one side of the picture in the summary report.

Whatever the results, there should have been a footnote saying: "Don't tell him he's inferior." Back of these results are conditions varied and sundry. The fact that Negroes stood up as well as they did is amazing in terms of the conditions they face. Basically, there is no inferiority.

A white South African says this about the African natives, fighting in World War II.

"Their capacity for learning is amazing. They not only adjust easily; they master the most complicated technical machinery."

He told of the trip across the continent, finally into North Africa.

"They only had to hear a language spoken once," he said.

"It took them only a short while to speak Arabic in North Africa. By the time we reached Italy, they were speaking Italian fluently. There was simply no match for them."

The South African's story reminded me of the Olmstead trip through the Deep South in the early 1850's. He met Negroes in Selma, Alabama who had mastered the tunes of several operas after hearing their masters hum them only once. There was the Negro builder who directed a force of whites under his master's orders; the Negro ministers whose grasp of the Bible amazed the most learned. Even today, there is the story of the barefoot boy, recently from his father's farm, where he has worked on tractors and other equipment. Today, he holds a top job in an automobile firm in a large Southern city. He has puzzled the best minds in modern mechanics with his genius of the automatic transmission. He holds no degree and his education does not go beyond the high school level. There are millions such Negroes, victims of a Deep South culture, crippled by the lack of opportunity. Time proves there is no biological shortcomings with the Negro. So, never tell him he's inferior.

REVIEWING THE NEWS
Daily World P. 4
Sun. 8-18-57
BY WILLIAM GORDON
31 Atlanta, Ga.

Never Tell Him He's Inferior

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REVIEWING THE NEWS

World P. 6
Wed. 8-21-57
31a
B'ham, Ala.

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REVIEWING THE NEWS

Daily World P. 4
Sun. 8-18-57
31
Atlanta, Ga.

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Willie was not a special case, even at Oak Ridge; many white children fell into the same category. Willie's main handicap was that he came from an environment, void of the necessary tools. He had little basic training in the fundamentals of English, history and math. His mother had recently died. He didn't even know where his father was at the time. He came to Oak Ridge with his mother from some place in Arkansas. His background represented what most Negroes are given in Southern schools, overcrowded conditions, an inferior study plan and teachers without equipment to work with. Despite his background, he had been running twice as fast to get half as far. And the distance by uphill grade, is a long way from Arkansas to Oak Ridge. It is a long way for Negroes anywhere in the South who have to run and make the best of their poor education facilities.

The recent Atlanta, Georgia school board study is indicative of the results as well as the struggles, Negroes face in preparing themselves for society. The study, which revealed that Negroes finish four grades behind whites in the public schools gave only one side of the picture in the summary report.

Whatever the results, there should have been a footnote saying: "Don't tell him he's inferior." Back of these results are conditions varied and sundry. The fact that Negroes stood up as well as they did is amazing in terms of the conditions they face. Basically, there is no inferiority.

A white South African says this about the African natives, fighting in World War II.

"Their capacity for learning is amazing. They not only adjust easily; they master the most complicated technical machinery."

He told of the trip across the continent, finally into North Africa.

"They only had to hear a language spoken once," he said. "It took them only a short while to speak Arabic in North Africa. By the time we reached Italy, they were speaking Italian fluently. There was simply no match for them."

The South African's story reminded me of the Olmstead trip through the Deep South in the early 1850's. He met Negroes in Selma, Alabama who had mastered the tunes of several operas after hearing their masters hum them only once. There was the Negro builder who directed a force of whites under his master's orders; the Negro ministers whose grasp of the Bible amazed the most learned. Even today, there is the story of the barefoot boy, recently from his father's farm, where he has worked on tractors and other equipment. Today, he holds a top job in an automobile firm in a large Southern city. He has puzzled the best minds in modern mechanics with his genius of the automatic transmission. He holds no degree and his education does not go beyond the high school level. There are millions such Negroes, victims of a Deep South culture, crippled by the lack of opportunity. Time proves there is no biological shortcomings with the Negro. So, never tell him he's inferior.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

World, Atlanta, Ga. P. 4
Sun. 10-20-57
31a Negro

BY WILLIAM GORDON

The Back Seat For 300 Years . . .

A tall dark man walked with us until we reached our car parked along a beautiful well-kept street where all of the houses were painted.

"I came north for a better opportunity," he said. "If I could have gotten this, "pointing to his home," the South would have the place for me."

This gentleman of above average in intelligence, is among the seven million people, white and Negro who have emancipated themselves from the South during the last decade. Negroes represent a million of this total.

The reasons back of this exodus are varied. Whatever the conditions, the poverty, the peonage and the segregation in the South, those who left the region never resorted to violence. There is no place in history that points to defiance of the law, mob violence by Negro Americans against laws they themselves didn't believe in. And many of such laws have directed against them, designed for suppression and exploitation. Many Negroes who envisioned no end to segregation or discrimination in the South naturally sought better conditions for their families. The man in the north is an example and the trend continues.

Those of us who remain in the South, work and look forward for a better day, also expect a change of heart in many of our white neighbors. At least we expect to see them obey the law, as we have been doing without stubborn defiance for more than 300 years.

Although, jim-crow is a man-made thing, we have taken the back seats because the law said we should.

We have fought in all the wars, defending our country, even for the preservation of democracy, although we share very little in the real freedom. Our loyalty has been without question.

We ignored the British who promised us freedom during the Revolutionary War. Over 5,000 of us fought with George Washington, because even then, we believed a "new day" would finally come.

For decades we observed the "artificial practices" of the so-called white primary and waited until the High Court outlawed it in 1946 before taking our rightful place at the ballot boxes in many parts of the South. We have attended segregated schools, although they have been and still dreadfully inferior. We ride in the rear of buses and we are still refused service in hotels and restaurants on the basis of race. We are embarrassed, humiliated and often denied even our own self respect because the laws of segregation dictate the pattern.

Our skills have been ignored, even where labor has been needed. The pattern of segregation has robbed us of health, happiness and security, yet we have continued to work along in the South hoping for the right day and the right law. Irrespective of conditions, we have labored and we have waited. But we have yet to mass a mob in defiance of the law. We have taken the back seat for over 300 years, within the framework of the South-imposed law. Now that segregation is dying legally, we find the shoe on the other foot. We now expect of Southern whites what they have gotten from us during the last three centuries, respect for law and order.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

31a Negro

BY WILLIAM GORDON

The Miracle At Mackinac

MACKINAC ISLAND, Michigan — The American Indians came here more than 300 years ago to throw off their shackles of hate. P. 6 Wed. 9-11-57

"It seems not by accident," someone said, "that the Assembly of Nations is currently meeting here and basically for the same purpose. Birmingham Ala.

Today, you drive or go by train to the city of Mackinaw; leave your car and take a small boat over to the island surrounded by two of the world's great waterways, Lake Michigan and Lake Huron. It is much easier today to get there. One can imagine what happened centuries ago when the Indians paddled their small canoes across the choppy waters of the great lakes. During the great winters, when the ice comes, it is possible to walk across.

Wrong.

But the Indians came, irrespective of the kind of weather. They came when there was no war, when they wanted peace and to talk to the Great Spirit at a place on the Island called the Arch Rock.

Today, men are still going to Mackinac; not by tribes but as nations. We met them from more than 63 different countries; men and women of position and status. They are also in search of peace, and an ideology, a superior ideology that begins with man's soul and not with just and greed. They call it Moral Re-Armament, based on the principles of absolute honesty, purity,

It was more than a quarter of a century ago, in 1921, when an American, Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman conceived these four basic principles. Seeing what war and greed had done to the souls of man, this man has dedicated the greater portion of his life, not merely preaching Moral Re-Armament, but living it. Because of his beliefs, nations have come together, prayed together. Men and women come from around the world to meet Moral Re-Armament. More than 5,000 have visited the Canadian breeze-swept Island of Mackinac this year and they are still coming.

There were Chinese, Japanese, Englishmen, Burmese, Germans, Africans and Asiatics, many holding high places in their governments have come to Mackinac.

Although, MRA had its beginning in Europe and is still deeply rooted there, Americans are also awakening to the miracle taking place in their midst. It is not unlikely to meet people from almost every state in the Union, including those from the Deep South. There were those from Mississippi, Georgia and Alabama.

Aside from the vast mixture of races, nationalities and cultures, one is struck by the harmony, peace and respect that go to make up a pattern found in no other part of the world today. More than this, one is struck by the change that comes over men and women, the change that turns people from enemies to friends, from the lack of respect for God to that of a Supreme Being.

One is also struck by the force of Moral Re-Armament that brings a stream of representatives from nations that come to the Island, not to mass for warfare, not to study how to increase the forces of destruction, but to rearm morally and to arrive at an understanding, that in order to help save the world, there must first be a reexamination of one's own soul.

Here on this Island, where men met more than three centuries ago to find themselves and their God, a revolution is taking place; not with guns and tanks and hate, but in the hearts of men. They call it MRA, but a clearer definition would reveal "the miracle at Mackinac."

REVIEWING THE NEWS

World Wed. 3-20-57
B'ham, Ala.
P. 6

BY WILLIAM GORDON
Managing Editor
Atlanta Daily World

The Light That Burned 130 Years

It is now a part of history, that cold day in January in New York back in 1827 when two young Negroes came together to pool their ideas. The date is most significant, even to this day; it was the inception of the Negro Press.

John Russwurm and Richard E. Cornish founded Freedom's Journal, the first Negro newspaper in America. It is significant today, because during this very week, we celebrate the 130th anniversary of one of America's most formidable institutions, the Negro Press.

Perhaps, there is no other institution in American life which has had such an impact and left such a lasting mark on the souls and minds of Americans as the Negro newspaper.

In a sense, even in this year of 1957, we come not to bury the Negro Press, but instead to praise it. For despite all the social and economic changes in our present culture, the Press is here to stay. The reasons are sound and numerous.

First of all, one must be willing to examine the purpose and climate from which the Press had its inception. Human slavery was in existence at the time in America, and the Press was created to fight it. People had to be informed with the practices; people had to be persuaded to eliminate such practices. Even the Negro had to be taught that, he was not in reality a slave, but a human being. He had to become convinced that the same red blood that ran beneath his dark skin was no different from that of the Indian, the white man or the brown man. He had to be taught some pride; pride in himself, his family and respect for his own institutions.

The year of 1827 was only the beginning, and as the institution has grown, it has taken on momentum; like a snowball, it has increased its weight and force, gathering speed as it rolls down the mountain of enlightenment. And perhaps more than anything else, the Negro Press has held to those principles of democracy.

As far back as World War I, while Negroes fought and died to make the country safe for democracy, their families back home were the victims of injustices. The Press exposed these. The result was that decent whites in America along with people abroad, began to work for the greater realization of a democratic society.

The Press took the initiative during World War II. With the tremendous manpower shortage, Negroes were being denied the right to work and the right to fight for their country. Again, the Press came to the front, exposing the bigotry, and injustices. The result from this move took the problem to the desk of the President of the United States. Action brought us Executive Order 8802 (FEPC).

It also set the climate for more constructive opinion by big manufacturers and business men. As one man observed when he entered one of his plants and saw no Negroes working:

"There would be far less white crosses in Europe today, if there were more black hands along these assembly lines."

The Press has been far more than a weapon of persuasion. It has done a tremendous job of education. It has taught both whites and Negroes respect for the individual person. It has beat against the conscience of the white man to the degree that he has become ashamed of some practices. To many, the Press has been the Bible of reality, truth and a destruction to the image and stereotype.

To the Negro the Press has been an institution out of which he has gained pride, a keen sense of dignity and self reliance. Because of this, today, nobody can substantially tell the Negro that he is not somebody.

The period of 130 years may have been a long time in terms of years along with the conditions and problems born out of such an era. But to the Negro Press, as an institution, it is relatively a short time. This is most magnificent in terms of what it has done in defense of democracy, and decency in the world. It is the light that has burned for 130 years.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

World P. 8
Sat. 4-6-57

BY WILLIAM GORDON
Managing Editor
Atlanta Daily World
B'ham, Ala.

"My Father Fought The Klan . . . ."

We were told to follow the red arrow to the top of the stairs. We did, until we came to a smiling friendly receptionist who said: "He'll see you in just a minute."

It was the typical busy Southern newspaper city room. Two things stood out most; the seemingly genuine courtesy, and a plaque on the wall, dating back to the middle twenties. This alone, brought to mind two things of historical interest. It was during the twenties that American big business really reached its maturity, historians say. The second thing was the re-emergence of social unrest. For some ,money was plentiful during this period, but for others, there was unrest, intimidation. The latter could be traced to the power of the Ku Klux Klan, riding high over the country. It became so powerful that, anyone wanting to be elected to high political office, had to carry a Klan card. This prevailed in 24 states.

When we finally entered the office of this young Southern editor, we inquired about the plaque on the wall.

"It was given to my father," he said. "He fought the Ku Klux Klan during the twenties." Then he stopped, smiled and asked us to sit down. And at this point, he broke into a brief conversation

about the activities of hate groups during his father's day. One didn't have to guess that he felt proud in telling the story.

"But, unlike my father," he added, "I'm stuck with St. Martin."

His father had received the Pulitzer Prize for fighting against racial and religious bigotry. As an editor, his father had waged an almost single-handed battle against the riding wave of the hooded Ku Klux Klan during this "most dangerous" period, and won his fight. The young editor wanted us to know that he appreciated everything his father did for decency, but also wanted us to know that he faced an entirely different situation today.

"Those I have to fight," he said, "are men who wear business suits, not hoods and bed sheets. Some even wear the Sunday clothing of a minister but do not burn crosses in the neighbor's yard. I'm fighting the invisible."

He was right. The group he's fighting today has a new shade of character. Instead of torches and bon fires, this group parades behind the "robe of respectability." They are church-going, religiously inspired," and they bend their knees at the altar and pray to a God who has never made a difference.

In the old days, one could tell, he said. But today, no one knows what shade of character your neighbor might possess. He was right.

Members of the White Citizens' Councils, make no parades; they can do a lot of damage otherwise. They can make it difficult for people to be hired, who might be members of the NAACP. They can quietly force people to their way of thinking through means of economic pressure. Jobs can be withheld, mortgages can be stopped and not granted. Whole projects can be held up and whole careers can be destroyed by those who parade behind the cloak of economic pressure groups.

The young editor liberal, democratic in his thinking, realized that the day of paternalism, segregation and bigotry have no place in a democratic social order. But this realization is not sufficient, for while the world has moved forward socially, politically and economically, complexities also have followed. His task is much greater than his father's was. Today he fights an enemy which lurks in the dark, behind the desk, in the legislatures and even higher places. Moreover, he has St. Martin to deal with.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

31a Negro

BY WILLIAM GORDON

While Jim Crow Sits In The Pews....

Daily World Tues, 5-7-57

The melody of the hymns rolled from his throat like the music of a bird in spring. Ever since that bright Sunday morning in Cambridge, when the young man from Malaya sang the Christian songs with such feeling, I have wondered why jim crow continues to sit in the pews.

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His forebears did not know Christianity; he was converted on the basis of its meaning and influence to man's soul. There are millions who have followed the wisdom of the Malayan, but there are many more millions who still let jim crow, instead of Christ make the decisions.

Southern churchmen, white and Negro know this better than anyone else. This may account for the small number of churchmen attending the recent Protestant meeting in Nashville. But numbers don't always represent the thinking, and reasoning deep in the souls of men.

"I always felt there were many others in the South that felt as I did," said a minister from North Carolina," who summed up the conference for the 300 out of 4,000 who came, "but I was never sure. Now I know that there are at least 299 others."

He was right. There are others, an estimated 160 unsegregated Christian churches in the South. There are interracial ministerial associations in more than 20 Southern cities. And if one would poll the church population closely, he would find many more whites who are willing to accept Christ instead of jim crow.

Like the North Carolina minister, there are Chinese, Indians and men of many shades who read and digest the Scriptures without the emphasis on color.

A South African editor summed it up this way:

"The church has basic obligation, to adhere to the moral and ethical principles of Christian teachings. Without this approach, our religion is a farce and an opiate to bigotry."

Dr. Benjamin Mays of Atlanta has also stated it clearly.

"We speak the same language ..... worship the same God ..... and fight for the same flag, wouldn't it have been wonderful if the church had led the Supreme Court?"

The materialists have been more fundamental in their thinking than many Southern churchmen. At least, there is a central line of reasoning; not two sides to the God they follow. I'm sure they wonder what kind of prayer one prays, and the nature of sermon one preaches, while jim crow sits in the pews.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

World 8

31a Negro

BY WILLIAM GORDON

From 1776 To Little Rock

Sat. 11-5-57

"We hold these truths to be self evident . . ."

In terms of a man's life, the period when these words were uttered was a long, long time; but in case of an institution, the period is relatively short.

Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, was an exception. He also was an institution. But far more significant than mere physical existence is basically that spiritual substance which outlives that which is made of flesh and blood.

The group that gathered with Thomas Jefferson in 1776 to write the Declaration of Independence has long been part of the dust of the earth. The same is true of the group that gathered with George Washington at Philadelphia to write the Constitution. These men are all dead, but the spirit of the times and force of meaning still live with us.

Those who have been trying to exploit the Little Rock issue for personal and political purposes should read both of these documents and especially the Declaration of Independence. The fact that it has cost the U. S. government more than three mil-

lollars to keep troops on duty at Little Rock should have meaning in comparison to the concepts of these two docu-

esident of the United States was looking far beyond prejudice, even selfish reasoning, when he ordered troops to the spot. His actions had to be based on something far more fundamental. One is almost inclined to feel that he was taking his orders from the spirit of Thomas Jefferson, the man of stature and vision.

By nature, both men had to maintain a different kind of perception. They looked not at those who would destroy, defame or molest other fellow citizens. The mobs, the would-be-lynchers and segregationists, all will meet their fate. Even a few years will take care of the mobs at Little Rock. A few years will also take care of the man who generated the incident. But the Spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution will live on. They are not man-made instruments, but spiritual in their origin. The President of the United States knows this. He also knows that the period is very short between 1776 and the time of the Little Rock incident.

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REVIEWING THE NEWS

World Wed. 1-30-57
B'ham, Ala.

BY WILLIAM GORDON
Managing Editor
Atlanta Daily World

31a

P. 6

We Need To Invite More Dark People; Our Lives May Depend On Them . . . .

It was exciting that morning, when the train pulled into the Atlanta Terminal station carrying a private coach in which traveled the President of Liberia. The head of a state was arriving.

It was my second experience, seeing newsmen, television people, radio and otherwise, crowd the area to greet a member of the darker races.

President Tubman was one of the several important officials to be invited as special guest of the President of the United States.

There was Emperor Haile Selassie, the little brown man who many years ago, told the West that someday, it would have to reconcile the position of darker people in the world. Since this prediction, the dictators of the doctrine of white supremacy, Hitler and Mussolini, have met their dreadful fate.

The head of Haiti, officials from the Philippines, and other countries have come to talk with the President of the United States. More recently, it was India's Nehru, the man whom some say, holds the trump card between Soviet Communism and Western democracy. It will be Nehru, they say, who will determine which road all Asia will take in this new struggle between a free world and dictatorship. Nehru belongs to those who ally themselves with the darker races of the world. These races represent much of the unrest, the tension areas; they are fighting to acquire that which all freedom loving peoples want, justice and equality. It would be stupid to think otherwise.

President Eisenhower has been wise in inviting these people. Like Lincoln, he realized that no part of a country or world is free, while part of it remains in "chains." The existence of the free world will determine how free men are everywhere. So he invites them here to get a look at what freedom is, and at the same time, talk to them about problems of their respective countries. It is good that they keep coming.

The President is far ahead of his enemies and much more alert than his critics, both here and abroad. He realizes that this exchange of human ideas, is a two-way street; these people and their countries also have something we want.

First of all, we want and need their friendship to combat the Red propaganda. They need our leadership and our financial aid to help exploit their own potential resources. They want to be free, and we have pledged to help keep them that way.

Then there is the economic side. The more recent visitor will be King Saud of Saudi Arabia. King Saud knows that they have the resources we need, the vast oil reserves. Out of this desert country and the Middle East comes more than 80 per cent of the world's oil. This is extremely vital to human life. It takes oil to turn the wheels of industry, run the ships, planes and jets. Europe would wither and die without it. Much of civilization would crumble. The reserves of these countries, with black people heading them, is vital to our natural existence. So the President is wise to invite them. Those who continue to twist, distort and muddle the issues on race, should wake up before its too late; it may not be so far away when they should be thankful that more black people are around. Life itself may depend on this.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

BY WILLIAM GORDON
Managing Editor
Atlanta Daily World

31a

Sun. 2-17-57

P. 4

"They Come To See The Negro" . . .

An expert in the field of international relations and American diplomacy, recently came up with this observation:

"Let's not kid ourselves. People from Asia, Africa and Europe come to the U. S. to see the Negro, not necessarily our vast wealth and resources. They already know where we stand there; in many instances, better than most Americans themselves."

The observation is interesting. It so happens that I know from experience, that this person, has for many years, been conducting tours for people over the United States and has been in direct touch with some of the top leaders in the world. Such a revelation is made in strict confidence by some, while others make it their business to reveal their inner feelings. Such was the case of two top government officials from Malaya.

"I was stunned for a moment," one said, "When I left my plane at the Atlanta airport, and entered the waiting room. I saw signs for "Colored" across the rest rooms. I was puzzled as to what to do, for in my country, people of my complexion are referred to as Colored. How do you people manage?" he asked, "if one is dark and the other is light?"

The man travelling with him was extremely peeved. "This sort of thing could not exist in Asia," he said.

An African and member of the Southern Rhodesian parliament, had this experience:

"When I took my train in California, I was assigned a seat next to a white man. He seemed extremely annoyed. At one time he complained to the conductor. When he was told the law said "no discrimination," he remained, but only because no other seat was available. He was from one of the Southern states." Later, he became astonished when another white man began to talk to me, at which time it was discovered I was from Africa. The rest of the trip was different, for my Southern companion spent a good deal of time telling me how well we white folk love and respect Negroes."

A group of army officers from the little country of Laos ridiculed the "stupidity" of fighting the U. S. Supreme Court when the body has been designated to interpret and pass on the Constitution.

A foreign news editor from Switzerland couldn't see any race problem in the South except that "promoted by those wanting to maintain bigotry and paternalism." He found Negroes intelligent, not race-baiters in their protests against segregation, but ambitious Americans who looked to the Constitution for equality. He was amazed at the patience and manner in which they worked for equality. English officials have been most amazed at the way Negroes conduct themselves on social issues.

Experts and research centers have reported the attitudes of foreign people toward the Negro in America, and not a single report yet, has been negative. Moreover, they represent international sympathy, not primarily for the Negro as a race, but the Negro as a fellow human being, maintaining the same loves and aspirations as other freedom loving people.

"My experience," said another expert," is that people from abroad use the Negro in America as a yardstick, an index by which they judge our democratic ideals. Wealth and industrial power are secondary; it's what is happening to human beings that counts. No one is free until all is free. No country can talk freedom until all of its citizens are without the legal bounds of peonage political, and economic. They come to America to judge us. They come here, most of all to see the Negro."

REVIEWING THE NEWS

World Wed. 2-27-57
B'ham, Ala.
31a
Negro
P. 6

BY WILLIAM GORDON
Managing Editor
Atlanta Daily World

"Whom The Gods Would Destroy . . ."

Some may call it humility, but I'd rather refer to it as simply common sense. It's an attribute that men and nations can live by. The more articulate, has used it as a means of survival. The Negro in America is blessed for having a lot of it. He has learned long ago, that "Whom the Gods will destroy, they first made mad."

Although, there have been plenty of times when the Negro should get mad rightfully so, he has held his temper, controlled his emotions, and went on to make his enemy the point of stupidity.

One is mindful of the Negro musician a few night ago, who stood blowing a horn before an unprecedented crowd. Someone, representing the more "fanatical segregationist elements" threw a stick of dynamite, ripping a four-foot hole in the mud near the building where the concert was in progress. The more than 3,000 fans, most of which were white, remained to listen and watch Louis Armstrong finish the concert.

The incident, like many others, directed at Negroes, will only serve to gain him a greater box office. It will attract, not detract, even more white people to his shows. Armstrong was calm and used common sense when he said "the horn knows no racial trouble."

The Montgomery bombings which hit churches, reducing some to rubble, did not silence the chant for the Negro in his fight for freedom. Such lawless incidents helped to herald his cause to the world where men believe in freedom and democracy.

The hysterical, and sometimes fanatical efforts by politicians to pass segregation bills have served further to limit the freedom of white people. The sting of bigotry is not new to the Negro.

The impact of social change has not made him a bitter, hysterical and angry person, even when he has been bombed out of his home. Where there have been instances of killings, the Negro wept and prayed for those who commit the crimes.

He has been denied the right to educate his children, but he has not cursed and bombed those who refused him his rights. Instead, he has waged the slow, often tedious battle through the courts to get justice.

There are those who still restrict him at the polls. Those who have used illegal methods to take his sacred right have been known to fall victim to their own ill doings.

The rabble and the lawless cannot stem the tide of the march for freedom. Those who lose sight of the orderly process and its effectiveness, are a detriment, rather than an asset to social progress.

Decency and respectability are on the side of the Negro, the feeling has international implications. A good indication is that by 1960 more than sixty per cent of the people of Africa will be free and running their own governments; the other forty per cent will be on the way toward freedom, simply because white people everywhere, including a large segment of Southerners know that there's no substitute to the Christian ideal, the true American heritage of equality, irrespective of previous conditions of servitude.

Call it what you may, but segregation is synonymous with colonialism and the imperialist concept. These are on the run and in many ways, because there are people, billions of them, who don't lose their heads. They learned from experience of the "master race" concept, which we see crumbling daily around us, that "Whom the Gods will destroy, they first make mad."

REVIEWING THE NEWS

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Sun. 3-17-57
P. 4

BY WILLIAM GORDON
Managing Editor
Atlanta Daily World

The Light That Burned 130 Years

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As far back as World War I, while Negroes fought and died to make the country safe for democracy, their families back home were the victims of injustices. The Press exposed these. The result was that decent whites in America along with people abroad, began to work for the greater realization of a democratic society.

The Press took the initiative during World War II. With the tremendous manpower shortage, Negroes were being denied the right to work and the right to fight for their country. Again the Press came to the front, exposing the bigotry, and injustices. The result from this move took the problem to the desk of the President of the United States. Action brought us Executive Order 8802 (FEPC).

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The period of 130 years may have been a long time in terms of years along with the conditions and problems born out of such an era. But to the Negro Press, as an institution, it is relatively a short time. This is most magnificent in terms of what it has done in defense of democracy, and decency in the world. It is the light that has burned for 130 years.

CHATWOOD HALL, former Moscow correspondent for the Associated Negro Press and member of the staff of the Associated Press Bureau in Russia, has returned to America after an absence of 25 years. Hall has lived in Ethiopia for the last 10 years. He was the only Negro correspondent on the German - Russian front during World War II.

Forgotten Negro Vote Wins Norfolk Election

Journal + Guide 1/18 Norfolk, Va. 31a Negro Nov 7-20-57

By JOHN B. HENDERSON

APPROXIMATELY 2,000 Negroes voted in the Democratic primary last Tuesday. Their vote was for the greater part a protest vote. They were voting against something more than they were voting for something. Neither set of candidates took a position acceptable to Negroes. It just so happened that the incumbents, whom they supported, were not as extreme in their position as was the opposition.

Dr. Henderson

The opposition ticket favored the Stanley plan of massive resistance with its provision of cutting off funds and closing up schools rather than see one Negro child admitted to a white school. The six incumbents, while they favored continued segregation, advocated doing it through a pupil assignment plant rather than by closing down the schools. By far, the majority of the 2,000 voted for the incumbents. It has been estimated that 200 voted for the opposition.

* * *

NOW 2,000 VOTES is not a large number. It was not enough to elect outright a candidate of its own choosing but it was enough to insure the election of the six incumbents. That 2,000 had the balance of power that turned defeat into victory for three of the incumbents. Without their vote the three who ran on the opposition ticket would have won.

Those who won like those who lost had ignored the Negroes of Norfolk altogether. Neither group was offering anything enticing to Negro voters. Both groups were in favor of maintaining segregation in defiance of the Supreme Court's ruling. For the Negro voter it was a choice of the lesser of two evils. They voted for the incumbents not because they approved their position on the school issue but because they disapproved more vigorously the stand taken by the opposition.

* * *

A NUMBER of observations may be made from the results of last Tuesday's election that politicians would do well to remember. 1.) More and more the forgotten and ignored Negro vote is going to determine the outcome of many election in this state as well as throughout the South. 2.) Candidates will do well to remember also that when they are insulting a people, even in the pronunciation of the word that designated their racial identity, they can expect to hear from that people at the polls.

3.) The appeal to principle, even in a time of inflamed passion, strikes a responsive chord in the hearts and minds of many. 4.) Those who are only voting negatively (in protest) today will tomorrow be strong enough to vote affirmatively.

HENDERSON SPEAKS

Closing Schools No Way To Cope With Sputniks

Journal + Guide 8/8 Norfolk, Va. Sat. 11-23-57 31a Negro

By JOHN B. HENDERSON

EARLY LAST MONTH the Russians succeeded in throwing a ball into the air so hard that it did not come down but kept on going. Now that is not the way the scientists are saying it. They refer to it as launching an artificial satellite into the outer fringes of the earth's atmosphere. I've stated it in terms you and I can understand. They have sent up two of those contraptions they call Sputnik. The last one had a dog in it, so I suppose it's all right to call it a mutnik. I must confess that I'm now in the same predicament I often found myself in during my school days. So often, for very good reasons, I went to class without studying my lessons. During the whole class session I was afraid to open my mouth. I didn't know enough to even ask a question. For fear of asking one that would reveal my colossal dumbness, I'd keep my big mouth shut. Maybe I should do that now.

Dr. Henderson

Perhaps you like I have been wondering what has happened to the law of gravitation. When I was a boy we had our own definition for that. It was one we could understand. Everything that goes up is bound to come down. Sputnik has been up since early last month and as far as I know it is still up there going around the earth every 96 minutes, somewhere between 300 and 600 miles up. Have they revoked the law of gravitation or declared it unconstitutional or passed a nullification resolution against it or found a legal way to circumvent it. They are making and changing and circumventing laws so fast now I just can't keep up with it all.

* * *

WELL, WHATEVER the Russians did that enabled them to throw that ball up there and make it stay has certainly created a furore. Everybody is disturbed about it, those who understand it and those who don't. We're disturbed because Russia did it first. That has punctured our pride and impressed millions whom we are afraid will line up with the Russians because they want to be on the winning side.

So disturbed is one congressman from Virginia that he can't sleep at night. Even after listening to the President, he is still disturbed. He failed to receive assurance sufficient to allay his fears. Now, everybody is anxious for our scientists to recapture the place of leadership from the Russians. Our survival as a free nation is at stake. Even Senator Byrd is willing to spend more money on our missile program. That should make every one know that the situation is critical.

There is another question that my dense dumbness would like to have answered. How can Senator Byrd and Congressman Hardy be so distressed one minute about our lagging behind the Russians in our missile program and the next minute advocate closing the schools in Virginia? Is that the best way to cope with the matter? Is closing the schools their answer to Sputnik? If it is, they are going to make a mess of trying to settle that issue, too.

HENDERSON SPEAKS

Journal & Guide

Where's Evil, In The Deed Or Manner Of Doing?

Norfolk, Va.

Sat. 9-21-57

By DR. JOHN HENDERSON

HOW many times have you heard the expression, "It isn't what you do, it's the way you do it"? Quite often it is used in praise of a smart manipulator who has been successful in avoiding the penalty that usually follows the violation of the law. Because he was shrewd he knew the right way to lie, or steal or maybe break some other command of God or law of man.

Dr. Henderson

When another, not quite so smart has to pay the penalty for doing the same thing we condemn him, not for his misdeed, but for his stupidity, and again we say, "It isn't what you do but the way you do it." It appears that morality is a matter of the manner of doing. If you do wrong the "right" way it's O.K., but if not you must suffer the consequences.

* * *

IT IS OLD fashioned now to hold to absolute standards of right and wrong but to my feeble way of looking at it, there is something cockeyed about condemning the manner and not the deed. As I see it there is no "right" way to do wrong. If you are wrong you are wrong no matter how smart an operator you may think you are.

A few days ago Governor Orval Faubus, of Arkansas thought up a brand new scheme of defying the Federal Court. He called out 150 members of the National Guard and instructed them to stop nine little Negro boys and girls, who had been admitted to the Central High School, from entering on opening day. From every corner of the world he has been condemned for doing this.

* * *

NOW DON'T misunderstand me, I don't approve of what he did but I can't understand why some of this condemnation has not been heaped upon others who have done the same thing but in a different manner. It appears that his condemnation has come because of the method used. The Governors of Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia and other southern states have been and still are defying the Federal courts but there has not been any condemnation of their acts of defiance.

The climate of resistance found in these states can be traced directly to their leaders. The disrespect for law and the crimes committed against helpless Negroes has been encouraged by these leaders.

* * *

IN SPITE of their smart operating, they are all guilty of defying the Federal courts and deserve the same condemnation that is now being heaped, and rightly so, upon Governor Faubus.

HENDERSON SPEAKS

Journal & Guide

Does Virginia Desire An Uninformed Electorate?

Norfolk, Va.

Sat. 9-7-57 P. 8

By Dr. JOHN HENDERSON

THE need for a good system of public schools in Virginia is being highlighted now as never before. The thing that is causing that need to stand out in bold relief is not the oft repeated fact that the times demand trained workers to operate the complicated tools of this industrial society. Nor is it the present threat of closing the schools which the machine promises to do rather than see one Negro child admitted to a white school.

Dr. Henderson

The thing that reveals the great need of a good system of public schools in Virginia is the acceptance on the part of Virginia's voters of positions and propositions that all informed citizens know are untenable.

* * *

THE POSITION taken by office-seekers is so untenable that it is downright disgusting, yet there are thousands of Virginians who are so uninformed that they believe it.

The whole program of massive resistance raises false hopes that all informed persons know are not worthy of a moment's consideration. The insistence that racial amalgamation will result from desegregation excites only the uninformed, and those who are unable to think logically. The informed know better. It has not occurred anywhere integration has been practiced for years. It has not occurred in the Catholic schools in Virginia that are integrated.

* * *

IT HAS not occurred in the public schools of Page county, Virginia, which we are told have been integrated for 20 years or more. Amalgamation has gone on in the South for 337 years and there have been no integrated schools, therefore integrated schools cannot be the cause.

The idea that state laws requiring segregation can nullify the Supreme Court's decision appeals only to the uninformed and that idea is being repeated over and over. The idea that if the state does not recognize the ruling as being constitutional and so long as the state does not subscribe to it, it is not bound by it, is all tommyrot. These are the things Virginia's citizens are taking great stock in and it reveals more clearly than anything else the need of an informed electorate.

* * *

THAT THE political leadership of Virginia has bungled the integration issue is so apparent that those who have gotten us into this mess know it, but because the electorate is so uninformed, it keeps on promising what it cannot deliver simply because it gets the votes needed to keep them in office.

Could that be the reason the machine is so willing to wreck the public school system? Well, time is running out on the machine. It won't be too long now before it will begin cutting off the funds and thus insure itself of an uninformed electorate, maybe!

The Governor's Claim To Fame: Changing His Mind

Journal + Guide p. 8
Norfolk, Va. 31a
Sat. 4-20-57

By JOHN B. HENDERSON

IN A FEW more months Virginia will elect a new governor. The term of Governor Thomas W. Stanley will be history. What history it will make! I don't know how the future will rate him. Maybe he will be included among the truly great sons of the Old Dominion; those who made significant contributions to civilization. I don't know what it will be, but historians have a way of magnifying trifles so as to make them appear to be what they are not. It could be that in the dim distant future some historians will succeed in digging up some trifle and make something of it and thus win for the good Governor a place in the Hall of Fame.

Dr. Henderson

* * *

HOWEVER, WE need not wait for the future to discover one trifle. It is evident right now that ours is the most „changingest" governor that ever governed. He can change his mind quicker than a cat can lick her paw.

When the Supreme Court first decreed an end of segregation in the public schools our Governor made a most statesmanlike pronouncement saying, in so many words, that we must face this matter with restraint, calmness and clear heads. But he soon changed his mind about that and proceeded to attack the matter with everything except restraint, calmness and a clear head.

HE ANNOUNCED that he would appoint a bi-racial commission of citizens from various walks of life, but changed his mind and appointed a 32-man commission of all legislators. He waited for more than a year for that commission to report and went all out in a referendum to make possible the carrying out of the commission's report, but soon changed his mind about that and substituted the now famous "Stanley Plan."

The latest instance of him changing his mind occurred last week. He had issued invitations to 60 Virginians who had distinguished themselves to come to Richmond on May 17 to a dinner. This was to be one of the highlights of the 350th anniversary of Jamestown.

* * *

ONE INVITATION went to Dr. C. B. Powell of New York. Dr. Powell is a physician, publisher and business executive listed in Who's Who in America. As soon as Dr. Powell had accepted the generous invitation of our governor, the governor changed his mind and asked him to send it back.

Why do you think the honorable Governor of a great state would do a thing like that? What secret information does he have to convince him that Dr. Powell has not dsntinguished himself? It can't be that he recalled it because Dr. Powell is a Negro, or can it?

Whatever the reason I don't know, but I do know he should be given an "Oscar" for changing his mind. In doing that he is hard to beat.

Keeping Southern Way Of Life, Regardless Of Cost

Journal + Guide p. 8
Sat. 5-18-57 31a
Norfolk, Va.

By JOHN B. HENDERSON

DURING THE PAST three years there have been so many shameful acts of violence committeed in the South by those who are dedicated to maintaining Southern traditions until one is almost justified in concluding that the Southern Way of Life is one of violence, open defiance of our Federal government, total disregard for the life, liberty and property of Negroes and their friends, and a complete rejection of the Christian religion. In short the Southern Way Of Life is a repudiation of all that is decent and desirable in our American society.

Dr. Henderson

The dirty work is not done by the Southern Christian gentleman. He leaves that to the roughneck whom he protects and sets free if and when he is apprehended by the law. He is encouraged by the silence of the clergy, the loose talk of massive resistance and nullification by the politician and the inactivity of law enforcement officers.

* * *

IN ALABAMA the Southern Way Of Life called into being a mob of several thousand that bravely set itself against the enemy. With unparalleled courage it covered itself with glory in that never-to-be-forgotten fight against one lone defenseless Negro woman.

In Mississippi the Southern Way Of Life was responsible for setting free the confessed killers of Emmitt Till. In Longview, Texas it did the same thing for Perry Ross, who confessed that he fired nine shots into a Negro cafe, wounding two and killing one.

THE TREATMENT accorded the developers of Koinonia Farm in Sumter County, Georgia, really reveals the Southern Way Of Life in all of its glory. This interracial development has been the target of a sustained campaign of hate and violence of such magnitude until it has been publicized the world over and everywhere; except among those dedicated to the Southern Way Of Iife; its perpretrators have been denounced.

Koinonia Farm was started in 1942 by two Southerners who wanted to practice the Christian ideal of brotherhood. They developed a 1,100 acre model farm with 10 families, white and Negro. It did a thriving business in milk, eggs and other produce.

* * *

BECAUSE THE leader, Dr. Clarence Jordan, assisted two Negroes who were seeking admission to Georgia State College of Business Administration, the community became the target of the ill-will of enraged southern gentlemen who have twice bombed its wayside market, fired shots over its playground while children were at play, sought a court injunction against it on the grounds that it was Communistic, machine-gunned its residences; burned one to the ground; boycotted its market; refuse to sell it seed, fertilizer, gasoline; cut off all credit; cancelled all insurance and did bodily harm to a teenager so that he had to leave school.

Koinonia's only crime is it does not fit into the pattern of the Southern Way Of Life therefore the combined efforts of the Christian forces of the area are directed against it. Every true son of the confederacy must be proud of the treatment accorded Koinonia, for after all, the Southern Way Of Life must be maintained regardless of the cost.

Senseless To Pay Poll Tax, And Not Register

Journal + Guide p. 8
Norfolk, Va. 31a
Sat. 6-15-57

By JOHN B. HENDERSON

RECENT news releases reveal the fact that this year more than 50,000 Norfolkians have paid their poll taxes. It is a record, I'm told, for an off year election. Of that number more than 8,000 are Negroes. Just how many still must register before being eligible to vote in the coming election is not publicly known. It is common knowledge, however, that many keep their poll taxes paid but never complete the requirements by registering.

Dr. Henderson

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MANY REASONS have been offered in explanation of this but to me none of them is worth the breath it takes to utter them. Some saye the unregistered ones are the illiterates who can neither read nor write. Others say the unregistered would register if it were possible to do so on Church street or Brambleton avenue or some where else in the Negro section of town.

They shrink from going downtown to the register's office because it is away from

their regular beat and is staffed by people they fear are unfriendly. Still others say the number is made up of Negroes from Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and other deep South states. They have never voted and have been so conditioned by the members of the majority group in those states until it is almost impossible to wash out of their brains the ideas and feelings that have taken such deep roots there.

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NOW I KNOW, and you do too, that these and other such reasons are no valid reasons for they are not based on facts. There are more Virginia Negroes unregistered than all those combined who come from the deep South. There are high school and college graduates included in the number.

I dare say there are more than 8,000 graduates from the local high school to say nothing of those from other schools, all not registered. In some areas it may be true that trying to register is an awful experience from which you are justified in shrinking but that is not the case in Norfolk. The authorities here are most helpful and anxious to see you register.

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THERE IS no valid reason for paying the poll tax year after year and then fail to follow through with your registration. Those who do it would not think of paying a dollar and a half for some pork chops and going home without them. If the merchant tried to get them to do that they would tear his store up. Why you will pay your poll taxes year after year and then never register just does not make sense.

Sectional Opposition To Civil Rights Must Yield

Journal & Guide P. 8
Sat. 7-6-57
Norfolk, Va.

By JOHN B. HENDERSON

PRESIDENT Eisenhower has commented on the civil rights bill his administration is sponsoring as being moderate and not vindictive as it deprives no one of anything. Apparently he is disturbed if not amazed at the opposition to so mild a measure as he proposes. It must be even more amazing to outsiders who look to America as the citadel of democracy and expect to see the ideals of which she boasts practiced as well as preached.

Dr. Henderson

To those who live in America the source of the opposition is well known but to give a reasonable and logical justification of it is rather difficult. The opposition to the bill is sectional, for the most part southerners of both parties have united to defeat the bill.

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ONE WOULD think that the bill was not designed for the country as a whole but was to apply only to the South. Why is there no bitter opposition coming from the North, the Middle West or the Far West? Will not the same things happen anywhere in the country if the provisions of the bill are violated? The question is too elementary to ask.

The reason the South is seething with revolt is too well known to state. The South stands guilty and has so stood for lo these many years; guilty of denying the vote to the largest minority group in the country. No where else in the country is the Negro denied the ballot like he is in the South. The difficulties he experiences there, the dangers that threaten his participation in voting are unknown everywhere else in the nation.

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TO GRANT him the ballot would make it much more difficult for little machines to perpetuate themselves in office as they now do. A small electorate can be easily controlled and the politicians in the South who have for years ruled as they desired fear losing the power they have enjoyed lo these many years.

In many southern counties the Negro population far out numbers the white. To grant the ballot in some areas would mean that Negroes and their friends would be elected to every office in the county. They would control the courthouse and there are many who would rather die and go to hell than see that happen.

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IF THEY ARE wise they will spend what little time is left trying to perfect an asbestos suit that they can take with them to the regions beyond for the day is coming when Negroes will be elected to every office in the South. The right to vote cannot be denied them much longer. They are determined to have it and it looks as though the rest of the country and the world have the same attitude toward the matter.

Norfolk's Sen. Breeden Takes A Wise Stand

Journal & Guide Sat. 8-3-57
Norfolk, Va. P. 8

By JOHN B. HENDERSON

THE RECENT statement of State Senator Edward L. Breeden of Norfolk explaining why he did not sign the Interposition Report released by the fifteen-member Court of Justice Committee of the Virginia Legislature, made more sense than anything I've seen in recent months coming from an official of the state. It is true that President Colgate W. Darden, of the University of Virginia, took a commendable stand recently that was in the same vein as Senator Breeden's but President Darden spoke as an educator and not as an official of the state.

Dr. Henderson

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INCLUDED in Mr. Breeden's explanation is the following statement:

"I fear that this present report holds forth false hope on the troublesome subject of school integration at a time when we need to be more realistic as to what can best be done for our public schools and for the boys and girls who are wholly dependent upon them for their education."

This statement not only reveals great wisdom but also a rare type of courage. It does not represent the position of Virginia's present political leadership nor of the majority of the members of the legislature."

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YOU HAVE only to recall the attitude and actions of the last session of the legislature toward those communities that dared differ from their silly position of massive resistance to know that Mr. Breeden made few friends in the legislature by this statement.

In taking this position our senator demonstrated the type of sane and sober judgment that is badly needed during these times of tension. Too long the politicians have kept false hopes alive in the hearts of some Virginians who trust them to do all of their thinking because for some reason they seem unable or unwilling to think for themselves.

• • •

NOW THAT Virginia is about to come to the end of the Stanley Plan Blind Alley, it is time to be more realistic and think of the welfare of the boys and girls whose only hope for getting an education is in the public school. If the state is to have an enlightened electorate in the years to come there is only one thing to do, recognize the folly of this false hope and follow the lead of men like Senator Breeden and make a more realistic approach to the problem.

My only regret is that Senator Breeden, or someone of his calibre, is not the democratic nominee for governor. Under such leadership the future of the state would not be clouded in uncertainty.

Newsman is Honored by Colorado U.

Page P. 10
Tulsa, Oklahoma
Chicago Defender 10-19-57

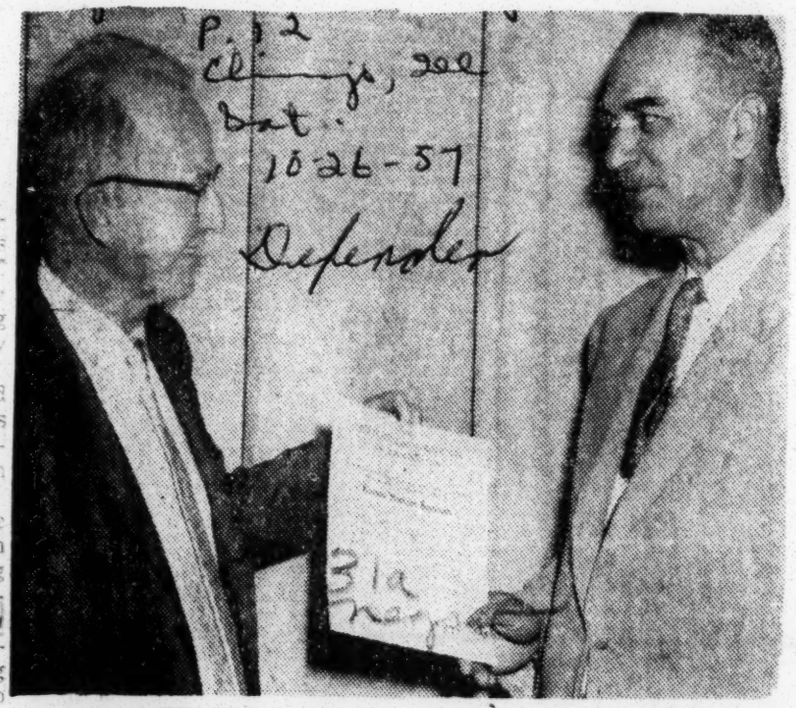
BOULDER, Colo. (AP) — A distinguished Negro journalist, Lucius Herbert Henegan of Washington, D. C., was named an "Outstanding Graduate in Journalism" during Newspaper Week at the University of Colorado on Friday.

Henegan, an officer of the United States Information Service, was honored along with Robert S. Gamzey, editor of the Inter-Mountain Jewish News in Denver.

Henegan graduated from the University of Colorado in 1930 with a B. A. degree and the following year was named editor of the weekly Memphis World. The same year he became news editor of the Kansas City Call, in 1936 managing editor of the St. Louis Call. For two years, from 1937 to 1939, he was city editor of the Baltimore Afro-American. In 1942 he was city editor of The Washington Tribune.

From the Tribune Henegan joined the Farmers Home Administration as an information specialist. He was Capitol Press Club president from 1949 to 1950. He received a two-year appointment as Public Information Officer, USIS, in New Delhi, India in 1955 and was managing editor of American Reporter, published in six languages with an all-Indian circulation of more than 200,000.

He returned this year to the USIS office in Washington, D.C.



NEGRO JOURNALIST Lucius Herbert Henegan of Washington, D. C., receives award for "Outstanding Graduate in Journalism" during Newspaper Week at the University of Colorado. Henegan (right) an officer of the U. S. Information Service, is a 1930 graduate of the university. Presenting award is A. Gayle Waldrop, director of the School of Journalism.

LANGSTON HUGHES

Defender 2 Sat. P. 10

Week By Week

Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 5-25-57

Quick Success --- Quick Big Head --- Sorry Behavior

In the entertainment field in our times, particularly as it relates to singing, an artist with a hit record may leap to success overnight. A young singer may become a temporary star within a week. Success to anyone, in the theatre or out, is pleasant.

In the entertainment world it usually brings money, publicity, and adulation. Sometimes when all three come at once, it is pretty hard for a young and immature person to behave well.

As an old worker in the vineyard of the arts, I would like to offer a little advice to those lucky ones who might be so fortunate as to find their talents discovered overnight.

In the first place, I would say, don't put your what you-may-call-it on your shoulders right away. Even your best riends might not recognize such high hattedness. Be yourself. Keep cool. Do not ignore the folks who knew you when—even if such people are still where they were then.

Not everybody can have a hit record, a picture in "Jet" or a mention in Ed Sullivan's column. Not everybody can make money young, become famous early, or afford to move out of the Black Belt, live in downtown hotels, or buy a house in the suburbs.

If you are able to do such things, please do not give the quick brush-off to the people who are not so fortnate. "Pride goeth before a fall." Don't ride for a tumble. In this U. S. A., of ours, it is very easy to be up today and down tomorrow.

So live when up, that if you should fall, there will be somebody to sympathize — even to help pick you up. Just because you may be riding in a fine new car, there is no good reason not to speak to the guy or gal who is still walking.

Miss Ethel Waters is an old trouper. She came up the hard way, from basement cabarets and colored TOBA vaudeville to stardom on Broadway.

One afternoon when "Member of the Wedding" was playing at the beautiful old Empire Theatre in New York City, I went backstage to tell Miss Waters how much I had been moved by her beautiful performance, since I had known Ethel Waters for a long time.

But ahead of me, there were many theater-goers who did not personally know the star, numbers of them young people who had probably pinched pennies to buy a seat up in the top balcony. In the backstage crowd there were Negroes and whites.

To everyone who came into her dressing room to shake her hand or seek an autograph, Ethel Waters was courteous and friendly. She offered her hand, smiled, said a friendly word. There was no quick scrawling of her name with a frown on a program.

Ethel Waters projected the same warmth and humanity in her dressing room that she did on the stage.

I wish some of our younger stars who are brusque and unfriendly to admirers, would learn to behave as Ethel Waters did when she was riding the Broadway wave at its crest. It is not enough to be a sympathetic performer on stage.

One should also be sympathetic off-stage, as well, in so far as the general public is concerned.

Not ill-mannered, high-hat, and boorish. Particularly, if one is a Negro star, it would seem to me wise — from a public relations viewpoint — to behave well and in a mannerly fashion to fans and well-wishers who wait at the stage door to express their admiration.

There are some stars who act as if they are not dependent upon the dollars that ordinary people pour into the box offices. But where else does their living and their stardom come from—if not from the millions of ordinary, unknown folks who buy tickets, purchase records, or put out dough for radios and television sets in order to listen to the stars?

If some few hundred, or maybe a thousand or so, want to get an autograph, shake hands, and just say, "You're so wonderful," it would seem to me wise to let them do so without a cold stare or an irritated frown getting in the way.

It is hard to continue to admire someone off-stage when he or she behaves like a varmint if personal relations are involved.

When an artist gets into the big money, it would seem to me wise, too, to employ a secretary to answer fan mail, rather than let it go completely unanswered. There are some quite famous stars who have never been known to answer a fan letter.

I should think business sense—if not a sense of courtesy—would teach them better. If both a business sense and a sense of courtesy are lacking, if one is colored, maybe race pride could be called into play. Maybe that old slogan, DON'T LET THE RACE DOWN, is as good a way as any to end this humble message to the lucky boys and girls who suddenly find themselves famous. Colored stars, whether they wish it or not, represent all of us who are colored, too, even you and me.

LANGSTON HUGHES

Defender Sat. 9-7-57

Week By Week

Chicago, Ill. P. 10

Sons of Moses And Sons of Ham Are Greatest Artists

A theory is something not yet proven true. The theory I am about to state, I cannot prove conclusively, but circumstantial evidence supports it. The artist, denied the world, takes refuge in creative imagination. A racial or social group, separated and segregated, is likely to produce the most exciting artists.

Jazz, America's only world-widely accepted music, came from Negroes, aided and abetted by Jews. African sculpture influenced Picasso, greatest of modern artists.

Out of Negro music and emotions, by way of the Jew, came George Gershwin's "Porgy and Bess" which is America's only theatrical piece to catch the fancy of the whole world, and which has been performed on five of the six continents.

Negroes and Jews in our time are the greatest moulders of theatre, art, music, words of all the identifiable groups in the U. S.

Take theatre. Who gave the USA and the world "Show Boat?" The Jewish writer, Edna Ferber, from whose book Oscar Hammerstein and Richard Rodgers, both Jewish, adapted the famous musical.

And what is its most famous song? "Old Man River" out of the work and worry, sorrow and pain of black hearts, introduced by black Jules Bledsoe and made internationally famous by Paul Robeson. Who writes and produces the majority of the Broadway shows, Hollywood movies, radio serials and TV shows in the USA? Jewish writers and producers.

Who originated the Blues, Dixieland music, Swing, Jazz, Be bop and Rock and Roll? Negro musicians. Who published this music, popularized it, and spread it across the world? Jewish publishers. Who plays it best? Negroes and Jews.

Who can't vote in Mississippi, and not even at Tuskegee, a world famous educational center? Negroes. Who had to practically buy securing hotel accommodations there? The Jews. Who are barred from membership in the leading clubs of the USA and not welcome at some of the places where President Eisenhower plays golf? Negroes and Jews.

But to whose music does America sing, dance, laugh and love? Largely Negro music and the Jewish people's music. Examples? At the moment take the ever popular, "Honeysuckle Rose" written by Fats Waller, a Negro; or "Some Enchanted Evening" written by Rodgers and Hammerstein, Jews; or "The St. Louis Blues" written by W. C. Handy, Negro; or "September Song" written by Kurt Weill, Jewish.

Negroes are easily identifiable by their faces. Jews are not. If the names are identifiably Jewish, often they change their names to something like Harris or Harmon or Rose, dropping the -insky or ski or feld or witz that sounds foreign and Jewish.

And, being white, with non-foreign names, Jews more easily merge into the American mainstream than Negroes are able to merge, in spite of the fact that Negroes have been here many years longer than most Jews.

Africans were brought here by force as far back as 1619. Most Jewish people came here of their own free will. Many as recently as yesterday. But I am glad they came.

Without the Jewish people, Negro music, Negro musicians, Negro actors, and Negro writers today would have been farther behind the eight-ball (the old black ball) than we now are. The Jews, a dispossessed people themselves, seek and secure in music, art and writing, an outlet and a springboard toward the decency they do not find in the world about them.

And the Jews help the Negro people to find such springboards, too.

The most beautiful and meaningful of Hollywood films today are more than likely to be the creations of Jewish writers, Jewish producers and Jewish directors. Samuel Goldwyn is a great Hollywood producer. Elia Kazan is a great film director, Arthur Miller is a fine writer for stage or screen. These men are not Gentiles. They are not Negroes. And they are not Christians. They are Jewish.

The Jewish people in the U. S. are not forced to recognize their separateness as frankly as are Negroes. After all, Jews are white in coloring. Courts allow stereotyped names to be changed, so it is quite legal to stop being a -witz or an -insky. Why not get a nice new name?

I blame nobody for taking the easiest way out in this highly competitive and difficult world. I am all for Jews passing for Gentiles, and Negroes passing for white — if the Negroes are light enough. I do not believe in racial or religious barriers.

But since they do exist, I see no reason why those who can, should not thwart or surmount them. If I were a Jew with an -insky name, I would change it to Lane or Callahan. And if I were a Negro as light as Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, I would stop fooling around go ahead and pass for white, and with Abyssinian Baptist church be a Senator instead of a Congressman. "Nothing is, but thinking makes it so."

LANGSTON HUGHES

Defender Sat. 8-10-57

Week By Week

31 Chicago, Ill. P. 10

Simple Wants To Be A Turnkey At Tuskegee

"Now that integration in education is half-way on its way in half the schools in half the South," said Simple, "I wonder if they are going to integrate dead Negroes as well as living?"

"What can you mean by that?" I asked.

"I mean are they going to integrate Booker T. Washington, Douglas and Dunbar?" asked Simple. "The mens after which half the colored schools are named. I mean when integration comes for real, and they start naming new schools with mixed colored and white students and teachers, will they still name some schools after Booker T., Douglas and Dunbar? Or will they forget to name anything after colored any more?"

"The men you speak of are all great Americans, regardlesss of color, so their names should still be good names to name schools after, no matter how integrated we become."

"I never heard yet of no white school being named after Booker T. Washington," said Simple. "Only colored schools are so named. And I'll bet if ever an integrated school was named after Booker T., he would be so surprised he would flip — turn right over in his tomb. Fred Douglass would rise up and make a brand new speech, and Dunbar would write a poem in the spirit world. Me, I will know integration has come for true when they name one school that is not colored after Booker T. Washington."

"I expect to live to see that day," I said.

"Then you have great expectations," declared Simple. "Do you reckon Booker T. Washington ever voted?"

"I don't know," I said. "If I'm not mistaken, he accented education, not voting in his day."

"I wish he had set up some voting booths at Tuskegee before he died," said Simple, "so folks could vote right there at the school, and not have to go into a white town to vote — where I read now they will not let a Negro even register.

"How come, when Negroes was setting up all them colored schools way back in yonder, they did not also set up voting booths right in the schools, so they could register and vote without having to be bothered with them Southern white folks? Then Negroes could also count the votes and they would not get miscounted or throwed out.

"Why did not Booker T. arrange for that whilst he was arranging for education? If I ever built me a school down South like Tuskegee, it would have a built-in voting booth in it, too. Of course, the Crackers would say, 'Negra, you cannot use white ballots in no colored booth.'

"So I would say, 'O. K., I will get me some black ballots, and I will use white ink on black ballots.' "

"But what would you do," I asked, "if they said you could not use white ink either?"

"I could always use green ink, then," said Simple. "Or red."

"Red? And be declared subversive?"

"That's right," said Simple. "They might claim I belonged to the NAACP and investigate me. Of course, I would belong to the NAACP, but I would not expose myself by using red ink. I would use blue or green on my black ballot. And to keep them from labeling me red or white, I would not vote for neither Democrats or Republicans.

"I would set me up a black party to go with my black ballot and I would vote all black right straight down the line. A black ballot, I know, would make them white Dixiecrats mad. But I would say, 'I have never known none of you - all to vote for me or any other Negro. So I will not vote for you. My black vote on my black man, else a black woman, right down the line, and I will not split my ballot nowhere — unless Mrs. Roosevelt is running.

"That would really make them Dixiecrats blow their tops," continued Simple. "Oh, if I lived at Tuskegee, I would elect me a black mayor of the town, an all-black city council, and a black morticianer to be the black coroner so if a white woman killed her husband, he would fall into black hands, or vice versa.

"Also the police force would be all black, and the jail would have black bars so white faces looking out would show up better.

"In court the judge would be black, and when he gave out a sentence to a white prisoner, he would say, 'I now integrate you to six months in a black jail.' Then the judge would bang his gavel and declare, "Case dismissed!' "

"Out of your fantasy I gather you really want to turn the tables in the South," I said.

"I'd rather turn the jailhouse key," said Simple.

LANGSTON HUGHES

31a

Week By Week

A Few Little Things That Negroes Need

Among the few little things that I figure the Colored Race could use would be a few more MILLIONAIRES. I don't mean folks with just a few thousands, but with a few MILLIONS. Not just a few cars, but a few YACHTS as well. Not just one "fabulous" (a-la Ebony-Jet) house, but several mansions, villas and palaces (all "swanky") scattered from Nice to Paris to Park Avenue to Ashville to Palm Springs to Waycross.

Also I figure we could use, on a world wide scale, a few more PRESIDENTS, EMPERORS, KINGS and assorted rulers, with as much power (which I hope they would use wisely) as Nasser, Haile Selassie, Batista and Nkrumah. I wish they would all be Nkrumah's complexion, too, so there would be no argument about their being colored.

While on the subject of color, in the USA where so many light Negroes pass for white, we could use a few more WHITE PEOPLE PASSING FOR COLORED.

At the moment, not many such are known — only the scattered white wife of some colored man, here and there, who finds it more convenient to be "colored" than white. It would be fun to have a lot of white people passing for Negro, just to make things more screwy than they are.

Also in the USA one little thing we sorely lack is a good LITERARY MAGAZINE where young writers of color might publish their work. Our picture magazines and our pocket magazines, "The Crisis" and "Phylon" certainly fill a need. But for the serious writer of fiction, articles, and poems, here is too little publishing space anywhere. In fact, almost none.

The new and attractively published "Duke" that has recently come on the newsstands, served as a market for lighter fiction and amusing or startling factual pieces. Young writers who can write in these veins should submit material. "Duke" pays for stories, by the way.

I guess it pays for models, too. Certainly some of the prettiest and most undressed colored ladies yet to appear in print are sprinkled throughout its pages. But I notice, its cover girls are gradually being more and more dressed up. The young lady on "Duke's" first cover had on nothing at all.

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On the second cover her busts were barely covered — she had completely forgotten to button up her gown. But on its third cover, the girl was clothed almost to the armpits! It is worth watching to see what will happen next.

There is nothing wrong with that old hex, sex — but I still say we need a serious magazine, too.

Also we couls use in the Americas a great Negro theatre in which the immensity of colored talent, music-wise, acting-wise and dance-wise could be coordinated into beautiful productions not dependent upon the whims of white Broadway and its tyrannical box-office.

It is a cultural shame that nowhere in the U. S. is there such a Negro theatre, big or little, amateur or professional.

Karamu House in Cleveland's Negro area, with its excellent physical set-up, seems content to do stupidities like "Pipe Dream" in competition with all the other theatres of the country.

Through its once famous Gilpin Players, Karamu House became known as a center to Negro drama, dance, art and unique theatre expression. In its old playhouse on Central ave., it put on plays of Negro life not to be seen so well done (if seen at all) elsewhere in the country.

Now, with a very fine theatre, the productions consist mostly of commercial Broadway revivals originally written by, about and for white folks. Integrated and well acted they are, to be sure, but of no significance at all.

Maybe Harlem, or the Southside of Chicago, or the Westside of Los Angeles will eventually develop a Negro theatre with real meaning and value to America, with productions so beautiful they can travel all over the world, as did the white-conceived "Porgy and Bess" with its long crap games, its junky Sportin' Life and its Bess who had been directed to stand, most of the time, like a cow on stage when I last saw the show — her legs wide apart. But she sang like a bird!

LANGSTON HUGHES

Week By Week

How A Negro Explorer First Discovered Arizona

Written history confirms more than 400 years ago now, that as a part of the ill-fated expedition of Panfilo de Narvaez sponsored by King Charles the Fifth, the Moorish Negro Estaban set sail from Spain with some 600 other men seeking their fortunes in that New World which Columbus had discovered.

In Cuba a great tropical hurricane destroyed some of the ships and blew away completely 60 men and many horses. But in the Spring of 1528, the fleet set sail for Florida.

Here, unfriendly Indians greeted them with war cries rather than open arms. The heat was terrific, mosquitoes and sandflies bothersome, and fevers and other illnesses broke out.

In less than three months more than half of the white men died from sickness or at the hands of the Indians, so they decided to go further. But, as they sailed along the coast, a storm came up. The crafts of the Spaniards were blown on the reefs and quickly battered to pieces by the high seas. Only four men managed to swim ashore alive, Estaban and three Spaniards.

Possibly because of the hostile Indians, the four survivors did not tarry on the coast. They headed inland through the Florida palmettos, living on game, wild oranges, and the food that more friendly Indians to the North gave them.

Since, with no boats, they could not escape from the mainland they decided to explore.

In Mexico City, the Negro Estaban served under the Vicery of Spain. But, having no liking for a sedentary life, in 1539 he agreed to become one of the members of a newly-organized party under Fray Marcos de Niza which intended to explore the lands to the northward where there was said to be waiting the fabulous Cities of Cibola with vast fortunes of silver, gold, emeralds and turquoise. With government supplies and Indian guides, over the mountains they set out toward the deserts of the North.

Under the blistering summer sun with only parched plains ahead, the Spaniards eventually gave out. But they prevailed upon Estaban who was seemingly tireless to forge ahead.

With a group of Indian guides, Estaban continued toward the North. The sun was blazing, the pathless plains and sandy desert were hot underfoot. There were rattlesnakes, scorpions, coyotes, prairie dogs that barked, buzzards that circled overhead, and mountain lions that howled at night.

Of the Seven Cities of Cibola, the Indian runners knew nothing and certainly they had no idea where to look for them.

But, after a number of days, what seemed at first like distant mesas rising from the desert turned out to be in reality houses — a whole pueblo of houses. Then they saw as they drew near that some of the houses towered as high as four stories and were beautiful to behold.

Estaban had come into the land of the Zunis, a tribe of Pueblo Indians of advanced civilization. And, though their houses were not built of gold, above many doorways were embedded turquoise and other semi-precious jewels.

The Zunis ate from gracefully designed pottery, slept on brightly woven blankets, and lived in a manner that denoted comfort and well-being. Their country seemed to be rich indeed. Immediately, Estaban sent word back to the Spaniards that he had made a discovery of great importance.

But on the way to join him, three battle-scarred Indians met the Spaniards somewhere in the desert with the news that Estaban was dead. Suspicious of his mission, the Zuni chiefs had ordered their warriors to set upon the Negro. Outside the walls of Hawaikuk an arrow pierced Estaban through, and his body was cut into pieces as a lesson to other strangers.

But the Spaniards went back to Mexico to spread the news, and soon a host of European invaders surged into the West.

Larger and better armed expeditions penetrated the lands of the Zuni, and eventually built settlements there as well as religious missions, trading posts and military forts to protect their interests.

For the initial penetration of the Europeans into this new land of gold and copper, sunshine and flowers that is now called the American Southwest, the intrepid Negro, Estoban, is credited with opening the way — Esteban, the discoverer of Arizona

LANGSTON Hughes

Defender
Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 1-19-57
p9

Colored Peoples In World News Last Year

During 1956 large portions of the front pages of the news papers tof the world were devoted to the doings of non-white peoples and nations.

India, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Nigeria, the Gold Coast, and the majority populations of Alabama and other Southern states (where if the census was carefully taken, I think Negroes would make up more than half the citizens) have taken up at least a third, if not half, the front page space in the leading journals.

Dark news is white news everywhere around the globe today. And among the major personalities whose names make headlines are:

Nehru and his brilliant deputy in the United Nations, Krishna Menon, presenting with calm insistence, India's provocative positions vis-a-vis the great powers. Then there is a Nasser ,who seems to be the Adam Powell of the Arab countries tall, dark, handsome, and loud.

And in Burma there is U Nu, in China, Chou En-Lai, in Nigeria, Azikcwi, in Okinawa, Kamejiro Senaga on the Gold Coast the American educated Nkruma, and in South Africa the distinguished Rev. Matthews, well known in the United States.

The battle of the bossed colonials against their great power bosses is almost entirely a struggle of colored peoples against white, the Mau Maus against the British, Algerians against the French, Egyptians against those coveting the Suez Canal, India against the West, the native peoples of South Africa against the white governing minorities.

What Dr. DuBois wrote in his book, "The Souls of Black Folk" 50 years ago is still true today, "The Problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color line — the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea."

In 1956 America's biggest news stories have involved the colored peoples of the Deep South and their intensified struggle against old bigotries, the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions and the dangerous and noble efforts at their implementation and enforcement.

Northern Negroes — voters, politicians, the NAACP leadership and its superb Legal Defense division headed by Thurgood Marshall — have played a vital part in this historic struggle for the extension of democracy to millions of people South of the Mason-Dixon line.

Once again, as in slavery time and Reconstruction, the Negro church has come back into its own as a great source of strength and leadership. The Rev. Martin Luther King and Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy in Montgomery, Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth in Birmingham, Rev. C. K. Steele in Tallahassee are all names destined to be a part of Negro hishtory from now on.

And I hope some historian is keeping an Honor Roll of the names of those heroically brave individuals who constitute their congregations and their followers. I hope, too, that the names of all those intrepid children in Clinton Tenn.,Clay, Ky., and other places where to go to the school at all is to court danger, are being recorded for future students to read with admiration and wonder.

1956 has been a great year for extraordinarily uncommon heroism on the part of a great many common ordinary people — colored people — from the American South to South Africa. Autherine Lucy, for example deserves a crown, a star, a million orchids, and a halo. And all the kids at Clay and Clinton deserve scholarships of gratitude through college.

In the arts, colored peoples have made and are making news, too. Japanese films are artistic successes in the major cities of the world. And a Pekin company of Chinese actors toured Europe to bravos.

Beryl McBurnie's Little Carib Dance Group from Trinidad has danced in Jamaica for the Jubilee, and in London. And Negro performers and jazz men from the U. S. A. have excited the poulaces of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

Louis Armstrong, Dizzy Gillespie, and Lionel Hampton literally "broke it up" in such scattered places as Accra, Tokyo and London. Eartha Kit and Dorothy Dandridge have been flying hither and you. Pearl Bailey packed Harlem's Apollo to the rafters for two weeks before taking her highly entertaining show on tour.

Sammy Davis is still packing them in on Broadway. American Negro authors have had a big year, too, in 1956. The women especially have come through with flying colors: Pauli Murray, Gwendolyn Brooks, Margaret Just Butcher, Eartha Kitt, Alice Childress, Billy Holiday, Naomi Long, and other good-writing and good-looking females have had books. Men authors have done well, too.

So from art to politics, stage to nationalism, songs to struggle, last year we made news, big news, which continues into 1957.

LANGSTON Hughes

Defender Sept 3-30-57
Chicago Ill.
P 18

Quite a number of formerly "white" newspapers around the country now have at least one Negro reporter on the staff, and their colored newsmen are not always assigned to cover Negro news.

Fletcher Martin in Chicago recently covered the case of the two naked little white girls presumably slain on a lonely roadside. And in New York, Ted Poston of the "Post" covers all kinds of news, not just events relating to colored people. And he of the passport difficulties, William Worthy, has been writing about Russia and China for the non-Negro, as well as the Negro press. Why a similiar liberality does not extend to the literary supplements of our big American newspapers, in regard to reviewing books, I do not know.

J. Saunders Redding frequently reviews books for the New York "Herald Tribune Books" supplement on Sundays. Roi Ottley often reviews for the Chicago "Magazine of books" of the "Sunday Tribune" as well as for the Saturday Review." Thomas Webster sometimes reviews for the "Kansas City Star," Carl Rowan for the Minneapolis "Tribune," and Arna Bontemps for various papers.

Almost invariably these excellent Negro writers are given to review only books by or about Negroes. Why?

White writers are given books about anybody or anything to review, and they are always commenting on books by colored authors. Why should not colored reviewers comment on books by white authors. and on books concerning any subject—space ships, existentialism, the sea around us. or anything else?

Formerly I myself often reviewed books. But in all my years of writing, I do not recall being asked by the larger newspapers or magazines to comment on any books not by colored writers. I was always asked if I would write a review of the biography or autobiography of some Negro, or analyze the novel of some colored writer, or else a novel by some white writer about Negroes. Never was I asked simply to review a plain ordinary book that had no race angle. Yet in school I read Hawthorne and Dickens and Longfellow and Poe and Balzac and Anatol France. I grew up on the same literary diet as other American writers of my generation did. On my own I later read Hemmingway, Faulkner, Dos Passos, Caldwell, Algren, Jones, Tennessee Williams.

My background in reading is no different from that of most men and women who review books in America. Yet when a literary editor asks me to review a book, it is always a colored book. Why? I reckon it must be just because I am colored. Nobody ever asked me to review "The Robe" or "From Here to Eternity" or "The Wall" or "Auntie Mame" or any other book that was not by or about Negroes.

I wonder if J. Saunders Redding or Arna Bontemps or Roi Ottley are ever offered non-Negro books to review. If they are, I never see such reviews in print.

I hereby move that these men and other colored writers who like to review books begin now to requesting literary editors on the big newspapers and magazines to once in a while, at least, give them some book to write about that has nothing to do with colored folks, color problems, or colored origins. Just for once, a plain ordinary book to review. And while I am at it, I would like to request that the literary editors enlarge their circle of reviewers to include some of the other excellent Negro book reviewers whose comments, so far, have appeared mostly in Negro publications.

I would like to call their attention to Almena Lomax of the Los Angeles "Tribune" and Henry Winslow who reviews frequently, and brilliantly, for the "Crisis" and to Doris Saunders of "Jet" and John W. Parker down in North Carolina and Dr. Hugh Smythe of Brooklyn College, and his writing wife, Mabel Smythe of New York, and Era Bell Thompson of "Ebony," all of whom can write about anybody's books interestingly.

Such men and women as these mentioned in this article should not be restricted just to writing about colored books. Since they can write about anybody's books they should be given the opportunities to do so. Me, I am busy writing books, so am not interested in reviewing just now. But I am getting a little tired of seeing my competent colleagues writing only about "Negro" literature when they could just as well write more generally on occasion.

If the readers of this column agree with me, drop a note to your favorite book editor and gently call his attention to what perhaps may be unintentional segregation in literary circles.

LANGSTON HUGHES

Defender Sat. 4-20-57 P. 10

Week By Week

Chicago, Ill. 31a

The World Is So Full Of So Many Things

From St. Louis Dr. Park J. White sends us a charming little poem which he wrote about children in the clinic of the great Homer Phillips Hospital there, as originally published in the magazine, "Religion & Health" for December, 1956. Thinking you might enjoy it, I pass it on to you:

FROM THE CHILDREN'S CLINIC

Faith, hope, and love; now abide these three.
Yes, Paul, but why do saints leave out mirth?
We lesser mortals must laugh, you see,
Or else be hopelessly bound to earth.

How blest is he with a lilting heart!—
His yoke is easy, his burden light;
He bears his own and another's part;
To him religion is pure delight.

What a wondrous thing is the way of God!—
The way of God with a little child,
Who'll dance along where his elders plod,
Sure that on him the whole world has smiled.

This rhyming sermon with text complete
I owe to four little dark brown girls,
Whose irresistibly dancy feet
Keep time with breezily bouncy curls—

A whirling circle of rhythmic grace,—
Age never planned such a lovely thing!
I think the clinic's a dismal place,
But not when three-year-olds dance and sing!

A song or dance in the midst of pain
Has faith within it which makes men whole,
This dance in the clinic is not in vain,
For through it glimmers a people's soul.

* * *

In far away Africa this Spring a new—yet very old—nation, Ghana, formerly known as the Gold Coast, is reviving its soul through a new birth of freedom as a sovereign member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, following in the footsteps of India.

The American Negro press, in my opinion, is to be congratulated for the excellent coverage which it gave this historic event. And it is encouraging to mark the large number of colored men and women who journeyed all the way from the United States to Africa to be present when Ghana became a free nation.

Not only journalists and government designated officials went to Accra, but many plain ordinary good people paid their own hard earned money to fly across the Atlantic to see their ancestral brothers and sisters hail emergence from colonial status.

This indicates a new and vigorous interest on the part of American colored peoples in Africa, and it is a welcome and wonderful thing, a proud thing, and beautiful. We have shown Ghana by our presence that we wish her well.

* * *

This is an exciting and highly interesting world in which we live today. Certainly there is enough happening to keep us all— if not as happy as kings—surely as busy as kings trying to keep up with all that is going on race-wise from Dixie to Africa.

The newspapers, the radio, and TV screens are full of vital history these days. And in many communities, our own lives are making history, too, particularly in places like Tallahassee, Birmingham, Clinton, and other Southern cities; and in Ghana, Kenyon, and South Africa, as well, where history is jumping.

Those of us who do not live in such exciting places, are excited reading and hearing about them. And our admiration goes out to the dark people everywhere who, with their lives, their courage and simple day-to-day living, are helping to make a better and braver world.

* * *

And so Springs comes! To cold lands that have known six months of bitter winds and ice and snow, Spring is a very wonderful thing. The first warm days, the first leaves, the first robins, the earliest flowers are yearly miracles of unending interest. Oh, so welcome and so wonderful!

Then comes Easter of the Resurrection—symbolizing new birth, new life—indeed life everlasting—in the wonderful spaces even beyond our wonderful world—which is so full in itself of such a number of things that we all ought sometimes to be happy as kings.

Only there are very few kings left these days, so maybe that old rhyme should be changed to be "as happy as men and women who are free!"

LANGSTON HUGHES

Defender Sat. 5-18-57

Week By Week

Chicago, Ill. P. 10

A Rolling Stone Gathers No Moss—But Memories

I read in the papers now where Mrs. Roosevelt is in Europe. It seems that just yesterday I read where she was in New York, and the day before that in North Africa, and the day before that in California. For a lady well up in years, she certainly gets around!

Having covered nothing like Mrs. Roosevelt's mileage this spring, and without crossing any oceans, I have nevertheless done considerable travelling myself in recent weeks.

Since March I've crossed the continent, been in a dozen cities and a half dozen college centers, and have read my poems to a number of audiences.

But writers get paid much less than calypso singers. For a poet on the road, I am afraid that old adage is true, "A rolling stone gathers no moss," if MOSS means money.

But memories any traveller may gather in plenty. I have always found it fun to travel, by car, bus, plane or train. But this spring I have had more trouble getting places on time than I ever experienced before, largely due to the erratic flying weather recently.

More airports have been fog bound this season than any year I have previously known, and flights have either been cancelled or their take-offs delayed for hours.

Last week on a perfectly clear night I left Harlem for La Guardia Field to make an hour's flight to Worcester, Mass. A few minutes after I reached the airfield, all New England flights were cancelled due to low ceilings up that way.

I had intended to make a welcoming party in Worcester by 11 p.m., but instead at that hour I found myself riding back into New York to await a 3 a.m. train for Boston.

There the next morning I took another train to Worcester, arriving about 11 a.m., exactly twelve hours behind schedule — in time to speak, but not in time for the party the night before in my honor.

Worcester has a wonderful Interracial Council, and I met some fine people filled with the kind of spirit the Abolitionists must have had back in the old days when Garrison and Lowell and Frederick Douglass were active.

At the home of the Browns, I sat in a chair where Douglass used to sit almost a hundred years ago, and ate with silver dating back to Revolutionary times. On the walls were oil paintings of Negro ancestors in Colonial stocks and jackets.

A few days before it had been my pleasure to read my poems at Howard university in Washington. There the famous cherry blossoms were in bloom along the Potomac.

The president of Howard himself, Mordecai Johnson, came to my program, and it was inspiring to again talk with that great old educator, orator, and battler for the Negro cause.

Back again I flew to New York where my Simple play is in rehearsal and revisions and new songs for the show took up my time until I boarded another plane for Baltimore. There I spoke to the students in an enormous gymnasium.

Morgan State college has a spacious campus on a series of hills, and a number of new buildings. But I hope it soon has a suitable auditorium for lectures and concerts. A vast gym with bleacher seats is hardly conducive to the intimacy most poetry needs.

My poetry is not very delicate, however, so it seemed to survive bouncing from the microphone over the basketball floor. And I had a good time at Morgan.

On my return to New York, I went to see the new Judy Holliday show, "Bells Are Ringing" which I found delightful.

Since it is no longer a novelty to find Negroes in Broadway shows where race is not pointed up in any way, I did not know that the charming Urlyee Leonardos and the agile Billy Wilson were a part of the production.

But there they were singing and dancing along with everybody else, and all dressed up as handsomely as the others in the big party scene, mingling right along with the rest of the elegant guests, just as colored guests do at some Park Avenue parties in real life these days.

Incidentally, at the parties I attended in Washington and Baltimore, there were both colored and white guests. Integration is spreading apace these days! No moss, but lots of pleasant memories from my spring travels!

31a 1957

WHITE (BOB INGRAM)

A Negro Educator For The School Study

Advertiser Sun. 9-15-57

31a White

Montgomery Ctr P. 3-B

By Bob Ingram

THERE was some undeserved eyebrow raising when Gov. James E. Folsom appointed Dr. J. F. Drake as a member of the Alabama Education Study Commission.

INGRAM

Dr. Drake is a Negro, the only member of his race named to the 21-member commission which will make a detailed probe of the problems of education.

It is doubtful that there are many men in Alabama better equipped or more deserving to serve on this important commission than Dr. Drake. For 30 years he has served as president of Alabama A. & M. at Normal. It's doubtful any man could have gotten so much out of so little.

Dr. Drake is held in the highest regard by members of the Alabama Legislature, before whom he has appeared on occasions submitting budget requests. Not once has he been known to pad his budget. He asks for what he needs and nothing more. The Legislature appreciates this. It is an oddity.

Cornell Alumnus

BORN 65 years ago at Auburn, Dr. Drake received his bachelor degree from Talladega College, his master's from Columbia University and his doctorate from Cornell University.

Dr. Drake will be a valuable asset to the commission.

At the time of the apopintment of Drake the governor also named two other members to the commission—Dr. David Mullins, executive vice president of Auburn, and Mrs. George Yarbrough of Wedowee, a veteran school teacher and the wife of the state senator by the same name.

Mullins will also make a valuable contribution to the commission. His experience at Auburn will help, and also to his advantage will be his night-and-day work with the Legislature this summer.

Mrs. Yarbrough will bring the women's view to the commission, plus that of the school teacher. In addition, her appointment will tend to ease a senatorial sore spot.

Sen. Yarbrough had opposed consideration of the Lackey-Edwards bill, finally agreeing to let it come up for a final vote on the promise he would be elected to the commission. Unfortunately the Senate failed to keep the promise. After the bill was brought up and passed Sen. Yarbrough was rudely defeated in his bid for election to the commission.

An effort was made to get around this embarrassing predicament by authorizing two more members to the commission, one to be appointed by the Speaker of the House, the other by the Lieutenant Governor. But the House refused to go along, leaving the senator out in the cold. His wife's appointment will ease the pain.

Full Representation

WITH ALL 21 seats now filled it is apparent that sponsors of the bill—Reps. Rufus Lackey and Jess Edwards of Birmingham—could not have hoped for a better commission.

Industry, labor, education and the public are well represented. This outstanding group is scheduled to meet here soon to elect a chairman and get down to work.

As finally elected, here is the make-up of this important group:

Legislative members—Reps. Virgis Ashworth of Centreville, Joe Dawkins of Montgomery, Hugh Kaul of Birmingham, McDowell Lee of Clio and Hugh Merrill of Anniston; Sens. Lynchmore Cantrell of Tuscumbia, E. O. Eddins of Demopolis, Joe Smith of Phenix City and Herman Vann of Huntsville.

District members—Clifton B. Gillmore, Grove Hill, 1st District; Earl Pippin, Montgomery, 2nd District; H. B. Larkin, Elba, 3rd District; Hugh Comer, Sylacauga, 4th District; Tom Russell, Alexander City, 5th District; Hayse Tucker, Tuscaloosa, 6th District; G. T. Walker, Kennedy, 7th District; Howell Heflin, Tuscumbia, 8th District; Mervyn Sterne, Birmingham, 9th District.

Education members—Dr. Drake, Dr. Mullins, Mrs. Yarbrough.

A Jittery Folsom

GOV. FOLSOM was a nervous, ill at ease man when he met with the press Tuesday to hold forth on matters of race in general and emasculation in particular.

He had arrived at his office only moments before summoning the press, and it could have been the drive from the Mansion to the Capitol which shook him up.

For reasons unknown he was transported to his office in the state car assigned to the personal use of Winston Craig, gubernatorial chauffeur and gasoline station owner (Standard Service Station, 801 High St.)

Winston's car is a Ford, but with all its roominess it still didn't quite meet the physical requirements of the king-sized governor of Alabama. Folsom was a bit cramped.

He was still cramped when he sat down to face the press corps. This delegation was not long in sensing Folsom's unrest. It was evident by his appearance. He had on his bifocals.

Folsom was given a glasses-for-reading sentence by his doctor months ago. ("You'll be wearing them too when you reach 47," quipped the doctor.) The governor has complied with the doctor's orders, but seldom is he seen wearing any of his glasses—he has three pair—in public.

In all honesty, Folsom is wise not to wear his glasses publicly. Somehow they just don't look right on him. They give a scholarly appearance, the worst possible thing which could happen to him politically.

Admittedly Folsom wasn't long in removing his glasses at the press conference. But before depositing them in his coat pocket he used them as best he could to conceal his nervousness. Some of these fidgetings were caught by Advertiser Chief Photographer Joe Holloway as seen in the accompanying photographs.

Other than fiddle with his glasses, and later with the dark maroon suspenders he was wearing, Folsom had little to say that he hadn't said before. Apparently the purpose of the conference was to reassure the people of Alabama that their governor was on the job preserving segregation.

The Confederate Folsoms

HE DID take the time, however, to expound on the role played by the Folsom family in the Civil War, a role not heretofore given its just recognition.

Folsom brought up the family historical data when asked to comment on the actions of his square-dancing buddy from Arkansas, Gov. Orval Faubus. (At the Point Clear Governor's Conference two years ago Gov. Faubus called a round of square dancing in near professional style, his performance coming shortly after Folsom had led the congregation in a rendition of "On Top of Old Smokey.")

Folsom backed off from comment on Faubus, but did observe that the last time the National Guard and the federal government clashed it brought on the Civil War.

"I'm opposed to Civil War or bloodshed, my family had a belly-full of it," Folsom declared, warming to the task. "Five uncles of mine were in that war, but none of them even had slaves. What they did have they had sold before the war."

"All of them got killed but one, and he was wounded," Folsom continued. "And they weren't none of them sword-waving generals who got all the glory; they wuz privates and sergeants. Yessir, we got enough of that Civil War."

He later referred to his Confederate relatives as "great uncles" which from an element of time seems more reasonable.

Folsom At 49: An Old Man, He Says

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.
Sun. 10-13-57 P 3 B.

By Bob Ingram

GOV. JAMES E. FOLSOM, a one-time boy wonder in Alabama politics, celebrated his 49th birthday Thursday. He vowed it would be his last such celebration.

INGRAM

"If Jack Benny can stay 39, I can stay 49," Folsom explained.

At noon on the eve of his birthday the press converged on the Mansion for a picture of the governor eating potlikker and cornbread in keeping with the beginning of National Potlikker Week.

It was here that the suggestion was made that the governor should submit to an interview, a reminiscing sort of thing, on his life. After all, be he a good or bad governor, Folsom has earned himself a niche in state history. A story of the 49 years just ended seemed justified. The governor didn't think so.

"Aw shucks, The Advertiser ain't interested in that; it wouldn't make much of a story," Folsom said, wiping turnip green potlikker from his chin.

R.S.V.P.

THAT was that until late Wednesday afternoon. Then the phone rang. The governor's office was calling with a message:

"Gov. Folsom wants you and your wife to attend his birthday party tonight at the Mansion. Will you be there?"

A quick call to the wife for clearance, a babysitter lined up, and the invitation was accepted.

The slurpers at the trough at the Mansion had to move over and make room for another—the press had arrived.

The puzzlement as to why a critical reporter should be invited to a party limited exclusively to the upper strata of the Folsom hierarchy was not long in being cleared.

"You wuz the only reporter to ask me for an interview on my birthday, that's the reason I invited you here tonight," Folsom said. "I'm going to give you that interview. Nobody else but the Advertiser will have it. How about that for an exclusive?"

To the rather cramped den of the Mansion we went, the entourage including the governor, Press Secretary Ed Brown, Public Safety Director Bill Lyerly, Lawrence Sebring of the Department of Corrections and Institutions, and this reporter.

Nobody else was invited, nobody else could get in. After a couple tried Folsom bluntly ordered the den door to be locked and thereafter there were no interruptions.

Old But Young

DRESSED in a pair of blue gabardine slacks, a dark green sport shirt and good-looking, highly polished black loafers, Folsom sprawled out on the sofa and began the interview.

"I'm an old man in politics, I'm solid an old man," Folsom said, seemingly making this admission with a degree of sadness. "Any man who is elected twice as governor is an old man in politics."

After letting that sink in, the governor continued.

"I'm an old man in politics, but I'm a young man when it comes to the age of my family, and my family has got to come first," he declared. "I put them first in everything, that's the reason I won't run for public office again."

Col. Lyerly chuckled out loud, Brown grinned knowingly, Sebring had a big smile on his face.

Folsom scowled good-naturedly at the unbelievers in the room, and during the pause that followed he was asked what he considered the high point of his life.

"The high point? There's no single high point. I guess my family background is my high point. I inherited my politics," Folsom said. "Half of my family was for secession, half of them were against it."

Another pause allowed another question: "Don't you consider your election as governor in 1946 and 1954 as two of your high points?"

"Well, I never was elected to anything at any other time, so I guess I would call 'em high points," Folsom said.

Folsom then returned to the nostalgic vein.

"Did you know I am old enough to have spent six years in the horse artillery," Folsom said. "I'll bet you don't even remember the horse artillery. That makes me pretty old. But I was in the horse artillery for six years in the Alabama National Guard at Elba. Old Chestnut was my favorite horse."

Folsom then related an interesting coincidence in his life of which he was noticeably proud.

"I'm probably the only human who served on the first Hog Island ship made in World War I and also served on the first Liberty ship made in World War II," Folsom said. "You don't remember it but Hog Island ships were the same thing as the Liberty ships of World War II. They called them Hog Island ships because that was where they were built—on Hog Island near Philadelphia.

"The name of that Hog Island ship was the Quistconck, and it was dedicated by Mrs. Wilson, the wife of the president," Folsom said. "And the first Liberty ship, the Patrick Henry, was dedicated by Mrs. Roosevelt, the wife of the World War II president."

"Why I'll bet I'm the only man who ever served on both them ships—the first Hog Islander and the first Liberty ship," he continued. "And both of them dedicated by the wives of the wartime presidents."

Half And Half

RETURNING to his family background, Folsom reemphasized that the "high light" of his life was the fact that he "inherited my political success."

"All the folks on my father's side were secessionists, while on my mother's side they were against it," Folsom said. "My mother's father didn't have but one or two slaves and he freed them 10 years before the war. He was a big man, 6-6, and he went all over the Wiregrass—I call it the Piney Woods—speaking against secession. He had four sons and they were all as big as I am and they went with him as bodyguards. While he was speaking on the inside against secession they were on the outside fighting."

"Now they were different on my father's side," Folsom continued. "My grandmother had four brothers and all four of them were killed in the Civil War. So you see I was raised up in a divided family. But I'm against secession right now."

It was here Folsom abruptly returned to his future political plans, and in returning he undid all he had said before.

"I don't intend to run for office again," Folsom said, "but they say the road to hell is paved with good intentions."

"I'll ride on that trolley," Lyerly shouted gleefully. "Give me two tickets."

"That's a good one, Governor," Sebring chimed in.

The Race Bill Vetoes

WITH THAT question settled Folsom turned to the racial question.

"There's been a lot of talk about me vetoing those segregation bills," Folsom said, referring to several measures he killed by pocket veto at the end of the session. One would have prohibited the incorporation of a city within the police jurisdiction of another city and was specifically aimed at preventing Negroes who were gerrymandered out of Tuskegee from forming their own municipality.

"The greatest exponent the South has ever known for good race relations was Booker T. Washington," Folsom declared. "Booker T. Washington's policies have been Alabama's greatest asset down through the years."

"Any person who thinks I'll deny the great Institute of Tuskegee the right of city citizenship is definitely wrong," Folsom declared. "Tuskegee Institute is a national symbol of peaceful race relations. I as governor will never deny that symbol the privilege of city citizenship if they so desire."

"My policy has been not to agitate the Negro race," Folsom added. "Our relations are probably better than in any other Southern state."

With that remark Folsom arose, signifying the end of the interview. We all returned to the trough for food, drink and birthday cake.

31a 1957

Folsom's Books— Known, Unknown

advertiser

Sun 1-20-57

By Bob Ingram

(Auditors' Report Details On Page 4-B)

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Montgomery, Ala.

INGRAM

The examinations were originally initiated by the Department of Examiners eight months ago, but called off almost immediately when Gov. Folsom refused to release the necessary records.

Later, in the heat of the controversy that followed, Folsom threatened to call out the militia and use "tanks and guns" to prevent any examination of his spending. That threat was interpreted to be an admission on the part of the governor that he had something to hide; the audit released Wednesday confirmed that interpretation. To say that part of the spending was a mite unusual is being charitable.

P. 3

Admittedly, state examiners could lay their hands on but $4,689 in misspent money, but had they been able to interrogate everyone involved there is little doubt the figure would have been much higher.

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advertiser

With monotonous regularity, Examiners Gray Thatcher and W. J. Colley pointed out expenditures where there was no documentary evidence of any sort to support the payment. Instead, Folsom would merely write State Comptroller John Graves and instruct him to issue a check for a certain amount to a certain individual.

Under such circumstances, it was impossible for the examiners to prove that such expenditures were illegal.

Sun 1-20-57

The best example of this were the frequent payments made to Mrs. Folsom, who seems to have found the Mansion Fund far more lucrative than the cosmetic business. During the 20-month period covered in the audit she was paid an astounding $11,839.

This included $3,400 for entertainment expenses, $7,389 for incidental expenses and $1,050 for groceries.

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advertiser

Speculating on this point, the examiners admitted a bit skeptically that it was "difficult to conceive of a situation" whereby

entertainment expenses remained exactly the same, week after week.

Then there is the case of Mrs. Myra Hammond, wife of Executive Secretary Ralph Hammond. Ralph is a high-type sort of fellow, well bred and well educated and as such something of a freak on the Folsom team. Yet he has stood back and permitted his equally charming wife to find herself a choice place at the trough.

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WHAT THE examiners did not mention was another sidelight to Mrs. Hammond's $300 a month job. When things got tough at the Mansion last summer and the home was closed, Mrs. Hammond was conveniently placed on the Law Enforcement Fund payroll where she continued to draw the same salary. Not long afterwards, and possibly purely coincidental, Folsom transferred sufficient money from his Emergency Fund to the Law Enforcement Fund to take care of Mrs. Hammond's salary.

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It seems only fair to point out here that in the case of Mrs. Hammond, her pension was not based on need. Husband Ralph gets $10.000 a year for his services, and should things get real tight, they could always return to Arab wherein resides Mrs. Hammond's father, who is not exactly destitute.

In keeping with his strong conviction that charity begins at home, Gov. Folsom fared right well himself.

Sun. 1-20-57 P. 3

During the period from Jan. 17, 1955 through Sept. 30, 1956, Folsom told Graves to pay Folsom checks totalling $24,343. This included $6,040 from the Emergency Fund and another $18,303 from the Mansion Fund for travel, entertainment and incidental expenses. These payments were in addition to the $20,000 paid to Folsom in wages.

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Some Beneficiaries

THERE WAS so much to question in Folsom's spending practices that it is impossible to touch them all, but a few of the more notable cases included:

advertiser

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Sun. 1-20-57

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Winston Craig, chauffeur — Due largely to his many trips with the governor, Craig's most steady source of income was in travel expense. He received $1,325 from this source, another $170 for entertainment at the Mansion, $1,043 in incidental expenses and $200 for groceries. That is a total of $2,728.

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Cloverdale Grocery was a close second, being paid $3,034 during the first eight months, followed by $2,545 in 1955-56.

The audit also showed that Mrs. Folsom's trip to the Democratic National Convention in Chicago last August — a trip bypassed by Folsom — cost but $725. This included a $465 hotel bill at the swank Conrad Hilton and a $260 check for a party held for the Alabama delegation at the LaSalle Hotel.

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OTHER EXPENDITURES of more than passing interest was the purchase of an organ from E. E. Forbes at a cost of about $2,500; new furniture costing about $15,000 (apparently including a color TV set and an expensive Niagara massaging chair); and football and basketball tickets costing $442.

Sun 1-20-57

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How about a little help for old Jeff Davis, Governor?

31a 1957

NEGRO (EMORY O. JACKSON)

THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

HUNTSVILLE, Ala. (SNS) —With missile production added to the variety of industry in operation in Alabama, how does the racial employment picture look?

There is no agency functioning in Ala. that audits job opportunities, Nor is there employment exploring leadership dedicated to wilening racial job opportunities and seeking to reduce the talent and manpower waste

One factor in job building is training. Job training opportunities are not broadly and fully opened to members of the Negro group. Unions, Industry, and the publicly - supported schools jointly share this blame.

The racial minority is caught in the vicious circle. Some powers-that be educators refuse certain types of job training to the deprived minority on the assumption that some jobs are closed to the darker citizens because of his race. Job recruitment officials pass over this hampered minority, they say, because he lacked requisite training, the American citizen is now a mobile citizen. Yet the vicious circle continues to operate.

Recently the Wall Street Journal published an article in which a manager of a General Motors Assembly plant in Atlanta, Ga. is quoted as saying that GM "agreed to abide by local custom and not hire Negroes for production work" General Motors' parent office denied that any such policy existed and asserted that the company had a non-discrimination policy.

However the main office of General Motors indicated that it was leftto the local manager to determine who should be hired. This is so-called "escape clause" Proof of the practice is the employment roster.

The observation is made that a number of new plants have set up residence in Decatur. Ala. There are rumors that a gentleman's agreement between the plant and the local center-of-power leaders to hire Negro persons only in the lowest classifications such as janitors, maids, sweepers. Whether such an unwritten agreement exists is likely to remain unrevealed for a verified stand point. Yet the job roster could make a report which no rumor would disturb. The practice is the mirror of policy.

Roland L. Adams in a speech to the 20th annual session of the Alabama State Chamber of Commerce, which incidentally is an all-white organization, is quoted in the press as indicating that 54 new industries with an involvement of $90 millions were added over the year and that 36 existing industries plan an expansion program. He is also quoted as estimating that utilities will make an expansion calling for an outlay of $250 million.

Just how will these new industries and plant expansions effect the job pool, of which the Negro citizen is a part? Local managers or branch plants are allowed to determine the employment policy and the Chamber of Commerce works to bring in new business. Is the Negro group fairly represented to industry as part of the worker force There is no existing agency to collect and distribute such information.

The trend toward various types of migration, the emphasis on industrialization of the South, mechanization of the farms and the Sputnization of science are factors at work changing the South, and remaking civilization. Which means an industrialized society must blend with an integrated economy. The advocacy of equality must carry with it the acceptance of integration it seems to me.

An enlightened economy depends upon an educated citizenry. Yet Mr. Adams is quoted as saying. "Alabama would abolish its public schools before it would submit to integration and other Southern ates would do the same thing." The advocacy of abolition of the schools is a type of defiance of the law of the land no higher than lower forms of defiance.

North Carolina Governor Luther Hodges, also speaking at the ASCC, appealed for giving considerations to the majority. Yet the American system is based upon prime consideration for the individual. In a democrary the individual is king. Majorities in America are no more than a rolling together of shifting minorites.

The point is, the individual should be considered on the basis of his ability, capacity, training and character. Majority status, race and religion, or national organ has nothing to do with fitness.

Five Homes Purchased By Negroes Bombed In City

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Bombing and burning of homes recently purchased by Negro citizens in the Fountain Heights area have climbed to a total of five in less than one year.

Most recently, a purchased but unoccupied house at 1216 - 13th St. No., on Saturday morning, December 7, was demolished by 12 sticks of dynamite.

None of these racial bombings, burning and cross-burnings, and related outbreaks have been solved The same can be said about other similiar acts of violence in Birmingham over a 10-year period.

Public Safety Commissioner Eugene Connor, was quoted as saying on the Fountain Heights race-inspired bombing: "We are going to do all we can to find the person or persons who did this and send them to the penitentiary. This dynamiting of homes is a terrible thing, and first thing you know somebody is going to be killed.

Over a long period of years, Fountain Heights has been composed of religious, economic, and social minorities. Darted into the neighborhood has always been a few Negro families who were miserably situated, or lived under conditions of of other years have left Fountain Heights, a neighborhood which is yielding to the pressure of Birmingham's expansion.

A second factor is that the City of Birmingham (that is, its elected officials and their successors) are under a federal court injunction which restrains them from enforcing any residential zoning laws based upon race. Federal courts have ruled restrictive convenants unenforceable. Real estate men have found the Negro housing needs a figurative gold mine.

However, Commissioner Connor quoted was by the Birmingham News ,on Sunday, Dec. 8 as saying:

"These bombings are terrible and have to stop. We are going to do everything we can to stop them."

"One of the things that can be done is that the real estate board should void the licenses of firms and salesmen who sell homes to Negroes in white sections."

"They know when they sell those houses that it is liable to cause trouble, and the Negroes themselves should know not to buy those homes."

"I would like to personally call on the real estate board to look into these sales this year they have been bombings, and to get the salesmen responsible on the carpet, to let them know that the next time a firm or salesman sells a house to a Negro in a white settlement that they are going to have their license revoked."

"Shurely if the board can give a man or firm a license to sell, they have a right to take it away from him doing things he knows he shouldn't do."

"It is going to take the full cooperation of the board, the white and the colored, and the police department to stop these bombings before some one gets killed."

"You can count on the Birmingham Police Department doing everything possible to find who has been doing this bombing and to send them to the penitentiary."

"Now, I'm asking the real estate board and the purchasers and sellers of these homes to do their part in helping to stop this terrible thing."

In the meantime, Negro civic and vicil rights leaders have made no comment for publication on the fresh outbreak of housing violence on Fountain Heights. Nor has the real estate board mentioned by Mr. Connor issued at this time its reactions.

Whether the cancellation of a broker's license on racial housing grounds would be valid in light of the federal court injunction, present federal housing policy, or risky in view of the vast Negro housing market, remains unsettled.

The question also might be raised as to how and where Mr. Connor's statement puts him in view of the federal courts restraining order with reference to Birmingham's racial residential zoning. Should the real estate board attempt to implement Mr. Connor's suggested approach, would that bring them into clash with the federal court's restraining order?

Yet the fact remains that the "terrible" bombings have continued over a 10-year period without anybody being brought to bar for these acts of lawless violence. Negro leaders have not come up with a goodwill spotlight of enlightened public opinion on these spreading racial outbreaks.

THE TIP OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

How should "race relations in any given Southern state be measured? Often the question is pitched at this spot, "how are race relations in Alabama?"

1. What organizations are there in Alabama working in the so-called "race relations" field under standards acceptable to the definition of such work? Or is it true that "race relations" is a dated phrase and that the situation is considered in terms of the total?

THE TIP OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

There never has been an Urban League in Alabama. Only one organization in the field of inter-group or inter-cultural or interracial in recent years that claimed itself as a statewide organization, the Alabama Interracial Committee and its successor the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Gov. James E. Folsom discussed setting up such a committee that did not materialize. Local interracial committes have always existed in some form and to some extent.

The NAACP was organized as an interracial instrument but in practice it has been less than that in Alabama. It is now banned. NAACP came to Alabama about 1917. Yet until about 10 years ago it was not tied together in a conference.

In some cties (Birmingham being one) municipal laws is of such that there can be no organizations which permit person-to-person communication or which keep the lines of friendly discussion open. The interracial committee of the Coordinating Council of Social Forces was dissolved. The Birmingham Council on Human Relations cannot meet except by to violate municipal law or sacrifice its own principles.

2. Could labor unions serve as an index to the quality of "race relations" in a given city or given state? Many union leaders ignored national policy. Union meetings are subject to the same municipal laws as the interracial organizations. Union activities do not always hug the policies voiced by the top brass of the labor movement.

3. Could the church be regarded as a barometer of "race relations?" Churches pastored by Negro ministers do not close their services to anyone on the basis of race, city or region. Usually the Catholic Church is open to Catholic members. However some tent church leaders have indicated that they tried the "whosoever will let him come" and ran into difficulties. Local law is not on the side of open worship and the right to serve God as you choose. Community law is stronger that Christ love.

4. It was once said that where you have good daily newspapers you have good "race relations." Of your three largest cities in Alabama, Birmingham is the only one with separately owned dailies. Yet Birmingham has no Negro policemen. It has the tightest segregation laws. It has been a city of unsolved racial bombings. It is the stronghold of the KKK, WCC and Southern Crafts, Inc.

5. Some one has suggested that the ballot is the mirrow of "race relations." Percentage-wise the Negro suffrage in Birmingham lacks behind that of Mobile and Montgomery.

It has been suggested that communication in the Deep South is been broken up between Negro and white leaders. Yet this results from forces of law, of violence. of economic squeeze outside of the power of the once communicating leaders. Restrained such forces and the lines of communication would likely resume.

What role does the Community Chest play in fostering desirable community understanding? It seems to have the "power bloc" on its side.

This question naturally arises because in some Southern cities a conservative organizations like the Urban League have withdrawn, been forced out, or - are existing under cramped circumstances in the Community Chest felt justi- that in many instances the Community Chest felted justified in taking the course it did in order to protect its fundraising.

It's tough question trying to give a factual and analytical answer to the status of "race relations" today in a given city or state in the South. To do so about Alabama you run into many difficulties, it seems to me.

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31a 1957

NEGRO (EMORY O. JACKSON)

THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

In his annual address to the National Negro Business League, convening in Boston Mass. Dr. Frederick Douglass Patterson, declared, among other things, that the league "should work for a strong and independent vote which is willing to forsake party loyalties at the local level in behalf of national issues and strategy of significance to the Negro people as a whole."

He did not exactly spell out what he meant. But why should one forsake party loyalties at the local level" and not at other levels.' It seems to me that local political action leadership would have to determine how best to play his politics to get the most where he lives, on the local level. Working as a part of a local political machine, functioning as a party factotum, could at times serve his interest as well as participating as an independent voter.

On the national level in the 1956 presidential campaign, Dr. Patterson saw fit to identify himself with a political party. One must read his "forsake party loyalties at the local level" in connection with his behavior in the last national election. He wants this forsaking on "behalf of national issues and strategy of significance to the Negro people as a whole." Yet there are local issues of value to the local voter.

Meantime politics, like charity, must begin at home. Issues which rest on one's doorstep should not be ignored. In other words, one's political interest should reach from the ward to the White House. At some point most of the vital issues touch each other. Local issues also have "significance to the Negro people as a whole" who live in that particular locality.

Dr. Patterson, former president of Tuskegee Institute and currently the executive director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund of New York City, also observed: "The Negro has always sought full integration as an American citizen. But when Montgomery, Alabama insisted that race must play a dominant and discriminatory role, Negroes met and licked the opposition on its own terms."

All that furnishes good reading and excellent speech-making material. But what about Negro-owned, Negro-financed, Negro-managed, and racially-integrated business in Alabama. There is not an over-all organization of business. Insurance companies capitalized out of investments by Negro persons in Alabama are not organized. There is is no research which analyzes this capitalized economic strength.

Meantime there is not a single statewide consumer organization in Alabama composed of members of the Negro group. These are things within the orbit of the National Negro Business League. Business, like politics, must be built at the local level. Business needs the protection of the ballot and a friendly locality if it is to grow and flourish For that reason the local business man wisely shows an interest in local politics which too often is his first political concern.

An opportunity is needed for training those who must manage and service Negro-directed business. Which means that the state-supported universities and related institutions will need to provide such training for all. Alabama does not have a certified public accountant among the Negro group, or certified licensed underwriter, or real estate appraiser, or actuary

Just as surveys have been made to determine the ballot strength of the Negro group in Alabama let there be similar undertakings in the field of business. Too little is known among the Negro group about the aggregate of their own business.

Economic integration is possible under mass capitalism and mass savings plans. This will require investment wizards of which they are but few among the Negro group at the present time.

The NNBL claims as members 30,000 Negro business men in 33 states. The statistics hardly tell the full story. Each business man would not necessarily mean a business. The league needs to get on the job of stimulating business among the Negro group and not become a cover organization for any political party on the national level, it seems to me.

THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

The dwindling supply of Negro dentists tends to pose a serious problem for the Negro minority in Alabama.

Perhaps no more than 54 Negro dentists are serving the approximately one million Negro persons in this state. Among these are about seven who have put in over 40 years of service.

It appears that since 1953 Negro candidates for licenses have found qualifying rather difficult. Only one Negro candidate out of 12 has been successful, it is said, over a three year period.

Irony of this lies in two observations. One is that a number of Negro dental students ask for and accept the Jim Crow Scholarships which are offered by our state to those Negroes seeking to learn their tooth work anywhere except within the state of Alabama. The other is that under the "Lucy Case Decision" every unit, activity, college, and center of the University of Alabama has been legally opened to members of the Negro group.

Yet some of the future men and women of dentistry accept the Jim Crow handouts, return as candidates for license, and are rejected. The moral of this is that Jim Crow, whether in the form of scholarships, or favors, in the long run does not pay off. It turns on the hand that accepts it.

The program of the 38th annual convention of the Alabama Dental Society listed four speakers from the University of Alabama School of Dentistry. In other words, speakers from an institution which does not yet admit Negroes to training despite a federal court ruling to the contrary, dominated the program.

The University of Alabama School of Dentistry is devoted primarily to training Alabamaians in this field. In its set up students are supported to be drawn fairly from the 67 counties. This is an accredited dental school the same as the Meharry School of Dentistry or the Howard University School of Dentistry. Legally open to all on merit, our University of Alabama School of Dentistary is not as yet enrolling Negro students.

The fact that the out-of-state aid handouts, or Jim Crow Scholarhsips are still being sought, accepted, and used, would tend to indicate that our men of science want it this way.. Otherwise they would likely apply and demand admission in our own Alabama School of Dentistry.

THE TIP OFF

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When you read where children are seeking admittance to the nearest Birmingham public schools, taking tests and under going the agony of the path-maker, you begin to wonder about grown men, college trained steeped in the sciences who accept the debasing Jim Crow Scholarships and yet must earn their living from the freedom sweat of the masses of Negroes.

Maybe enrolling in our University of Alabama School of Dentistry would not eliminate the barrier apparently facing the Negro candidates for the profession. Yet it seems reasonable to assume that graduates of this dental school would not meet with such problems.

THE TIP OFF

Daily Worker p. 6 Atlanta, Ga

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

The toolmakers of voter-registration are due in Birmingham for two days this week-end.

Speech-making is billed as one of the features of the conference. Listed also are report-making, workshops, picture showing or visual aids, clinics. For about six years these meetings have followed the same general pattern. Sun. 11-24-57

It is well that the meeting is being held here in Jefferson County where there are an estimated 121,000 Negro persons 21 years and older. Yet less than an estimated 10,000 of this number are qualified voters. There are approximate-25,000 Negro war veterans living in the Ninth Congressional District.

Yet there is no up- to- date book-keeping among the voter registration leaders in Jefferson County on the progress of voter-registration. One hears stories of boswelling rejections, over-questioning, but there are no reports made by the organizations that could be used to turn the spotlight on such questionable practices, if they are true, as reported.

There is the vote commission of the Alabama State Teachers Association. Yet Negro teachers in some counties are reportedly racially deprived of the privilege of registering to vote. There are reports that in some Black Belt counties Negro teachers have been dismissed from their teaching jobs for being active in voter-registration activities. Only way to correct such injurious practices is to turn the searchlight of relentless publicity upon them.

The voter-registration leaders seems to have failed to use the best deterrent to unlawful rejections based upon discrimination, that being public exposure .Unfair rejections based upon hostile discrimination can best be fought in the arena of public opinion, it seems to me.

Some weeks back (Aug. 7-8) The Southern Christian Leadership Conference in session at Montgomery, Alabama outlined an ambitious "massive registration" campaign.

As yet the campaign has not moved off. Since that time the Congress enacted a watered down right to-vote bill. Nothing has been done with this new legislative tool.

So we come to another voter-registration conference. In notorious Lowndes County and awful Wilcox County Negro citizens are still totally denied the privileged of voting. Not even the Federal government seems to be concerned about such wholesale denials.

But this time there is ample new literature available on the subject In addition to the basic field research by Prof. J. E. Pierce of Alabama State College, the summer, 1957 issue of The Journal of Negro Education is devoted to "The Negro Voter in the South", and the Southern Regional Council has published "The Negro Voter in the South", edited by Margaret Price.

Dean C. G. Gomillion of Tuskegee Institute did the chapter on Alabama for the Journal. He says "Voting is a form of speaking." His essay is a pentrating, absorbing, and analytical discussion of all facets of the voter registration problem.

He say: "Most of the counties having the lowest percentages of the Negro voting age population registered have high percentages of Negroes in their total population, they are in the Black Belt, or both."

Margaret Price has this to say about the situation in the Ninth Congressional District:

"Birmingham and surrounding Jefferson County present one of the gloomiest pictures for Negroes in the South. In no other major city of the region has it been so difficult for them to vote. Only about 7,000 of 121,667 Negroes over 21 are registered.

Instead of the standard form and the character witnesses, Jefferson County registrars have employed another method unique in the state: added questions about government.

They might ask on what date the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution became effective, what was the fourteenth state to be admitted to the Union, on what date did Oklahoma change from a territory to a state? They have recognized no limits to their power to interrogate. While Negroes have been the Board's main target, white union members, particularly if they wore overalls or work cloths, have reported that they sometimes find registration difficult or impossible.

Negroes appearing before the Board often have been questioned for from 35 to 40 minutes; they have had to line up separately, and the longer the line the longer the question."

"(Dr. Donald) strong in his study of Jefferson County, described the method used by registrars to avoid suits with the following hypothetical case: a person who failed to satisfy the board was told orally he did not qualify; the applicant then secured an attorney and filed a suit, which was a signal for the board to register the plaintiff His suit collapsed and no court had an opportunity to pass on Section 33 of the Alabama Code and and the "qualified to register phase."

(Dr. Donald S. Strong is author of "Registrtion of Voters in Ala.," published in 1956 by The Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama).

THE TIP OFF

Worker p. 6 Birmingham Ala. 12-11-57

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

JACKSON, Miss. — (SNS) — Percy Greene, editor of the 16-year-old Jackson (Mississippi) Advocate, was pacing the sidewalk in front of his upstairs office at 406 1-2 North Farish Street when I dropped by to pay him a friendly visit.

We pulled the stairs to his office, talking as we walked. I had no business other than to chat with an old friend with whom I had worked in other days in the NAACP, in the NNPA and in regional political action. While in Mississippi I wanted to get the views of Editor Greene on state progress, on the State Sovereignty Committee and on Arrington High, 47-year old editor of the leaflet. "The Eagle Eye" who had been placed in a mental institution.

From the conversation I could understand that High and Greene were in different corners. The Nov. 23 issue of the Advocate had a front-page story on High's detention. Yet the Advocate's Percy Greene knew much more than any newspaper story could possibly reveal.

It was when I directed the conversation to the State Sovereignty Committee that the Advocate editor hoisted himself from his seat, began to lecture me, an dto speak critically of the NAACP and name calling leaders. In one of the reports of the State Sovereignty Committee some Negro leaders had been listed as getting "expense" money. The SSC is Mississippi's weapon to preserve racial segregation, to win national acceptance of the Mississippi way of life, and to advertise the segregationist's point of view.

What Editor Greene seemed to have thought was that I came by to join the name-calling, which is certainly not my field of service. But on reading an editorial in the Nov. 6 issue of his weekly, I found essentially what he sputtered to me in face-to-face conversation. His quarrel seemed to be with the national NAACP leaders. He observed in that editorial: " . . . Clarence Mitchell of the Washington Bureau, Gloster Current, the Director of Branches and Mrs. Ruby Hurley, its Southeasten Regional Director, have discovered the fact that name-calling and the vindictive retort is no substitute for the statesmanship and diplomacy so badly needed by Negro leaders in these troubled times in the matter of Race Relations....."

He suggested: "The Jackson Advocate and its editor, 'Uncle Tom' Percy Greene, is primarily interested in the solution of the race problem in Mississippi on a formula that will enable its Negro and white people to live side by side in peace, progress, and goodwill, the solution that can be found when intelligent Negro and white leaders in the state start meeting and working together to that end.".... ....

The Advocate Editor then pleads: ".....Gloster Current refused to consider the fact that those who believe in segregation are deeply sincere in their conviction as are those who believe in integration and are entitled to the same kind of respect; such remarks together with the remarks and threats of civil rights suits against state officials" made by Mitchell.

My own view is that Percy Green has not changed too much in his views while times and society were changing. He may have shifted horses but he has not shifted saddles. He seems obssessed with the false idea that Negro employment in Mississippi was created by segregation and the hiring powers used Negro labor as a tribute to dualism in democracy.

Segregation is a system for exploiting, cheating, and depriving. It is corruptive rather than creative. It prohibits rather than produces. It is an offspring of slavery.

No Negro-produced newspaper in Mississippi holds membership in the National Newspaper Publishers' Association. In the early days of NNPA the Advocate held. NNPA membership. Part of my interest in seeing Percy Greene was to try to get him back with NNPA. The authenic Negro-produced newspaper has always assumed that its noblest mission was to work for vitalized freedom in which every American citizen may have his full chance without hampering discrimination.

Mississippi was the birthplace of the racial disfranchisement laws and of the White Citizens Councils A young journalist from a certain Mississippi city some weeks back came to me excitedly disturbed ove what he felt was a plan to try to use Negro-represented press to distribute the racial propaganda message of center-of-power in that

THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

Some professional politicians, and at least one national weekly, roasted Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the Montgomery liberation leader and Roy Wilkins, secretary of the NAACP, for committing "the gravest tactical blunder" in the civil rights battle.

Both, King and Wilkins, were interested in a civil rights bill being enacted in the current session of Congress, although such legislation might not be as strong as what was sought. The Congress finally passed a compromised civil rights bill.

The newspaper in its front-page editorial conceded "room for difference of opinion" but felt that King and Wilkins had "done a great disservice" by refusing to join those who opposed the weaker or diluted version of the origionally-proposed Eisenhower civil rights bill.

All of this came on the heels of newspaper stories that there was a feud between King and Wilkins, an attempt to stir up a controversy between the NAACP and the Southern Christain Leadership Conference and to play off King against Wilkins in the civil rights debate...

The editorial under discussion charged that the NAACP's Wilkins and the SCLC's King "capitulated at the critical hour when the backers of the (civil rights) bill were still fighting to strengthen it". Yet subsequent details of the behind the scenes struggle do not seem to back up that view.

The political idea was that by holding the bill over for the off-year election session there would have been a better chance to get a stronger bill. Should a filibuster come against a stronger bill and it was not broken, that would lead to changing the unlimited debate rule. It also would provide a good issue for the election.

Yet that strategy would have been risky. It would mean that the rule change had to be made the first order of Senate business, had anybody assurance such would have been the case.

That step would have needed the cooperation of Senate Majority Leader Johnson. The proposed change could have set off protracted debate. Members of Congress coming up for election would be anxious to wind up work and get to their campaign.

Passage of the modified civil rights bill does not remove the issue in the next session of Congress.

Still King and Wilkins were castigated for using what the national weekly called "the formula of appeasement.. when the prospects were bright for satisfactory provisions" The editorial said the least these two famous-name leaders could have done was "zipper up their lips" if they were unwilling to oppose the restricted version. They were accused of allowing themselves "to be bamboozled by Walter Reuther and James Carey".

Actually, the NAACP was working with a group of organizations interested in the whole proposed civil rights program. Organized labor played a significant role in the civil rights battle. The issue came down to taking what you could get and use, or leaving it. Apparently the group decided on making a breakthrough even though it was smaller than desired.

Two details perhaps escaped some of those covering the civil rights battle. When it appeared that some kind of civil rights bill could be passed, a confidential poll was taken among some Southern leaders as to what would be the one must. It was the consolidated opinion that establishing and protecting the right to vote was that must. The second missed detail was that NAACP leaders had wised up on legislative manuevering.

It had been shown that the implemented civil rights approach of the state of New York and the City of New York had been a slice-by-slice succession, so to speak. Much of the labor legislation has been achieved the same way.

Whatever position Roy Wilkins took on the watered down civil rights bill perhaps was based upon recommendations of Clarence Mitchell, the NAACP's effective legislative watchdog in Washington. He knows where other mistakes had been made.

At one time Martin Luther King, Jr., had been criticized for not working closely with Wilkins, the veteran civil rights advocate. So he winds up being spanked by those same newspapers for following Wilkins lead.

The NAACP was working on a civil rights promotion team. When the team went into a huddle and agreed on the next move, the NAACP obvoiusly went along. This is one of the realities of teamwork leadership. NAACP critics seem to think that the association should have quit the team and given up the fight for until the next session.

THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

After the 51-42 Senate vote had written into the stripped civil rights bill the jury-trial feature, Vice President Richard Nixon is quoted as saying: "This was one of the saddest days in the history of the Senate because this was a vote against the right to vote."

I share that analysis of the Senate vote. Southerners who are hostile to a broadened electorate in the absence of a punishment feature in the right-to-vote bill would feel free to continue to violate the law. The right-to-vote bill was only a device to empower the federal government to enforce a constitutional provision. The right to vote has embodiment in the law no less deep than the concept of trial by jury .

The "liberal" Democrats of the West and theNorth together with the disfranchisement Democrats of the South and a handful of hard-shell Republicans forged a new coalition that wrote into the civil rights proposal free-of-punishment feature. For in practical effect, that seems to be what it would amount to.

When the chips were down the so-called "liberal" Democrats were found lacking in liberality. They have talked much about civil rights but selected in the Senate Vote to express the opposite view. It is well that at last the so-called "liberal" Democrats have been exposed. The Senate vote was self-exposing and revealing. It seems to say that the Democratic Party is an unreliable vehicle in the area of civil rights.

Senator Kennedy, a Democrat from the abolitionist state of Massachussetts, voted with the Southern disfranchisement bloc. He is understood to have aspirations of becoming the presidential standard bearer of the Democratic Party But his vote on the jury trial amendment tends to put him on the side with those like Senator Eastland who are opposed to the Negro group being able to vote like other American citizens.

A news story out of Washington tells how Senator Lister Hill, the senior Senator from Alabama and a towering figure in the Democratic Party worked backstage to get John L. Lewis chieftain of the United Mine Workers of America, some leaders of railroad brotherhoods, to support the jury trial amendment. Senator Hill, because of his seniority has ascended to the post of chairman of the Senate Labor Committee. As a result of seniority, Southern Democrats control the important chairmanships.

Mississippi's Senior Senator, Mr Eastland, heads the Senate Judiciary Committee, which he has described as "the graveyard of civil rights." Mainly through Republican leadership the Eastland Committee was by-passed in getting the now-whittled-down civil rights bill before the Senate. From Majority Democratic Leader Lyndon Johnson on down the Democratic Party leaders have done the cutting, butchering, and castration of the proposed civil rights bill. At the crucial moments they have been joined by the Northen and Western Damocrats.

The morticians of civil rights are the chief leaders of the Democratic Party. Civil rights are the most essential rights in a democracy. It is an absurd play on words to suggest that to protect the right to vote would destroy another right. As has been well said, the jury trial advocates seem more concerned about protecting the violators than the victims. So far as I am concerned the Democratic Party is no longer worthy of national leadership.

Some years ago when I was doing research in the field of voter-registration in Alabama, there were some figures which indicated that the members of the United Mine Workers of America had the lowest percentage of its members qualified to vote in Alabama than any of the other branches of organized labor. At that time a large proportion of these UMWA members were Negro workers. It was difficult in those days for a working man to get his name on the poll rolls. The difficulty was intensified when the work was a Negro applicant.

I do not have time here to explore this subject as it should be. But there have been voter-registration cases in federal court, such as the one of W.L. Patterson, at the time a railroad employee. He owned his home among other holdings and its tax value was over $300. At that time one was eligible to become a voter if he owned $300 worth of taxable property. Mr. Patterson appuied for registration and was rejected. He sued and an all-white jury found the Board of Registrars blameless.

The right to vote transcends all of the other civil rights in a democracy. If the right to vote was respected there would be no need for the right-to-vote enforcement law. The jury trial amendment dealt a fatal blow to the right of all American citizens to vote everywhere in the United States.

It seems to me that the group's leadership on the national level should work for a breakaway from the two-faced liberals. It is time for a new alignment. It is clear that the defective liberals cannot be trusted on civil rights.

THE TIP OFF

World p. 8
Birm. Ala.
Sat. 8-31-57

EMORY O. JACKSON

They are beginning to run for cover.

Take the proposal which by now may be law, where boards of registrars would be empowered to destroy public records to avoid lawful inspection of their records. The Montgomery lawmakers have introduced a bill which would allow boards of registrars to destroy evidence of their wrong doing.

The public must not be taken in by this. For such legislation, enacted spitefully and fearfully, could endanger the rights of more than the Negro group. It could be used against religious, economic and political minorities. Labor groups would obviously suffer.

If the registrars, as they claim, are going by the law, what have they to fear? If their practices are lawfully and fair, why would they need to destroy the rejected application forms? This falls into the category of suspicious legislature.

Wrong cannot for long be covered up. The law to destroy the rejection list of application would leave the registrars defenseless, it seems to me. If they save some and destroyed others would cast doubt on the validity of the rejections. Looking at that way, the proposed law could be a blessing in disguise.

Then there is the proposal to permit sheriffs to refuse civil rights convicts. Suppose that a civil rights convict would be too bad for Alabama jails and the Federal government had to send him to Alcatraz for housing and punishment. It could happen that a Negro deputy marshall from Harlem and another from Chicago's Southside were sent in to escort the civil rights prisoner to that lonely island of no escape. Both of the deputies might be Negro persons who were natives of Wilcox County.

This would be a kind of atoning irony.

Another bill would disqualify as voters illegitimates and their parents. Would it not be helpful that a check of records would remov' the name of some powerful ar Negro politician from public life. Should this bill pass and be really administered it would likely upset the social life of Alabama. Aimed at Negroes, it could snatch under some powerful whites who have violated the women of a group they scorn as social equals.

The members of the Montgomery County Board of Registrars has been summoned to appear before a Federal Grand Jury. There have been reports of hardships in voter-registration in Montgomery County. Likely the FBI has all of the information it needs and without its records a board would seem to come into court defenseless.

All of these things enumerated tend to point to signs of unfair administration, wrongful denials and hostile discriminations. How then can one explain the proposed sheriff's discretion law, the records destroying bill and the birth discrimination formula? In the records-burning proposal this would set a formidable precedent. It would tend to shield wrong-doing. It would throw protection around violators of the law.

Where is political and governmental morality? All of these proposals tend to reveal a breakdown in morality, a weakening of character, and a discarding of scruples What needs to be done is to pause and consider what is happening.

THE TIP OFF

(World, Birm., Ala. Sat. 10-26-57 p. 8)

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

The toolmakers of voter-registration are due in Birmingham for two days this week-end.

Speech-making is billed as one of the features of the conference. Listed also are report-making, workshops, picture showing or visual aids, clinics. For about six years these meetings have followed the same general pattern.

It is well that the meeting is being held here in Jefferson County where there are an estimated 121,000 Negro persons 21 years and older. Yet less than an estimated 10,000 of this number are qualified voters. There are approximately 25,000 Negro war veterans living in the Ninth Congressional District.

Yet there is no up- to- date book-keeping among the voter registration leaders in Jefferson County on the progress of voter-registration. One hears stories of boswelling rejections, over-questioning but there are no reports made by the organizations that could be used to turn the spotlight on such questionable practices, if they are true, as reported.

There is the vote commission of the Alabama State Teachers Association. Yet Negro teachers in some counties are reportedly racially deprived of the privilege of registering to vote. There are reports that in some Black Belt counties Negro teachers have been dismissed from their teaching jobs for being active in voter-registration activities. Only way to correct such injurious practices is to turn the searchlight of relentless publicity upon them.

The voter-registration leaders seems to have failed to use the best deterrent to unlawful rejections based upon discrimination, that being public exposure .Unfair rejections based upon hostile discrimination can best be fought in the arena of public opinion, it seems to me.

Some weeks back (Aug. 7-8) The Southern Christian Leadership Conference in session at Montgomery, Alabama outlined an ambitious "massive registrati n" campaign. As yet the campaign has not moved off. Since that time the Congress enacted a watered down right to-vote bill. Nothing has been done with this new legislative tool.

So we come to another voter-registration conference. In notorious Lowndes County and awful Wilcox County Negro citizens are still totally denied the privileged of voting. Not even the Federal government seems to be concerned about such wholesale denials.

But this time there is ample new literature available on the subject In addition to the basic field research by Prof. J. E. Pierce of Alabama State College, the summer 1957 issue of The Journal of Negro Education is devoted to "The Negro Voter in the South", and the Southern Regional Council has published "The Negro Voter in the South", edited by Margaret Price.

Dean C. G. Gomillion of Tuskegee Institute did the chapter on Alabama for the Journal. He says "Voting is a form of speaking." His essay is a pentrating, absorbing, and analytical discussion of all facets of the voter registration problem.

He say: "Most of the counties having the lowest percentages of the Negro voting age population registered have high percentages of Negroes in their total population they are in the Black Belt, or both."

Margaret Price has this to say about the situation in the Ninth Congressional District:

"Birmingham and surrounding Jefferson County present one of the gloomiest pictures for Negroes in the South. In no other major city of the region has it been so difficult for them to vote. Only about 7,000 of 121,667 Negroes over 21 are registered.

Instead of the standard form and the character witnesses, Jefferson County registrars have employed another method unique in the state: added questions about government.

They might ask on what date the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution became effective, what was the fourteenth state to be admitted to the Union, on what date did Oklahoma change from a territory to a state? They have recognized no limits to their power to interrogate. While Negroes have been the Board's main target, white union members, particularly if they wore overalls or work cloths, have reported that they sometimes find registration difficult or impossible.

Negroes appearing before the Board often have been questioned for from 35 to 40 minutes; they have had to line up separately, and the longer the line the longer the question."

"(Dr. Donald) strong in his study of Jefferson County, described the method used by registrars to avoid suits with the following hypothetical case: a person who failed to satisfy the board was told orally he did not qualify; the applicant then secured an attorney and filed a suit, which was a signal for the board to register the plaintiff His suit collapsed and no court had an opportunity to pass on Section 33 of the Alabama Code and and the "qualfied to register" phase."

(Dr. Donald S. Strong is author of "Registrtion of Voters in Ala.," published in 1956 by The Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama).

THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

TOUGALOO, Miss. — (SNS) — City limits of nearby Jackson, Miss have crawled so closely to Tougaloo that the trains no longer stop here.

Tougaloo hardly has been more than Tougaloo Southern Christian College, freedom's garden spot in cotton-dominated Mississippi. Tougaloo is said to be the indian word for "between two rivers."

Come to T. S. C. C. from Birmingham, Ala. and you are likely to be asked, "do you know Vivian Johnson?" She came from Parker High School on a tuition scholarship, mathed her way through Tougaloo and won notice for her mathematics ability in graduate school. She is now on her way to a doctorate in the field of pure mathematics. Her name is merely used as a warm-up to this column output.

T. S. C. C. is one of the six American Association Colleges. It was established 1869 on a plantation of 500 acres which are still intact. Originally it trained students primarily to read and write, added shop training, and matured into a college. Its high school was the last one dropped among the approximately 500 that had been operated by the AMA. Today it is Mississippi's only full accredited college which enrolls Negro students. Mississippi has three private and a similar number of state Colleges together with eight junior colleges which offer beyond high school training to members of the Negro group.

This is a growing college with many signs to show it. Some buildings have had to be converted into living quarters to accommodate the growth in student body which is approximately twice what it was a few years ago. About 80 per cent of the enrollment is from Mississippi with about 14 other states represented in the student population. T. S. C. C. bids for the top-ranking high school graduates. Enrollment is over 500.

All walks on the campus lead to the chapel. The gym is adequate for the present enrollment. Construction is expected to start soon on a $400,000 science building. Science is the most popular field among T. S. C. C. students. Library services, book stocks, and facilities are being expanded and improved. The library has assembled a large collection of books by Mississippi authors. Metal rackets for books and periodicals have been installed. The library is the nerve center of learning, it seems to me.

Campus buildings, for most part, are painted white. Painters working the year round keep the buildings glowing, beautifully. The buildings catch your attention as you approach the campus.

At the NNPA Mid-Winter Workshop held at Fisk University Nashville, Tenn., William Trent, executive director of the United Negro College Fund, suggested that when one visits the campus of one of the 31 UNCF members, check on some of things being done with money coming from the UNCF. You can find here some evidence of the far-reaching financial services provided by the United Negro College Fund.

As set forth in its catalogue, Tougaloo Southern Christian College "is seeking to relate basic general education to a student interest in occupation, professcion or career. The college works on the principal that by keeping these two aspects of life in relationship with each other the best results can be obtained both for general education and for an interest in a career. If a student begins to see how everything that he learns may be related to major aspects of his own life, he may have zest for his work. If specialization begins without the student having a conception of the uses of an understanding of life in general, then his vision is obscured."

The catalogue also observes: "The greatest need of our time is leadership for community life. This leadership may be found in any of the occupations. One needs to be frightened by great masses of undisciplined people piling into the cities."

On Nov. 17, Dr. Ailan Nevins, professor of American History at Columbia University, New York City, writing in the New York Times magazine said: "The ultimate nursery of leadership is education, and today, above all, higher education." It should be added that the Negro group must develop a leadership with the desire and the capacity to help the masses catch up with the other segments of the population.

Ralph McGill, writing in the Atlanta Constitution and Journal, Nov. 24 says, "The educated mind demands more and more freedom."

With T. S. C. C. training for balanced education and leadership, and the State of Mississippi promising more and better education for the Negro group, all the way, can't you figure out something?

THE TIP OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

JACKSON, Miss. — (SNS) — Seated at the speakers' table at the Founder's Day and Achievement Banquet sponsored by Beta Alpha Chapter of Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, held at Campbell College, was Mrs. Gladys Noel Bates, who led a move to level up Negro teachers' pay. Of course, she was dropped from her classroom position but the Mississippi Negro Teachers Association placed her as its executive secretary.

Others like her have suffered but are still living and working for freedom in Mississippi. Many whose names have not been publicized have been hurt and penalized in the struggle for mutual dignity and civil freedom here in the only state which has sent two Negro leaders to the United States Senate. In appreciation for the sacrifices made by these bold spirits the Negro group through its organizations and institutions has tried to provide a means by which these unlisted freedom warriors could carry on. This is part of the untold Mississippi story.

Campbell College, sponsored by the powerful African Methodist Episcopal Church, within its resources has contributed to the survival of the freedom leadership strugglers. The AME Church came into existence fighting for religious dignity and the right of manhood expression. As long as there are AME churches in Mississippi you can count on freedom defenders. Which means that any financial help and other support given to Campbell College would tend to bolster the pillars of freedom in Mississippi, it seems to me.

Some have left Mississippi who were identified with the new tide of freedom. Others have been put to death because they were feared. Martyrdom has always moved forward the cause of freedom. The hope for Mississippi lies in its humble and obscure martyrs. In dying they torchlighted the ugly forces at work, the rottenness of the political system, and the social evils which abound.

The Omega group cited Medgar Evars, state NAACP field secretary in Mississippi as the "Citizen of the Year". Brady T. Dozier was honired as the "Omega Man of the Year". But it is around Mr. Evars that the greater significance seems to lie. Here was a social fraternity singling out a NAACP leader as the "Man of the Year" in Jackson, Miss. This is a type of sign speech which is more impressive than a million leaflets distributed by the State Sovereignity Committee.

Presiding over the banquet was Dean A. A. Branch of Tougaloo Southern Christian College. He has a distinguished civic record as well as a brilliant educational background. While at LeMoyne College in Memphis, Tenn., he was active in community affairs. Memphis under the new awakening has made substantial progress, mostly because the scholars, the business men, the ministers and the rank and file leaders blended hands. Memphis has Negro owned newspapers which work for a new break for the underdog.

Publishers Want Fuller Practiced Civil Rights

Daily World, Atlanta Ga. P.1
Thurs. 11-12-57

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (SNS)— In two-day session at Willard Hotel here Nov. 8 and 9, the board of directors of the National Newspaper Publishers Association sought to improve the effectiveness of Negro-produced newspapers, employ new ideas in the promotion of fuller practiced civil rights and to promote a "summit conference of national Negro leaders."

William O. Walker, publisher of the Cleveland (Ohio) Call and Post, NNPA president, presided over the sessions.

The Nov. 8. activities centered around conferences with James P Mitchell, secretary of The U. S Department of Labor; Gov. Sherman Adams, presidential assistant (with E. Frederick Morrow, presidential aide and Maxwell Rabb, secretary to the Cabinet setting in), and a closed session with Roy Wilkins, of New York, NAACP national secretary; Henry Moon of New York, director of public relations for the NAACP and Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP.

In the Nov. 9 session, the N. A A. C. P. directors adopted a program for the celebration of Negro Newspaper Week March 16-22, 1958. The board also approved a proposal to explore making changes in the press celebration dates so that it would conform with the general observance of press week.

Others attending the board meeting in addition to Mr. Walker were W. Beverly Carter, publisher, Pittsburgh (Pa.) Courier, vice-president; John Kirpatrick, publisher, East St. Louis (Ill.) Crusade, secretary; C. C. DeJoie, Louisiana (New Orleans) Weekly; Emory O. Jackson, managing editor, Birmingham World; Louis E. Martin, publisher, Michigan (Detroit) Chronicle; Howard Murphy, Afro-American, Baltimore, Maryland; E. Washington Rhodes, Publisher, Phildelphia (Pa.) Tribune; John H. Sengestacke, publisher, Chicago (Ill.) Daily Defender; Frank L. Stanley, publisher, Louisville (Ky.) Defender and Thomas W. Young, publisher, Norfolk (Va.) Journal and Guide.

BALLET TO LONDON — The New York Negro Ballet Company, organized in 1956, is shown aboard the Flandre, after sailing from home on a tour of London, Scotland and the European continent. The tour marks a historic "first," and culminates a six-months, nationwide talent search for Negro ballet dancers. The troupe, under the direction of Theodore Hancock and Edward Fleming, will be presented in Europe by British impressario, Peter Daubeny. — (Newspress Photo)

THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

Wed. 7-3-57

Bishop R.R. Wright, of New Orleans, La., who presides over the A.M.E. Church's eighth episcopal district (Louisiana and Mississippi) and who is president of the 18-member Bishops Council of the African Methodist Church, threw out some stimulating ideas and observations as he made a drop-in speech at the Summer Seminar at Daniel Payne College Thursday, June 27.

He told of the revival meeting of Billy Graham in New York's Madison Square Garden which he had attended. He mentioned the choir which was made up of voices of many social levels, racial backgrounds and denominational variations. He observed that Ethel Waters, the famous blues singer was part of this choir. Evangelist Graham was demonstrating the kind of gospel he was preaching.

"I sat there", Bishop Wright said, "thinking....I could name 20 or more greater preachers without stopping (than Billy Graham) People go to hear people they know."

Bishop Wright made the point that the noted Southern-born evangelist knew the value of publicity, promotion, and build up, "You can't forget publicity ... anybody the people talk about they want to see." He said that Mr. Graham knew "the business side of evangelism."

Meantime he pointed out how several big-name business men in New York had shelled out large sums to help make the "Crusade for Christ" become a success. "There are laymen in the world who believe in the gospel who can get to help pay the cost of a big revival", the visiting bishop suggested.

Billy Graham's preaching leadership seems to be having a useful influence. His stand in opposition to racial segregation and his sermons in support of his views have a transforming value. His bold gospel as much as his business-approach evangelism tend to assist his drawing power. And Bishop Wright has caught some ideas and inspiration by seeing and hearing this evangelist .....

"I plan to go to New Orleans and organize a week of preaching in the biggest place we can find, Bishop Wright said.

He would try to bring in one of the best evangelist and turn the spotlight of the Scriptures toward soul-winning. He also said he wanted to see "reading the Bible in organized groups."

Meantime he indicated that a survey of the eighth episcopal district revealed that an estimated 500,000 Negro persons were not connected with any church. This brought him to the view that the churches should team up to try to bring these un-affiliated persons under the shelter of the Scriptures. "We need a movement for Christ" joined in by all of the church groups, Bishop Wright said. He conceded that while the church had good leaders there was a need for specialized ministerial education.

Suggesting that he had been preaching 59 years, on the AME Church payroll 47 years, 28 years a bishop, 68 years a member of the church, he could speak as one with authority insofar as the status of the AME Church, which he said "Never was ... better."

Quickly, Bishop Carey A. Gibbs seized the opening made by Bishop Wright on new approaches to evangelistic work. For Bishop Gibbs told of a conversation he had with the Rev. Luke Beard, pastor of sixteenth Street Baptist Church about an areawide revival without emphasis on denomination.

These drop-in remarke by Bishop Wright had two other significant backgrounds. He happened to be passing through Birmingham enroute to New Orleans and had to change trains. But Birmingham's segregation practices would not allow him use of the General Waiting Room, nor any other Negro, no matter the excellence of his person or the status of his occupation. The AME Church is a powerful organization which was organized in freedom's protest developed in litigation and lived by the black man's sweat. It is in position to go to bat for Waiting Room freedom in this city.

It happened that when Bishop Wright decided to switch modes of travel rather than yield to Birmingham's racial humiliation laws he ran into the first Annual Short Course sponsored by the Ninth Episcopal District of the AME Church. AME Church leaders are attaching unprecedented significance to this Summer Seminar because it is a step in accelerated adult education for ministers. Actually, it is an ambitious effort to strengthen the ministry and bolster its leadership tools. It is a pioneering effort which will bear fruit as it grows.

Freedom as well as religion needs evangelists. Yet religious freedom is the mother of freedom as the mother of freedom religion can never embrace racial segregation in peace A segregated church can never be a serving church under authentic Christian ethics and teachings.

THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

"Use of the ballot", I pointed out in a memorandum several weeks ago, "is one of the civic tools by which one may protect himself, improve his community, and sustain his democracy."

But in several Alabama counties members of the Negro group can't vote, and is without means of protection. One such County is Wilcox County. No Negro has been allowed to vote in Wilcox since 1901. Wilcox is a ghastly county where Negro persons are deprived of the most elementary rights.

There are 18,566 Negro persons and 4,910 white persons living in Wilcox. There are 2,877 white voters and no Negro voters. There are 3,056 white persons 21 years and older. Meantime there are 8,218 Negro persons 21 years and older. All but 179 white persons of votinage are on the poll lists. But not a single Negro is on the voters' list be the school teacher, war veteran, minister or plantation owner.

Wilocx has an active board of registrars. The Wilcox Progressive Era, weekly published at Camden, Ala. said in its issue of Nov. 10, 1955 that "Wilcox County's board of registrars have been reappointed to serve another term. . . " Over a period of about 20 years some of the ballot-interested Negro persons have not put out feelers on whether they should make a bid for the ballot. However they came away with a feeling that the climate was unfavorable. It took courage and benial goodwill for a Negro to do as much as inquire about voting in Wilcox.

The Pittsburgh Courier in tis July 6 issue carried the story of the alleged fatal shooting of Will Martin, a truck driver, by a law enforcement officers. The tragic lethal shooting reportedly took place in the Wilcox County Jail in Camden, Ala.

Background and details surrounding the violent death which have leaked out are frightful. It is a story of unbelievable horrible conditions in Wilcox.

Mr. Martin, the shooting victim, from reliable accounts was a family man. He had reared a family which had branched out into areas other than Alabama. He had a good record and from reports had not been in trouble before his tragic death If such accounts were true, then why was he picked up, and on what charge? Has there been an impartial, thorough, no-holds-barred investigation to bring to light all of the facts?

The slain man reportedly has a blind son who was attending a school for the handicapped in Talladega. One daughter is attending Knoxville College, an institution sponsored by the Presbyterian Church. The Martins had three other children. The angle of Knoxville College being connected with the Presbyterian Church is suggestd because Wilcox County has several powerful white Presbyterians. Knoxville College consistently attracts students from Wilcox. ...

Fear has gripped the Negro group even more tightly since the Martin slaying, it is said. Reports of threats on friends of the Martins are rife. A sense of insecurity rattles the Negro community. Many of the preachers and teachers in Wilcox are among the absentee leaders. Inter-group communication lines do not exist. Churches seem to offer no machinery for rational goodwill.

Still there is another sidelight entirely without any connections with the alleged shooting case. It is not limited to Wilcox County but is typical of some other Black Belt counties. Comes this shameful observation from a source that knows what is going on: "Fraternatization between white men and colored women is carried on almost openly. Several Negro men have been beaten by white men for accompanying or for being in the company of these women. As far as Negroes are concerned, anarchy reigns in this county. Justice is dead as far as Negroes are concerned."

Add this: "Voting is out. Persons presenting themselves for registration and voting, are told that there are no registration blanks, or none

The Tip Off

World Sp. 7-6-57

By EMORY O. JACKSON

B'ham, Ala.

Events tend to balance themselves off.

A Methodist minister, the Rev. Nelson B. Higgins, appointed to a charge at the Normandie Avenue Methodist Church, Los Angeles, Calif., finds himself with a congregation. The Rev. Higgins is a Negro and the congregation is white. Both the minister and the congregation are Methodist, Americans, earth beings.

The Rev. Howard Jones, 28-year-old Cleveland, Ohio clergyman, pastor of the Smoot Memorial Christian and Missionary Alliance Church, is added to the 35-member Billy Graham Crusade team. Mr. Jones is a Negro and Mr. Graham is a white Southerner. So Mr. Jones becomes the first member of the Negro group to serve on the Billy Graham preaching staff.

Emory Jackson

There is the story of another white Southerner, Dr. Harry Denman, a native of Birmingham, Ala. addressing a recent Methodist conference told the group: "It is important that you prepare yourself for leadership in our great (Methodist) Church. You will be called to serve in places in which I myself may not serve, nor in which any white man may serve."

A former member of the Jefferson County Board of Education and a lay leader in the Methodist Church, Dr. Denman was speaking on a panel where it was pointed out that the white man's leadership was fading because the white group has "exploited and enslaved minority peoples and have denied them of their God-given rights."

Speaking at a recent Atlanta University Summer School assembly, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, re-elected member of the Atlanta Board of Education and A. U. president observed: "If we are to have effective social change, we must forget race and follow people with ideals with which we are in accord."

The all-Negro Central Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church has been a controversial issue. Some years back Negro Methodist leaders were represented as wanting to retain it because it guaranteed some of them segregated, fixed, inferior positions.

Now Bishop Edgar A. Love, one of the founders of the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, pointed out: "Many specious arguments have been made for the segregated unit of The Methodist Church, chiefest among which has been the argument that such an organization allows for greater development of indigenous leadership and racial development. The writer (Love) wonders which is the greater advantage of the church of Christ and the people called Christians, whether certain individual Negroes can come to places of leadership or whether the total group of Negroes would be to better advantage through an unsegregated church allowing wholesome religious contacts at all levels."

He added: "There must be no compromise, no equivocation, no marking time, no awkward steps. The going toward a completely integrated church at every level must be accelerated. Ministers of the gospel of Christ must be fearless prophets proclaiming the truth that "God is no respecter of persons," and that 'all are one in Christ Jesus."

In contrast to that position is the behavior of Negro musician delegates at the recent Denver convention of the American Federation of Musicians. They, the Negro musician group, turned down a plan of one-unionism. Represented in the union are 699 locals of which 49 are all-Negro locals. Some 31 of the 49 held a caucus, it was learned, and supported the continuation of separate locals. The segregationists saw more benefits, they say, in the dual locals. They are assured of Negro delegates and won't be swallowed up by the larger white locals in consolidation.

Meantime the Jim Crow locals suggested that they had achieved good financial status and good standing within the Federation. They feared the loss of all of this, they said. Two plans of integration were discussed — forced merger and negotiation mutually agreeable to the locals involved.

But the position taken by the Negro segregationists musicians is likely to be used against them in the future. For they seem to have placed themselves on record for second-classism. They might have helped themselves while hurting their group. For enforced segregation leaves its scars on the conscience.

The Tip Off

Wednesday 7-10-57

By EMORY O. JACKSON

"Use of the ballot", I pointed out in a memorandum several weeks ago, "is one of the civic tools by which one may protect himself, improve his community, and sustain his democracy."

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Add this: "Voting is out. Persons presenting themselves for registration and voting, are told that there are no registration blanks, or none can be found or come back."

Why couldn't organizations like the Alabama Baptist State Convention, the Tenth District of the American Legion, the Alabama Prince Hall Masons, and the Alabama Association of Women's Clubs, check into the Wilcox situation and spotlight these conditions- Certainly the undertaking would be risky, but that is the way of freedom.

Until the ballot is freed in Wilcox County it will be fettered in other counties. The suppression of Negro voting in the Black Belt scales down the value of the Negro group's voting in other Alabama counties.

Better democracy will not come to Alabama until there are fair and full voting opportunities for all citizens alike in this state, it seems to me.

THE TIP OFF

Daily World Sat. 8-10-57

EMORY O. JACKSON

Civil rights are destined to become an issue in the 1958 Congressional elections.

The legislative surgeons and spokesmen of the Democratic Party in the Congress whittled the President's civil rights program to almost nothing. A trial by-jury feature was written in to the right-to-vote section. That seems to provide an escape way for registration officials and private groups bent on depriving the weaker segment of the constitutional right to vote.

31a Negro

Southern politicians argue that

trial-by-jury in injunctive procedure is the cornerstone of the American system of justice. But they seemed to have become conscious of this only when the question of enfranchising the infringed group's right was projected. In about 29 other federal laws the jury trial feature was waived. The so-called liberals and protectors of fundamental American rights raised no such howl.

Some of these same men argued that the Wherry Amendment on cloture was an improvement. Yet that provided the present 64-vote cloture rule and made it applicable to a motion to take up consideration of a bill. It seems to me that the jury-trial insertion is in the same pot with the revised Wherry amendment insofar as voting civil rights.

In some Southern states publicists evasionists and "white supremacy" politicians have discussed how jury trials could be used to free violators of civil rights. The jury - trial insertion looks even further than the right-to-vote provision, it seems to me. It would provide a pattern and a precedent for an escape way for violators of other civil rights.

Mr. Lyndon Johnson, of Texas, the Democratic Majority Leader, calls the emasculated bill "an advance in the field of civil rights." He points to three features other than the right to vote, the investigative commission, the expanded civil rights division in the Department of Justice, and the adding of a assistant to the Attorney General to handle civil rights cases.

"To say that you can't get justice with a jury trial is to say that you can't have justice at all under the present system" Mr. Johnson pointed out.

"Under the present system" many Negro persons know that they do not get justice. If they did, there would be no need for this type of civil rights program.

The program of the White Citizens Council is one of denying justice to the Negro. In some places in the South the WCC is the controling force. Where one can't vote like other Americans he is not likely to get justice.

The unanswered question seems to be this: Will the Senate version of the right-to-vote feature of the civil rights bill release Negro voters from the grip of the Southern disfranchisers?

Even with Negro jurors that would not mean too much as long as one WCCer had the possibility of serving. For the WCC has a stated program of suppressing Negro suffrage. Could not it be said equally that those insisting on trial by-jury have no faith in judges? Our system is made up of judges as well as juries.

However, the right-to-vote issue is hardly a clear-cut trial-by-jury issue. I believe firmly in trial by jury. But where one has violated the Fifteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution, does the Executive have the responsibility of enforcing it? Should the Executive have the necesarry tools of enforcement?

The Senate leadership of the Democratic Party seems to believe that the trial-by-jury criminal contempt would be sufficient and would at the same time protect the right of the alleged violator. Mr. Lyndon Johnson hence takes issue with President Eisenhower, a group of distinguished law school deans, and with the Republican Senate leadership.

One of the little-debated subtle points is the suggestion that there is line of distinction between criminal and civil contempt in instances where certain types of punishment may be meted, as has been noted by judges in rare rulings.

Whether any kind of civil rights legislation will emerge at this session of Congress or any session. I would be afraid to predict. But one thing seems to be certain, and that is, the campaign for the right-to-vote will continue. Likely the civil rights fight will be placed back on the political stump.

It is hard to see how the Congress of the United States can hold its place of world freedom leadership with its record on civil rights. Civil rights are the test marks of freedom rights.

THE TIP OFF

31a Negro

EMORY O. JACKSON

Civil rights are destined to become an issue in the 1958 Congressional elections.

The legislative surgeons and spokesmen of the Democratic Party in the Congress whittled the President's civil rights program to almost nothing. A trial by-jury feature was written in to the right-to-vote section. That seems to provide an escape way for registration officials and private groups bent on depriving the weaker segment of the constitutional right to vote.

Southern politicians argue that

trial-by-jury in injunctive procedure is the cornerstone of the American system of justice. But they seemed to have become conscious of this only when the question of enfranchising the infringed group's right was projected. In about 29 other federal laws the jury trial feature was waived. The so-called liberals and protectors of fundamental American rights raised no such howl.

Some of these same men argued that the Wherry Amendment on cloture was an improvement. Yet that provided the present 64-vote cloture rule and made it applicable to a motion to take up consideration of a bill. It seems to me that the jury-trial insertion is in the same pot with the revised Wherry amendment insofar as voting civil rights.

In some Southern states publicists evasionists and "white supremacy" politicians have discussed how jury trials could be used to free violators of civil rights. The jury - trial insertion looks even further than the right-to-vote provision, it seems to me. It would provide a pattern and a precedent for an escape way for violators of other civil rights.

Mr. Lyndon Johnson, of Texas, the Democratic Majority Leader, calls the emasculated bill "an advance in the field of civil rights." He points to three features other than the right to vote, the investigative commission, the expanded civil rights division in the Department of Justice, and the adding of a assistant to the Attorney General to handle civil rights cases.

"To say that you can't get justice with a jury trial is to say that you can't have justice at all under the present system" Mr. Johnson pointed out.

"Under the present system" many Negro persons know that they do not get justice. If they did, there would be no need for this type of civil rights program.

The program of the White Citizens Council is one of denying justice to the Negro. In some places in the South the WCC is the controling force. Where one can't vote like other Americans he is not likely to get justice.

The unanswered question seems to be this: Will the Senate version of the right-to-vote feature of the civil rights bill release Negro voters from the grip of the Southern disfranchisers?

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THE TIP OFF

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It has been evident for a long time that inflicted violence and the theory of violence would be used as the last resort to prevent school integration.

Worked P.8

Inflicted violence was used to block Autherine Lucy from attending classes at the University of Alabama. Mob violence has been used to prevent the attempted freedom-of-choice enrollment of a group of Negro students in a near-town Birmingham high school.

The Governor of Arkansas is using the theory of violence to block the ordered integration of school in Little Rock. He argues at state troops are ordered out to "keep the peace". If the theory of violence is established as a means of frustrating the judicial process, then the government would seem to succumb to a form of state forcism. That is where state force is used to protect the violators of the law instead of the victims of lawlessness.

How can the theory of violence be met legally? Already as in the case of Little Rock, state force is being used not to assist the enforcement of a federal court order, but apparently oppositely.

Here force is arrayed against enforcement. The question arises as to how can legal force be used to remove physical force? State force versus judicial power! In high places you hear that law by itself is not enough. Yet does it follow that lawlessness by itself is enough?

The issue in Little Rock is whether a state governor is above the constituted Federal law? Governor **take an oath to uphold the state and the federal constitution. One the state constitution is in conflict with the federal constitution, which** one must yield!

It is hard to see how the Congress of the United States can hold its place of world freedom leadership with its record on civil rights. Civil rights are the test marks of freedom rights.

The Tip Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Mrs. Margaret Price in her study the political suffrage among the Negro group ("The Negro Voter in the South") published by the Southern Regional Council, observes in part:

"Leadership often is the factor for determing whether or not Negroes vote in the South Alternately, it is the great hope and the greatest need of thousands."

News reports on the meeting of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference held in Memphis, Tenn. are getting around. The content of these communications cost little light on whether this southside organization will be able to meet the challenge of mass racial disfranchisement presented by the South.

SCLC announced that "20 simultaneous mass meetings" will be promoted in the South during next January. which seems to be the dubious idea of voter-registration through mass meetings. How much value mass meetings have as a stimulant to voter-registration is undetermined. However, the mass meeting is a method of raising funds to finance the promotion of bulk-style voter-registration.

No matter how large the financial war chest and how numerous the experts, it is likely that no voter-registration campaign will pay off which does not draw to itself side the inspired community leadership. There is also going to be needed a type of self-education or political action. Non-voters are going to have to be made so conscious of the significance of suffrage that they will find away to become voters over the most numerous obstacles.

The twin obstacles to meanful voter-registration in Jefferson County are boswellism and apathy. The voter-registration leaders have found no answer to these two barriers. Boswellism can be beaten through public exposure. Since the leaders apparently have not conducted voter - registration campaigns in the pattern of militant voter-registration they seem without the documented facts to carry the evils of boswellism to the public.

In the right-to-vote bill enacted by the 85th Congress there seems to be able devices to help overcome unfair voter-registration denials. Arthur Krock, writing in the Sept. 24th issue of The New Times summarized this section of the bill as follows:

"42 U. S. Code 971 provides that all citizens -- who are otherwise qualified by law to vote at any election by the people in any state, territory, district, county, city, parish, township, school district, municipality or other territorial subdivision shall be entitled and allowed to vote at all such elections, without distinction of race, color or previous condition of servitude; any constitution, law, custom, usage or regulation of any state or territory, by or under its authority, to the contrary notwithstanding."

"This was made part of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 by reference as subsection '(a)' of section 31 of the bill. It was originally adopted to implement the Fifteenth Amendment and has always been held to apply to local as well as to Federal elections, including primaries where these in law or in fact in part of the state election procedure."

"The only effect the Act has on what is now subsection '(a)' of Section 131 is to provide for the first time authority for the Attorney General to intervene to secure those rights derived from the Fifteenth Amendment -- whether against state or local officials or those clothed with state authority."

"This nterpretation by Senator Javits, which is also that of the Department of Justice, effectively overrides that part of the opinion reported here that the new injunctive powers granted to the Attorney General do not extend to state and local officials in local elections. But the Senator established a part of the interpretation made by Finletter and not reported here for lack of space -- that under the Act of the Attorney General cannot, as in Federal elections, use his new powers against interferences with voting by private persons unless these are connected both with 'state action or authority and "discrimination' as described in the Fifteenth Amendment."

"Subsection '(b)', which is new said Javits, 'permits the Attorney General to protect the right to vote in Federal elections against force or threats that need not necessarily come from state action or authority, and that need not be based on discrimination barred by the Fifteenth Amendment. Such right to vote in a Federal election is a right which constitutionally may be protected directly against even privately interference. This, of course, is not true of strictly local elections."

THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (ENS) — Spotty and skippy fair job opportunity remains a challenge to leadership and the democratic process.

You hear stories of racial employment gains and see supporting statistics. Yet in terms of the total Negro minority the dent is shallow. It appears worse the further South you look.

In some Southern states, notably Alabama there isn't a major agency working to improve job rights and opportunities. No chapter of the National Urban League is located in Alabama. There is no employment agency working to remove barriers to upgraded and quality jobs. Negro purchasing power is not being mobilized to open new areas of racial employment. Negro business still operates mainly in the traditional patterns. Not many wh

power to implement and needs a full-time staff to search out and process complaints. It lacks the necessary funds to properly do the work for which it was established. The so-called Russell Amendment has deprived this committee of the necessary operational funds. The Russell amendment is another example of the effectiveness of Southern lawmakers who come to power because of racial disfranchisement in Dixie and the Seniority Rule in Congress.

One government official here expressed the opinion when questioned about the employment situation in the South that the Negro community is not helping, only criticizing. On this he seems to be entirely wrong. Southern Negro persons have taken it on the chin, making few complaints, and often being without information on where to register them.

Another is that ground has been lost in the South since the school integration efforts began.

What program has the Federal Government in the employment field to attack these situations? One comes away from here without an answer and with the feeling that Negro leadership will have to build a new program for employment opportuniities. Job rights and ballot rights go hand in hand. They function like the blades of scissors. Working properly they can cut a new pattern of freedom and first-class citizenship and cut-up anything which comes between them

Not to be overlooked in the job opportunity picture is the factor of education. In second-class schools one cannot get the best preparation for first-class jobs. Often job preparation schools are closed to members of the Negro group. Which means that Negro persons who seek higher job classifications will, in some instances, have to resort to self-preparation.

Forces are at work in the South to shave off the jobs of Negro persons who seek to travel the new roads to freedom. These forces flout the laws of economics as espoused by a system of dynamic capitalism. They array themselves against the American credo of equality of opportunity. They buck the policy of fair employment opportunities as laid down by the Eisenhower administration.

All of this points to the need for a summit conference of Negro leaders to blueprint a new program, create fresh strategy and unite first-rate, authentic, performing leadership which will function for the welfare of the deprived man and those who want to see democracy working fully.

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The Federal Government is one of the major employers and at the same time one of the biggest awarders of contracts. It is now the national policy of the Eisenhower Administration to seek job opportunities without regard to race, religion or

national origin.' There is The President's Committee on Government Contracts chaired by Vice-President Nixon and The President's Committee on Government Employment Policy headed by the Rev. Archibald

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THE TIP OFF

Daily World 31a

EMORY O. JACKSON

Some professional politicians, and at least one national weekly, roasted Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the Montgomery liberation leader and Roy Wilkins, secretary of the NAACP, for committing "the gravest tactical blunder" in the civil rights battle. 9-3-57

Both, King and Wilkins, were interested in a civil rights bill being enacted in the current session of Congress, although such legislation might not be as strong as what was sought. The Congress finally passed a compromised civil rights bill.

Atlanta, Ga.

The newspaper in its front-page editorial conceded "room for difference of opinion" but felt that King and Wilkins had "done a great disservice" by refusing to join those who opposed the weaker or diluted version of the origionally-proposed Eisenhower civil rights bill.

All of this came on the heels of newspaper stories that there was a feud between King and Wilkins, an attempt to stir up a controversy between the NAACP and the Southern Christain Leadership Conference and to play off King against Wilkins in the civil rights debate...

The editorial under discussion charged that the NAACP's Wilkins and the SCLC's King "capitulated at the critical hour when the backers of the (civil rights) bill were still fighting to strengthen it". Yet subsequent details of the behind the scenes struggle do not seem to back up that view.

The political idea was that by holding the bill over for the off-year election session there would have been a better chance to get a stronger bill. Should a filibuster come against a stronger bill and it was not broken, that would lead to changing the unlimited debate rule. It also would provide a good issue for the election.

Yet that strategy would have been risky. It would mean that the rule change had to be made the first order of Senate business, had anybody assurance such would have been the case.

That step would have needed the cooperation of Senate Majority Leader Johnson. The proposed change could have set off protracted debate. Members of Congress coming up for election would be anxious to wind up work and get to their campaign.

Passage of the modified civil rights bill does not remove the issue in the next session of Congress.

Still King and Wilkins were castigated for using what the national weekly called "the formula of appeasement.. when the prospects were bright for satisfactory provisions" The editorial said the least these two famous-name leaders could have done was "zipper up their lips" if they were unwilling to oppose the restricted version. They were accused of allowing themselves "to be bamboozled by Walter Reuther and James Carey".

Actually, the NAACP was working with a group of organizations interested in the whole proposed civil rights program. Organized labor played a significant role in the civil rights battle. The issue came down to taking what you could get and use, or leaving it. Apparently the group decided on making a breakthrough even though it was smaller than desired.

Two details perhaps escaped some of those covering the civil rights battle. When it appeared that some kind of civil rights bill could be passed, a confidential poll was taken among some Southern leaders as to what would be the one must. It was the consolidated opinion that establishing and protecting the right to vote was that must. The second missed detail was that NAACP leaders had wised up on legislative manuevering.

It had been shown that the implemented civil rights approach of the state of New York and the City of New York had been a slice-by-slice succession, so to speak. Much of the labor legislation has been achieved the same way.

Whatever position Roy Wilkins took on the watered down civil rights bill perhaps was based upon recommendations of Clarence Mitchell, the NAACP's effective legislative watchdog in Washington. He knows where other mistakes had been made.

At one time Martin Luther King, Jr., had been criticized for not working closely with Wilkins, the veteran civil rights advocate. So he winds up being spanked by those same newspapers for following Wilkins lead.

The NAACP was working on a civil rights promotion team. When the team went into a huddle and agreed on the next move, the NAACP obvoiusly went along. This is one of the realities of teamwork leadership. NAACP critics seem to think that the association should have quit the team and given up the fight for until the next session

THE TIP OFF

Daily World 31a

EMORY O. JACKSON Atlan

In his annual address to the National Negro Business League, convening in Boston Mass. Dr. Frederick Douglass Patterson, declared, among other things, that the league "should work for a strong and independent vote which is willing to forsake party loyalties at the local level in behalf of national issues and strategy of significance to the Negro people as a whole."

He did not exactly spell out what he meant. But why should one forsake party loyalties at the local level" and not at other levels." It seems to me that local political action leadership would have to determine how best to play his politics to get the most where he lives, on the local level. Working as a part of a local political machine, functioning as a party factotum, could at times serve his interest as well as participating as an independent voter.

On the national level in the 1956 presidential campaign, Dr. Patterson saw fit to identify himself with a political party. One must read his "forsake party loyalties at the local level" in connection with his behavior in the last national election. He wants this forsaking on "behalf of national issues and strategy of significance to the Negro people as a whole." Yet there are local issues of value to the local voter.

Meantime politics, like charity, must begin at home. Issues which rest on one's doorstep should not be ignored. In other words, one's political interest should reach from the ward to the White House. At some point most of the vital issues touch each other. Local issues also have "significance to the Negro people as a whole" who live in that particular locality.

Dr. Patterson, former president of Tuskegee Institute and currently the executive director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund of New York City, also observed: "The Negro has always sought full integration as an American citizen. But when Montgomery, Alabama insisted that race must play a dominant and discriminatory role, Negroes met and licked the opposition on its own terms."

All that furnishes good reading and excellent speech-making material. But what about Negro-owned, Negro-financed, Negro-managed, and racially-integrated business in Alabama. There is not an over-all organization of business. Insurance companies capitalized out of investments by Negro persons in Alabama are not organized. There is is no research which analyzes this capitalized economic strength.

Meantime there is not a single statewide consumer organization in Alabama composed of members of the Negro group. These are things within the orbit of the National Negro Business League. Business, like politics, must be built at the local level. Business needs the protection of the ballot and a friendly locality if it is to grow and flourish For that reason the local business man wisely shows an interest in local politics which too often is his first political concern.

An opportunity is needed for training those who must manage and service Negro-directed business. Which means that the state-supported universities and related institutions will need to provide such training for all. Alabama does not have a certified public accountant among the Negro group, or certified licensed underwriter, or real estate appraiser, or actuary

Just as surveys have been made to determine the ballot strength of the Negro group in Alabama let there be similar undertakings in the field of business. Too little is known among the Negro group about the aggregate of their own business.

Economic integration is possible under mass capitalism and mass savings plans. This will require investment wizards of which they are but few among the Negro group at the present time.

The NNBL claims as members 30,000 Negro business men in 33 states. The statistics hardly tell the full story. Each business man would not necessarily mean a business. The league needs to get on the job of stimulating business among the Negro group and not become a cover organization for any political party on the national level, it seems to me.

THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

WASHINGTON, D. C. (SNS) America is politics.

One gets that feeling on coming back to the world's first city of democracy after an absence of two years. It's a different Nation's Capital which I saw back in the 1930's when I paused here enroute to New York to cover the return boxing match between Joe Louise and Max Schmeling.

In '41 when I was here for a USO conference held at the Mayflower Hotel it was not easy for the darker man to enjoy the privileges of a full American citizen. early in the morning, C. C. Dejoie of the Louisiana Weekly, New Orleans, La., and your correspondent left our hotel for a coffee shop. Such service was not open in 1941 when I was here to explore the widening of pass coverage by Negro reporters.

The Atlanta Daily by virtue of its daily status was the key to the news adventure. Today news coverage by Negro reporters on the Washington beat is without the racial barriers faced some years ago. A number of friendly white reporters helped along the way. Such reporters are still helping and without them this country would be far worse than it is.

Usually in coming to Washington I try to get briefing of things from old friends like Mr. and Mrs. Early Roper, Mr. and Mrs. Fulton D. Matthews (he is a former Birmingham World columnist) and Mr. and Mrs. David Stinnette (she is the former Addie Crump, Birmingham World clerk). Roper and I boyhooded on Enon Ridge in Birmingham. Matthews and I pushed through the Birmingham public schools about the same time. Mrs. Roper, who is beautician in a swanky shop, is a relative.

The Ropers made me their guest at a social affair sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars at the Masonic Temple. Seldom do I take in social affairs. The Ropers were going and that meant I was going. At the home of the Ropers I retain guest quarters which they always remind me.

With the Ropers, the Matthews and the Stinettes the talk centers around the church, the schools, racial achievements and "the people back home". They fire their questions, relay information, and stimulate conversation.

I had just read a story in The New York Times that in visiting schools during American Education Week many parents were prepared to ask questions about the new report card being used, homework, discipline, getting into college, and teaching methods. The Times story said that parents were especially concerned about the poor writing and spelling of their school-going children.

In another place I learned that three of the 16 Negro ROTC units are likely to be lost because of poor schooling of some ROTC students. Gerogia, Mississippi and Arkansas are the three Southern states which do not provide ROTC opportunities for Negro students.

To maintain a ROTC unit a school must have at least 25 in its graduating class. Some schools have not been able to maintain this number because too many of the beginners flunk out. All ROTC students are given the same test which is based primarily upon the Three R's. Too many of those coming out of the Negro division of the public school system lack such fundamentals.

The ROTC would tend to reflect the evils of the two-division public school system. For Negro students who are products of integrated schools fare better in the ROTC program.

In Birmingham, Ala., Negro students are deprived of the opportunity to participate in the ROTC program. Yet the white students have such a priviledge. This is a glaring exhibit of the unfairness of the dual school system. Such an example of deprivation can be multiplied.

Yet it is heard around here that the Negro group will lose some ROTC units before getting any more This is a sad realization as we approach the wind-up of the 37th observance of American Education Week.

Integration is no more than equality functioning.

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In '41 when I was here for a USO conference held at the Mayflower Hotel it was not easy for the darker man to enjoy the privileges of a full American citizen. early in the morning, C. C. Dejoie of the Louisiana Weekly, New Orleans, La., and your correspondent left our hotel for a coffee shop. Such service was not open in 1941 when I was here to explore the widening of pass coverage by Negro reporters.

The Atlanta Daily by virtue of its daily status was the key to the news adventure. Today news coverage by Negro reporters on the Washington beat is without the racial barriers faced some years ago. A number of friendly white reporters helped along the way. Such reporters are still helping and without them this country would be far worse than it is.

Usually in coming to Washington I try to get briefing of things from old friends like Mr. and Mrs. Early Roper, Mr. and Mrs. Fulton D. Matthews (he is a former Birmingham World columnist) and Mr. and Mrs. David Stinnette (she is the former Addie Crump, Birmingham World clerk). Roper and I boyhooded on Enon Ridge in Birmingham. Matthews and I pushed through the Birmingham public schools about the same time. Mrs. Roper, who is beautician in a swanky shop, is a relative.

The Ropers made me their guest at a social affair sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars at the Masonic Temple. Seldom do I take in social affairs. The Ropers were going and that meant I was going. At the home of the Ropers I retain guest quarters which they always remind me.

With the Ropers, the Matthews and the Stinettes the talk centers around the church, the schools, racial achievements and "the people back home". They fire their questions, relay information, and stimulate conversation.

I had just read a story in The New York Times that in visiting schools during American Education Week many parents were prepared to ask questions about the new report card being used, homework, discipline, getting into college, and teaching methods. The Times story said that parents were especially concerned about the poor writing and spelling of their school-going children.

In another place I learned that three of the 16 Negro ROTC units are likely to be lost because of poor schooling of some ROTC students. Gerogia, Mississippi and Arkansas are the three Southern states which do not provide ROTC opportunities for Negro students.

To maintain a ROTC unit a school must have at least 25 in its graduating class. Some schools have not been able to maintain this number because too many of the beginners flunk out. All ROTC students are given the same test which is based primarily upon the Three R's. Too many of those coming out of the Negro division of the public school system lack such fundamentals.

The ROTC would tend to reflect the evils of the two-division public school system. For Negro students who are products of integrated schools fare better in the ROTC program.

In Birmingham, Ala., Negro students are deprived of the opportunity to participate in the ROTC program. Yet the white students have such a priviledge. This is a glaring exhibit of the unfairness of the dual school system. Such an example of deprivation can be multiplied.

Yet it is heard around here that the Negro group will lose some ROTC units before getting any more This is a sad realization as we approach the wind-up of the 37th observance of American Education Week.

Integration is no more than equality functioning.

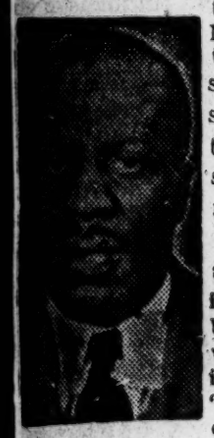
THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

DETROIT, Mich. — (SNS) — A National Urban League Conference is a super workshop on service-to-democracy leadership.

It brings togther a representative cross-section of leaders in industry, in labor, in government, and generally, to report on developments, to search for solutions, to sharpen social tools, and to explore better ways of improving all America.

The 1957 Annual Conference of this 47-year old league was held at Sheraton-Cadillac Hotel. Approximately 600 persons were at this meeting. The NUL "is a voluntary educational service agency designed to improve the economic status of the Negro population."



With industry and business looking upward, the Urban League services take on new importance. For it "promotes equal opportunity for all and better race relations." Some negative forces are at work in the South which aren't contributing anything useful to the region's industrial, educational, and democratic development.

A non-profit organization, the league which operates in 64 cities and 32 states seeks to achieve "its objectives through programs of education, interpretation and interracial teamwork." Made this way, progress is often sounder, most lasting, and full of understanding.

The progress - through-education program is the conservative approach. Yet in a few instances the negativists have attacked the Urban League. A few Southern states are still without its services. . . .

Lester B. Granger, NUL executive director summed it up this way in his opening conference statement: "Our function to help the American community to understand —and act on the basis of its understanding—that the welfare of all the people can be attained only when all the people have equal opportunity to develop their fullest potentialities."

"With our primary focus on economic opportunity—the achievement of equal economic opportunity for all—we seek to enlist the teamwork effort of every citizen, no matter what his special partisian interests who recognizes the connection between equal opportunity and the national welfare."

He pointed out that in support of such goals the "conference deliberation (were) marked by contributions from spokesmen from a variety of influence centers — industrial and business corporations, government, organized labor, church and civic life—individuals of different races and religious connections, ranging from VIPs to Average Joes."

Only when you try to visualize all of these goodwill forces working together can you get a grasp and feeling of the real America of which the poets sing, the good citizen dreams, and young hearts yearn. You hear the voice of Emerson echoing the America for which Langston Hughes hums.

But Mr. Granger observed: "Realism compels the admission that our resources are weak in comparison with the urgency of the crisis facing us. That disparity is accentuated by the fact that the forces of disruption are stronger at this moment than never before in history."

He had reviewed the ugly part the White Citizens Councils, the Ku Klux Klans and kindred hate groups are playing today as retarding forces. He observed bitterly: "Today the Ku Klux Klan, which yesterday was thought dead forever, is back in business and is compiling a new record of intimidation, violence and murder."

And why did he leave out thought control? The KKK and the WCC represent the poison squads of thought, it seems to me.

"The pseudo-respectable business men and civic leaders who are responsible for the Klan's rebirth are now deploring its growth", Mr. Granger said. "forgetful of the fact they themselves make the Klan's reappearance inevitable when they organized their White Citizens Councils and similar groups for economic and social repression of their Negro neighbors."

"True violence was disclaimed as a weapon by these organizations that were precusors of the Ku Klux Klan," Mr. Granger said, "but this disclaimer proved lack of common intelligence rather than civic virtue. For common intelligence reasons that when the devils loosed upon the minds of men he ends by taking over their bodies."

What is the meaning of all of this in terms of the Urban League? Simply, the NUL has been under the attack of the WCC and the KKK. No organization which tends to operate outside of the thought domination of such groups can escape for long their ire. Such attacks are made on the promoters of progress and in that sense of America itself.

THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

Two weeks ago an ambitious, $200,000 budgeted, Dixie-wide voter registration campaign was announced by the re-named Southern Christian Leadership Conference in session at Montgomery, Ala.

When the campaign will get off the ground is any body's guess.

Some of the SSLC leaders will soon be enmeshed in the intricate politics of the National Baptist Convention that convenes Sept. 8-13 in Louisville, Ky.

Under the SCLC ballot multiplying drive, central headquarters will be set up in Atlanta, Ga. Staff personnel will have to be selected. The budget will have to be raised. Organizational plans will have to be formulated.

While the foundation structure of the campaign is being built, some state work should be underway, it seems to me. The SCLC needs to use its various members on its board of directors to survey the suffrage situation in the areas it plans to work.

The aims and goals of the SCLC register-to-vote campaign are clear —But it will need more than a budget, central staff and prestige names to get the job done. A name which might have mass meeting value does not necessarily have the same influence in getting non-voters to add their names to the registration lists.

Voter-registration problems vary from state to state. Resources for campaigning are not the same. The political climate differs. The realities of voter-registration will have to be faced.

Majority of the Negro population still lives in the rural. The six remaining poll tax states are in the South. In Alabama there are only four months of the year the poll tax can be paid Oct. 1, to Feb. 1. There is one-spot registration and the session, except for the first and third Mondays of the month, vary widely. In some places there are various types of voucher systems.

If the voter-registration campaign is to enlarge the electorate for the 1958 elections, it must get started now. This does not mean that some work designed to swell suffrage is not being promoted. Although slow, registration has become almost year around activity in Alabama, taking into consideration the circumstances.

It seems to me that three projects could be immediately launched in Alabama while waiting for the SCLC regional campaign to take off. Let a committee catalogue the various state, county, city and community organizations working for an elaborate electorate. Another committee could compile the registration laws of the state, the rules and regulations of the 67 county boards of registrars. Thirdly, organize a group of idea men whose job it will be to think out new ways to attack apathy, to effectuate bulk-style registration and to build a favorite climate for shared suffrage.

An index should be made of the available promotional, educational and resistance literature. This would prove helpful to the Atlanta central office and would also provide facts for mapping the grand campaign for new voters.

In the meantime, the local voter-registration organizations and leaders, should not wait on the SCLC campaign. Many of them long have been on the firing line for increased voting and know some of the nagging problems. They must keep at it even when the new efforts is initiated. The task is so big, so tough, so formidable that will take the combined manpower, strength, strategy and inspiration of all to make the showing demanded by the challenge.

Meanwhile, it seems to me that special attention needs to be given to the Black Belt because of the large number of unfranchised persons living in that section. It will call for tact, smartness and shrewness to push an effective campaign in this tight-vote belt. Such leadership would have to come from the disfranchised segment in the Black Belt.

That means, leadership will have to be built up, uncovered or divined in the Black Belt that would be willing to pay the price for the right to vote. Until the ballot takes on a value that one would lay down his life for it, it is likely to be withheld. One who can not vote is politically dead anyway.

-REGISTER to VOTE-

The Tip Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (SNS) — Spotty and skippy fair job opportunity remains a challenge to leadership and the democratic process.

You hear stories of racial employment gains and see supporting statistics. Yet in terms of the total Negro minority the dent is shallow. It appears worse the further South you look.

In some Southern states, notably Alabama there isn't a major agency working to improve job rights and opportunities. No chapter of the National Urban League is located in Alabama. There is no employment agency working to remove barriers to upgraded and quality jobs. Negro purchasing power is not being mobilized to open new areas of racial employment. Negro business still operates mainly in the traditional patterns. Not many with stacked away dollars are investing

where their money could eventually crowbar new jobs for the group.

The Federal Government is one of the major employers and at the same time one of the biggest awarders of contracts. It is now the national policy of the Eisenhower administration to seek job opportunities without regard to race, religion or national orgin. There is The President's Committee on Government Contracts chaired by Vice-President Nixon and The President's Committee on Government Employment Policy headed by the Rev. Archibald Carey of Chicago.

Wiley Turns Back Southern Cats, 24-20

MARSHALL, TEXAS—The Wiley wildcats took their biggest stride toward the Southwest Conference title when they edged the Southern Jaguars 24-20 in a thriller before a capacity crown at Wiley Field. "Ike" Iglehart was the big noise for the wildcats as they please their Homecoming crowd with the first victory over Southern since 1954. The wiley senior passed for two markers and sneaked over center for another TD.

Southern scored first in the initial stanza on a thirteen yard pass play from John Thomas to Richard William. The Wildcats recovered a Southern fumble on the nineteen and on the second play Jerry Jenkins skirted right end for the touchdown early in the second quarter. The extra point try was no good.

Southern scored again eleven minutes deep in the second quarter when Clarence Bruno smashed over from the one yard line to climax a capacity crowd at Wiley Field iams booted the extra point. Igleheart two lard sneak in the waning minutes of the period made the half time score 13-12 in favor of Southern.

Ten minutes deep in the third quarter a sixty one yard pass play from Igehart to Willie Hall put the Wildcats back in front 18-13. Early in the final period Iglehart passed to Thomas on a play that covered thirty one for the final Wiley touchdown. Southern came right back with a sixty seven yard drive that culminated the score. William again booted the extra point.

Saturday's Grid Results

TENNESSEE STATE	32
PRARIE VIEW	7
ALABAMA STATE	20
FISK U.	6
MISS. VOCATIONAL	39
MISS. INDUSTRIAL	0
JACKSON COLLEGE	61
KENTUCKY STATE	0
ARKANSAS AM and N	26
LANGSTON	20
FORT VALLEY STATE	12
KNOVILLE	0
TEXAS COLLEGE	26
BISHOP	6
WILEY	24
SOUTHERN	20
DILLARD	19
TUSKEGEE	7
CENTRAL STATE	44
WAYNESBURG	7
BETHUNE-COOKMAN	18
XAVIER (La.)	7
LINCOLN (o.)	46
WARRENSBURG (Mo.) Teachers	7
BENEDICT	26
[illegible]	21

The Tip Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Sputnik and segregation vie for attention in the South as the 37th annual observane of American Education Week rolls around.

Racial segregation is the dark curtain of the South.

Science is the open window to new wonders. Segregation Perhaps is a factor responsible for some of the scientific lag which saw Russia stun lead of the United States in Satellite science.

The South lags behind other sections of the nation in scientific training. The South fails to provide equality of opportunity in scientific education. School buildings by themselves do not make schools.

Mathematics which is the hub of science is almost neglected in the so-called Negro high schools. Physics and Chemistry are hardly any better off. Science and mathematics teachers are hardly eagerly sought. Schools which enroll Negro pupils are almost neglected which emphasis is placed on school buildings.

Here in Birmingham, Ala. a recent meeting of the Board of Education concerned itself with the re-naming of 11 "Negro schools" for members of the "Negro race". This naming and re-naming schools does not improve the schools. It does not improve the standings of those for whom the schools were named or re-named. It does not even impress a number of us.

As. we come to America Education Week almost nothing is likely to be said by P-T. A. leaders, guest speakers, and others about the public school situation in Alabama. As a matter of fact, the majority of voting citizens have approved amendments to the Alabama constitution which removes the right of any citizen to an education at public expenses, and authorizes a board of education to dispose of the schools rather than integrate them by court order. In other words, eliminate the public school system rather than integrate it.

Yet the general theme of American Education Week is "An Educated People Moves Freedom Forward." Freedom is indivisible. You can't break it up into segregated units. You can't develop freedom by denying it. I do not see how the American Education Week theme can honestly be discussed in schools or elsewhere without touching the situation in which the South finds itself.

The schoolroom is only one unit of the teaching process. Freedom is going to be discussed and taught to those who are denied such teachings in the formal classrooms.

When Dr. J. H. Owens, president of Selma Universiay spoke on the 13th annual Teacher-Fellowship Day program at Sixteeenth Street Baptist Church, he emphasized the importance of good writing in his column in a national weekly says, "The quality of education the Negro students receive (in a segregated school system) is in the hands of the Negro principals and the Negro teachers." What both Dr. Owens and Dr. Mays said likely will be in the minds of parents when they visit the Negro division of the standard public school system during American Education Week.

Closing of the public schools to avoid open enrollment will not solve anything. Likely it will pave the way for the federal government to back into providing education to the victims of the abolished school system as part of the national welfare. It is unthinkable that the powerful federal government would stand on the sidline to permit bigoted denial of education to satisy the whims and passions of prejudiced politicians.

Hence the answer to state-closed schools would be federal emergency public schools, it seems to me.

The Tip Off

Daily Worker 31a

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Atlanta Ga.

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (INS)—"A disfranchised minority is politically helpless," says Columnist Walter Lippman.

Tues. 7-16-57

He was discussing the President's proposed civil rights program which is pending before the U. S. Senate. That four-point moderate program is threatened by fillibuster, emasculating amendments, and whittling.

Some civil rights advocates seem fearful that any implemented constitutional rights will tend to imperil other cherished basic right. Yet no right is more basic than voting rights upon which pivot all other civil rights.

Given the vote has the personal tool by which he can help construct the kind of community he likes. It is ironic that one with the right to vote in a democracy built one such right cannot exercise that right, as is the case of members of the Negro group in the deep South.

In Lowndes County, as is the case of a few other Black Belt counties, no Negro has been allowed to vote since the adoption of the 1901 Alabama constitution. There are 6,512 Negro persons of 21 years and older in this county. Yet none is permitted to vote. Among the racially disfranchished are public school teachers whose good citizenship is certified by the State of Alabama and attested to by the Lowndes County Board of Education. There can be no honest and vaild question of fitness of such persons as these to bear the ballot for their democracy.

Look at the other side of the picture. Voter-registration estimate figures published by Hugh W. Sparrow, political writer for the Birmingham News, May 20, 1956 indicated that in Lowndes County there were 2,057 white persons of 21 years and more, and 2252 white voters. According to his figures there were 195 more white voters than persons 21 years of age and older in Lowndes County.

More than all of the potential white voters, according to Sparrow's figures, were on the voters' list. Yet not a single Negro voter was listed.

Still in some of the counties with only a fraction of their population of the Negro group show only 864 Negro persons, based on no Negro voters. Take Dekalb with the U. S. census, yet no Negro voters. Marshall County has only 1,051 Negro persons, but no Negro voters. Hence it is not true that only the counties with relative large Negro population ratios that the Negro person is barred from the ballot box.

DeKalb has a population of 44,622 white persons and Marshall is listed 44,639 white persons. So the bogey of "bloc voting", the "herd vote" and related hooey blows up under the attack of the facts.

Political apathy is a by-product of stagnant politics. For where there is competitive politics there lies a market for new voters. Competitors are always trying to enlarge their market. Competition stimulates participation. Apathy goes into hiding when action comes on the scene. Hence the voter apathy theory is unable to stand up under the test light of action. The one-party, one-race one-candidate system breed apathy, indifference, and inertia.

Southern "constitutionalists" are up in arms against the implementation of the 15th Amendment of the constitution which plainly states that the right to vote shall no be denied or abridged by any state. So Senator Russell pleads for "a peaceful and patriotic South" to be allowed to continue obstruct, outlaw and abridge the right of Negro citizens to vote and hold public office in the South.

It seems to me that those who have tried to vote and were refused; those who have been terrorized and intimidated for trying to vote should write the President, the Senate leaders, and other civil rights Senators urging them to see that the present civil rights program is enacted into law.

THE TIP OFF

Worker p. 6

Birmingham Ala.

31a

EMORY O. JACKSON

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THE TIP OFF

3/a negro

EMORY O. JACKSON

Daily World

Talk is heard about states' rights but the advocates of such themselves seem to be witnesses against it.

A high Georgia official spoke the other day at a meeting of the (White) Citizens Council of America in Texas, the which was held in Houston, Texas and advocated a regional defiance program. The title of the organization before which this high man spoke suggests nothing like states' rights.

Some WCC adherents met recently from over the South in Atlanta to devise plans for evading, escaping, and negating the Civil Rights Bill enacted by the 85th Congress One idea hit upon as reported by the daily press was to curb or destroy the NAACP. Secondly, an effort would be made to protect vulnerable voter-registration officials.

These were a few of the ideas tossed around by Southern political and civic leaders who say they want to save the nation, and in the same breath espouse plans that would wreck the nation because they advocate disrespect and defiance of the constituted and interpreted law of the land.

Here is a mix-up worse than mixing. Some extremists Southern leaders are actually advocating civil war but they cloak their advocacy in spurious constitutionalism. They really call for customism which has no valid standing in a growing, improving ,changing democracy.

In a few weeks, the NAACP will conduct a regional leadership conference in Atlanta. Shortly after the implementation decision in the school cases, the NAACP held a conference which was highly selective and limited. The NAACP's Nov. 15-17 conference on voter-registration is likely to follow the same pattern.

Integration and civil rights have just about blown apart the Democratic Party. The Southern Wing of the Democratic Party insists that the party be the vehicle of "white supremacy," states' rights and segregation. No party with such political concepts is worthy of management of the United States. The Dixie bloc would like to use its entrenched Congressional power as committee chairmen to embarrass, harass, hound and hamstring officials who have tried to interpret and administer the law on the basis of newly established standards.

Now the Democratic National Committee is beginning to sense how the Southern wing of the party is dragging it down. Says an official statement, in part: "We cannot sectionalize, or regionalize, or compromise our Party and I believe that a vast majority of our party expects and demands that we hold firmly to our beliefs ..... regardless of consequences in votes."

Should the Democratic Party retain control of Congress in the 1958 elections, that would mean that the Southerners would retain control of the major Congressional committees. That is the reality that Negro voters in the two-party states will have to consider. The Southerners by their violent racism are probably helping to work themselves out of power. The Republican Party was born fighting for civil rights.

Any Southern member of Congress who is defeated could be seen as an assist to civil rights. No matter what stand a Southern Democrat has taken his defeat would likely weaken the Democratic Party. Congressional seniority looms as a menace to civil rights when the Democratic Party is in control, it seems to me. One Mississippi lawmaker has called the Senatorial committee over which he presides the graveyard of civil rights. It has been the Negro vote in those close election states that tipped the scales to the Democrats, allowing the Southern wing to ascend to inherit the powerful committee spots.

The school integration issue in the South has served to reveal the true Republicans. A number of the Eisenhower smilists were never authentic Republicans as such. They switched over apparently with no better motive than to try corrupt the Grand Old Party to their way of thinking. But the Little Rock rebellion exposed them as something else. President Eisenhower step in with troops to nip in the bud that rebellion before it set the South on fire.

When state troops are used to forcibly prevent an American citizen from engaging in a lawful pursuit that tends to amount to a declaration of violent defiance, it seems to me. It appears to me that the Little Rock episode shows plainly and brutally the resisting South's blueprint of final resort to prevent court-ordered integration.

The statement of the Democratic Party high commands says further: 'Let us replace the force of bayonet with the stronger force of vigorous moral leadership." What substantial Democrats in the South are willing to take the "moral leadership" for civil rights and school integration?

THE TIP OFF

P. 6

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

"The Elks Educational Digest", for 1957, published by the Department of Education of the Alabama Association of Elks, is a valuable contribution to research and democratic enlightenment.

It is edited by Dr. J. Garrick Hardy, director of education for the Alabama State Association of Elks, the 160 page mimeographed story of the Elks oratorical contest, civil liberties project, and adult education launchment, is information which should be cherished by any liberty-hungry group. The two-page table of contents, the documentary orations, the photos, all tend to add to the usefulness and handiness of this timely inky production. One of the basic weaknesses of our group lies in the area of written records. Publication is a method of mass education.

In the foreword, Dr. Hardy observed: "The Elks Educational Program has provided more than 750 scholarships to Negro and white students at a cost of more than $1,000,000. Students who have received these scholarships have attended and are attending some of the leading colleges and universities in practically every state in the union. There were fifty-two (52) students receiving Elks Scholarships in the scholastic year of 1956-57."

He adds, "Alabama through its oratorical contestants, has bee well represented, and has claimed many honors in an effort to five a full account of herself in the Regional and National Contest. Alabama has won the Regional Oratorical Contest nine (9) times within the last nineteen years (1938-1957). Alabama's contestant won the National Oratorical Contest in 1954 at the 55th Grand Lodge Meeting which was held in Chicago, Illinois. Alabama's contestant was the national compromise winner in 1956 at the 57th Grand Lodge Meeting which was held in Los Angeles, California. This makes the fourth national win for Alabama within the aforementioned number of years."

The oratorical contest was initiated in 1927 by the Improved, Benovelent and Protective Order of Elks of the World under Judge William C. Hueston. 1957 is its 30th anniversary year.

With reference to the speech approach to full freedom and first-class citizenship, Robert H. Johnson, grand exalted ruler of the Elks, wriitng in the Elks Educatinoal Digest points out: "We have said for 300 years that all men are equal and now the historic decision of the Supreme Court will make our children believe it. We are now at the point where we must consider what can be done to create a well-spring of understanding of man's relation with man."

Ernest J. Wright, state president, sees it this way: "It is to be understood that the entire Educational Program of the Elks has for its major objectives the task of acquainting the public with the rights, the privileges and obligations which should be enjoyed and shared by all first-class citizens living in a democracy."

The "Elks Educational Digest" is equally exhibit of functioning scholarship. The collection and arrangement of the material, its readable presentation, and its documentary technique, give to it authority, integrity, and literary standing. All of which points up the scholarship that went into producing it. And yet without the money to produce this work it would hardly have emerged. For the latter give credit to the leadership and the membership of the 13 lodges and 14 temples which make up the Alabama State Association of Elks.

The biographical sketches and the textural orations of the nine Alabama district winners should be read for guidance into the interests, idealism, and concern of representative Negro youth in Alabama. This should inspire wider and better participation. The story of Elkdom among Negro group in Alabama is both fascinating and challenging.

The appendix of the "Elks Educational Digest" presents "Elks Oratorical Contest References, 1957 Bibliography". Should it be asked whether all or any of such references are available in the school, Community, or professional library: It has been my observation that literature about Frederick Douglass, the immortal journalist, orator and leader, is just about totally absent from the public school library. As an extension of its educational work the Elks might consider a project for making available the freedom literature to libraries. Special freedom libraries could be set up in the various Elk buildings and a book lending system worked out.

THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

DETROIT, Mich. — (SNS) — Housing, like the ballot, is a vita civil right.

So today, this column continues with excerpt from a speech made by James H. Scheuer, of New York, on the subject. "Race Housing and Urban Renewal," made before the National Urban League Conference.

Housing, like second-class citizenship, is a situation which faces the Negro group all over Aemrica. Some Southern whites like Savannah, Ga., and Birmingham, Ala., have brought the problem starkly, sharply, and strikingly to the Negro segment.

Mr. Scheuer, chairman of the executive board City and Suburban Homes Company, observed in his speech:

Urge federal authorities to coordinate the federal highway, urban renewal, and other public improvement, programs. A federal department of urban affairs seems to be an obvious first step in this direction.

Urge City and State authorities to improve the phasing and coordination of projected public improvement programs in available housing supply.

Urge the adoption on all levels of government, federal, state and city, of a total accounting system for all public improvement programs, which accepts and recognizes as a public responsibility the social and dollar costs of the relocation burden produced by these programs. (We can surely afford the minor addtional dollar cost which would be added to these vast programs by including reasonable costs for relocation either as an item in the cost of land acquisition or as an item to be written off against the increased land values which the highway and renewal programs will bring to communities.)

Advocate a vastly expanded federally-assisted housing program for all income groups, with public housing employed as a useful tool in a comprehensive approach to the housing shortage.

Work to bring the entire housing inventory, starting with new housing enjoying government assistance and ending with the existing non-assisted housing supply, under the umbrella of open-occupancy legislation and actual rental and sale practices. Approximately four-fifths of all urban renewal housing in the United States is now covered by non-discrimination requirements by State or City legislation, or by city project disposition policy. New York City and State appear to be on the brink of a breakthrough in passing legislation prohibiting discrimination in non-assisted private housing.

He pointed to three fears which beset home dwellers. They are of driving down property values, (2) inundation or a floading of a community with new people and (3) invasion of private property rights.

First, race is not a factor in lowering or raising property values. The many studies on this subject indicate that it is a combination of factors wholly apart from race or color which determine what will happen to a neighborhood.

If an area contains large numbers of citizens, members of minority groups or otherwise, who are forced by their own economic limitations or by prevailing restrictive rental practices, or both, to overcrowd into dismally undermaintained quarters, the area is destined to be a slum. If, in addition, the locality is neglected by the city, and is served with inadequate police, fire, health, sanitation, and recreational facilities, the trend will be vastly accelerated. This is true, of course, no matter what the racial components of the inhabitants.

If however, the area is not overcrowded, and if residents, both new and old, have the means to maintain their dwellings, and if the city services are adequate, then the area will remain stable and attractive. Newcomers, of whatever race or creed, will pay prevailing rents and meet prevailing occupancy and maintenance standards. The neighborhood will continue to prosper.

Both general experience and technical studies of area case histories indicate that the triple blights of overcrowding, poor maintenance and inadequate city services breed slums. When the question of race or color is isolated from all other factors, analysis has shown that it has no effect whatsoever, for better or for worse, on property values.

THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (SNS) — One day Montgomery, Ala. is likely to become the Cradle of First Class Citizenship.

Mainly through the initiative, ideas and inspiration of the leadership of the Montgomery Improvement Association a new experiment in a regional voter-registration campaign has been formulated. For two days, Aug. 7-8, the South's new leaders of freedom assembled here to plan, to project, and to promote a sweeping voter-registration drive.

Unfair vote denial is now a national issue, a Southern tragedy and a scandal of democracy. Research by the Southern Regional Council has focused the spotlight on racial suffrage. The Senate debate over civil rights has spotlighed the resistance to population-wide participation in political suffrage.

The problem of voter-registration in the South is so vital that it needs specialization. It is this recognition which seems to have motivated the formation of the region-wide approach by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. At best, the movement is a pioneering effort. It, I think will payoff in the long run.

Its main advantage comes from the fact that it is based upon church leadership. It has youthful leaders who are trained and dedicated. It has prestige figures and also experience leaders. It can draw on fresh support for a limited objective. A study made a few years ago by Drew Seminary indicated that where ministers were active in voter-registra ion there was a higher percentage of vo ers than in those communities with no such action by the pastors.

Here:

The voter-registration blueprint adopted by the SCLC delegates was a document presented by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The proposed $200,000 budget approved was worked out by a committee headed by Dr. Samuel Williams, a professor of philosophy at Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga., who has been active in community civic affairs. Dr. King is SCLC president and also head of the Montgomery Improvement Association. Both Dr. King and Dr. Williams are pastors of churches. Here are scholars associated with this large-scale, Dixie-wide, scientifically-approached voter-registration campaign.

One visitor at the August 3 session raised the question of SCLC invading a field staked out by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Conference leaders explained that this movement was not intended to replace any organization. It might have been added that the NAACP does not specialize in voter-registration and certainly lacks the machinery outlined by the SCLC to do a single, slugging, stimulative drive in the neglected area of big-figure voter-registration.

Another speaker was concerned about there being an undestanding with the NAACP and SCLC. Those who bring up such questione are apparently forgetful, or uninformed on N. A. A. C. P. policy. Under N. A. C. P. policy there could hardly be a formalized agreement with any organization. Such formality seems to be unnecessary. In those places where the NAACP is still operating in the South there will be full opportunity for it to have a hand in helping to break down voter-registration discrimination. Each NAACP branch is free to conduct voter-registration drives.

While SCLC spokesmen suggest that they are interested in the whole field of integration, it is significant that the only program the conference reduced to blueprint was that of voter-registration. Such is a full-time objective which will require all of the ingenuity, skill, and ability of the combined conference leadership.

But to me there is one disturbing factor. The proposed kicking off the drive with a series of suffrage mass meetings points to a defect, it seems to me. That is, emphasis will be placed on the cities. Such an over-emphasis will be a serious mistake. A majority of Negro persons in the South still live in the rural. The lack of reapportionment, the county apportuenment, the county unit system of Georgia, and the density of the existing rural vote, would tend to make the concentration on the cities unwise. One Negro vote in the rural is likely to be worth 500 Negro votes in the cities.

SCLC pilots will need to study the whole electorol process in the South on a state-by-state and county-by county basis to understand it. Those who advocate the city-vo e emphasis are obviously basing their thinking on the situation in the Midwest and the East. Niether exactly fits in wi h the existing situation in the South.

Meantime the SCLC will have to depend for assistance on existing local organizations. many of them have been in the field a long time and have excellent leadership, sound know how, but needs booster stations. Dr. King in his statement launching the large-scale vot- registration campaign reorganized this need and made it a part of the approach.

The Tip Off

A four-phase approach is being made to the school transition problem. Moved P. 8

They include a self-excellence program by the Negro group; labor's civil rights approach; Southern industrialization and the moral emphasis.

Biggest job among the Negro group is to be understood and accepted. It needs to be understood by all that the Negro segment desires to be included as a free American and as a child of God. Such social acceptance and inter- group understanding is difficult under "two racially different school divisions."

When George Meany, president of the merged AFL-CIO, went before the United Nations to discuss the racial situation in the United States, this was recogniztion of the role the trade unions have played in combatting ugly racial discrimination. Trade union leaders are the front-line workers for community undetaking. The race issue is believed used to weaken the labor movement. It is still a handy tool for those who seek to divide and deny or split and skin.

Industrialization is a force for changes in the South. Industry is bashful of community and population strife. The supply of labor needs to be adequate and markets accessible. When any portion of the labor supply is restricted on the basis of color rather than competence, that tends to mitigate against the selective employment process. Industry affects the community economy.

Prof David E. Varner puts it this way: "As industrialization overtakes the South and upset the menial status of Negroes as a group, the white South will have to face itself without the wonted benefit of the black backdrop to set off its white superiority. It will have to face itself alone. It will be much easier for its children if by integrated schooling they are spared the expensive pastime of building up false psychological defenses and then having them eventually destroyed by the heart-rending and soul-searching experiences which their parents, through involuntary past conditioning, are now undergoing."

The industrialization challenge in the South come in for considerable discussion the Dixie governors met at Sea Island, Ga. As Gov. Collins of Florida put it, ".... it is not easy for a Southern leader to work effectively and constructively in areas alive with emotions deeply rooted in the past - and still have his people with him."

Most scholars recognize the fact that industrial change will influence social and democratic change. Industrialization is bound to modify segregation.

President Eisenhower has stressed the need for moral and spiritual leadership. He expressed it this way at his Oct. 3 press conference in answer to a reporter's question:

"Now, this is really what I think, now this is really getting repetitious, I have said it often before; I believe that all forms of free government are based either knowingly or unknowingly on deeply held religious convictions, and that religious convictions is the quality of man that is acknowledge nowhere except that all men are the sons of a Creator, a common Creator."

"Now that, in my mind, gives validity to our form of government, and if we don't believe that, then we had better take another look and see why we are trying to do these things, because that is the only place I know of that it is claimed that all men are equal their common -- the common Fatherhood of a commn God. That, to my mind, gives to all religious leaders a special responsibility for supporting the institutions of free government where there is freedom of worship, as there is freedom of the press and freedom of speech and thought, and so on."

"So I think that the minister of all denominations has here a very peculiar, very specific and very important role to play."

The Tip Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

School integration, difficult and slow as it is going, is complicated by evil spirits at work, openly and behind the scenes.

There are those in the South who regard segregation as property like slaves. Ownership of enforced segregation, they seem to think it was conferred upon them by a disorted version of states' rights. Moved

Compulsory segregation is no more a states' right than slavery. The seperate but equal doctrine P. 8 for whatever its theory, has been proved by experience and by expert findings to be unfactual. Those who argue that the Supreme Court did not follow the constitution falisfy the facts that the evidence against legalized racial segregation tended to show that the separate but equal doctrine did not guarantee equal protection of the laws. The evidence pointed to the fact that racial segregation resulted in injury to the victims of it. Birmingham

Some States' righters are now advocating a constitutional amendment to legalize public school segregation. The proposal is embelished in various garb. Also the states' righters contend that the victims of violence should be allowed no other protection than that of state police, which in a few instance suggests that local authority would not gurantee such protection. Ala. Dat. 10-5-57

Another favorite argument of the states righters is that the victims of bigotry should not go where they are not wanted? But where they are wanted? What is wrong with that view is that the system of capitalism, the credo of democracy and the teaching of the best religions offer no comfort to that slant.

Obvious undisclosed strategy of the bitter resister states' righters was to use a third power to block peaceful gradual court-ordered school integration. At least this third power was not advocated as a formal part of the total or mass or last resort resistance. Nevertheless its outlines had appeared in literature similar to that distributed by nevertist groups such as the White Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klans.

This third power was mob power. It was to show itself in the form of domestic peace through tight racial segregation. In other words, segregation, now unconstitutional, was to be made a condition of community tranquality This third power is similar to that held by the captains of the invisible empire. In others words, mob war instead of civil war would be used to frustrate the processes of orderly change, it seems to me.

The federal government is going to have to formulate a policy for dealing with mob resistance to social change in the South. The pattern of resistance has taken form in Little Rock, Ark. Morale law, not mob rule, needs to be brought into play by the spiritual leaders. The victims of resistance need to come forward with a creative approach which blends goodwill, economics and the logic of change.

Political leaders have a responsibility to democracy which overrides their personal atitudes and their sympathy with stagnant customs. As the Christian Science Monitor put it editorially, in part, in discussing the Little Rock situation: "Telling citizens that resistance is useless is not the same as telling them that lawlessness is wrong.

It is unlikely that this country will drift backward with segregation any more than to slavery.

THE TIP OFF

Would P.6

31 Negro

EMORY O. JACKSON

Wed. 8-21-57

"We've lost a good man."

That said W. H. Hollins, manager of Vulcan Realty and Investment Corporation, as I dropped by the office Friday morning, Aug. 16.

"Who", I asked.

"J. R. Hatcher, Jr., left us last night", Mr. Hollins said. He went to relate the details.

B'ham, Ala.

The day before I had stopped in Vulcan Realty where Mr. Hatcher had a desk with his nameplate on it. He sat there chatting with Mr. Houston, his sales mate.

John Roy Hatcher, Jr. was a civic fixture in Birmingham. He represented that rare community leadership which is basic to the healthy growth of any city. Less popularized than some of the civic leaders, he was more purposeful.

He pushed to the front as a sterling community leader in the heyday of the Alabama State Federation of Civic Leagues. In those days civic leaders were chiefly concerned about trying to get better streets, lights, recreational facilities and drainage. These are still needs. It was realized at that time that without the ballot one is a civic beggar.

The so-called civic diplomats were unable to wrest from the politicians any substantial benefits. The well-liked-by-white-folks Negro leader was ineffective in gaining anything for the group. Shrewd operators were able to get personal considerations by keeping the others fooled, and quieted. Mr. Hatcher knew all of this and understood the duplicity and cunning selfishness of the unreliable leaders at that time.

One who followed the civic league movement and took an inventory of Birmingham's leadership in the 1930's probably could account for Mr. Hatcher's passion for voter registration. The ballot was (and still is) a difficult achievement for a Negro person. Less than 700 Negro persons were registered as voters.

Let's take a look-back at one situation. Tennis had become popular among the young set. There were no public tennis courts for the Negro group in Birmingham. There were a few private ones. In some communities civic leaders made requests of the Park and Recreation Board for tennis courts. At the same time the other group had so many that weeds were grown over the seldom-used ones.

If I remember correctly in those days Mr. Hatcher was one of the tennis interested persons along with John Rhoden, the late Dr. Portlock; Harvey Stonewall Norris, Jim Finley, Tommy Murphy, W. W. Jackson, and many others. I remember serving on a committee to ask the Park and Recreation Board to build a tennis court on what is now the Tuggle School campus. It is a sad and heartbreaking memory of the run-around that we were given.

Bad as Birmingham is now it is better than it was in those days Mr. Hatcher began the unpopular work of voter-registration. Civic leagues that assumed community leadership in other days in many instances today are without known and dependable leaders. Without community leadership no voter-registration campaign in likely to succeed.

At the funeral program held at St. Luke AME Church Sunday, Aug. 18, Mr. Hatcher was paid a deserved tribute for his church and community work. Using as his subject, "My Friend Hatcher", the Rev. A. W. Thomas, delivered an intimate, touching and uplifting eulogy. While he sought to comfort the family, he also placed himself on record as being community-minded by associating himself joyously with the work of Mr. Hatcher.

L. F. Berry told how Mr. Hatcher would "come off the job" tired but would go around trying to interest persons in becoming voters. "The voters' clinics stand as a memorial to him", Mr. Berry said. He conducted schools for prospective voters in the church and directed a series of clinics under the auspices of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights.

Also, coming from the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, pastor of Bethel Baptist Church and president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, was the suggestion that "500 persons should become registered voters as a tribute to Mr. Hatcher."

Community leaders are too often overlooked or submerged. Usually they shun the limelight, perhaps fearing that it will handicap them. The wages of community leadership is the satisfaction you get in seeing your community improved. No cash could ever compensate for such service.

After hearing the eulogy of Rev. Thomas and the tributes by others I began to understand what Jimmy Powers, sports columnist of the New York Daily News meant when he wrote: "A man survives mostly in the minds of his friends."

One of Mr. Hatcher's friends told, "he will be hard to replace in the voter-registration activities."

THE TIP OFF

Would P.6

31 Negro

EMORY O. JACKSON

B'ham, Ala.

Two national weeklies have raised questions, either in editorial or columnar comment, on the wisdom of organizing the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the latter announcing a Dixie-wide voter registration campaign.

Wed 8-28-57

The Pittsburgh Courier, in an editorial, observed: "It has been through the efforts of the NAACP, of which Dr. (Martin Luther) King, Jr. is a director, that the increase of Negro suffrage in the South has been made possible by a series of brilliant victories in the Federal courts and the tireless work of its Southern branches."

Then, the Courier, asks: Are the organizers of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference implying by their action that the NAACP is no longer capable of doing what it has been doing for decades because it is under attack several Southern states"?

The question of what the relation of the SCLC would be to the NAACP came up during the Aug. 8 meeting of the conf. at which the region-covering voter-regisgration campaign was outlined debated, and approved. Some of those in attendance suggested that the NAACP should have been "in on the ground floor" and the add-new-voters drive discussed with NAACP national leaders before it was launched. Fear was expressed that the SCLC might need the NAACP further down the road, and therefore the conference should have an understanding with the association.

One speaker also suggested that the SCLC was invading an area of civil rights service already covered by the NAACP. He saw no need for two similar purpose organizations working the same field. Yet there were some other NAACP workers present who did not go along with that viewpoint.

"National Grapevine" Chicago Defender column, said:

"In Montgomery where the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was meeting at the call of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., to set up a South-wide crusade for voter-registration, there were some angry denunciation of the NAACP for giving in.

The above refers to the NAACP being among 16 organizations fighting for civil rights which, while desiring a stronger civil rights bill than the Senate version, would settle for a weaker bill rather than have no bill.

I was perhaps the only newspaper reporter who had the privilege of sitting through the Aug. 8 session. No such "denunciation of the NAACP" was expressed either at the meeting or the press conference that followed. Experienced reporters through their clever questioning worked at trying to pull from Dr. King anything showing a conflict of views. But Dr. King avoided any position other than the one taken in the released policy statement.

Shortly after the Prayer Pilgrimmage for Freedom in Washington, D. C. some newspapers carried a whisper story of a feud between Roy Wilkins, NAACP chieftan and Dr. King. However, at the SCLC meeting Dr. King explained that there never has been a feud between him and Mr. Wilkins and that the two had worked together smoothly.

This latest seems to be a new version of this conflict between Mr. Wilkins and Dr. King. It takes on the extension of ravalry of jurisdiction, and the angle of overlapping work.

The voter-registration situation is so enormous in the South that a double-header attack by the SCLC and the NAACP would seem to be desirable. Even should the two organizations overlap that would not hamper the work, it seems to me. All the organizations which can be summoned to help improve the voting status of the Negro should be welcomed at this hour.

NAACP branches tend to work mainly in the cities, A majority of the Negro group in the South still lives in the rural. The church leadership spreads through the rurals as well as the urban areas. Such are realities which should be faced by those sincerely concerned about improving the suffrage status of the Negro segment in the South.

It seems that an effort is being made to build a conflict between two publicized national figures, one of the South and the other of the East. Now the conflict idea has been projected to the two organizations with which these leaders are identified.

It is true that the SCLC announced that it would work in areas of civil rights other than voting. Yet the only program it blueprinted was in the area of voter-registration. Machinery along the lines of this blueprint has yet to materialize.

While the NAACP was active in Alabama, for example, there were civic, cultural, political, business, fraternal and other organizations working on voter-registration. Among them were the Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registering and Voting; the Alabama Association of Elks; the Alabama Progressive Democratic Association. There have even been other organizations regionally working in the South which preceded the SCLC, like the old Progressive Voters League.

THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

"The Elks Educational Digest", for 1957, published by the Department of Education of the Alabama Association of Elks, is a valuable contribution to research and democratic enlightenment.

It is edited by Dr. J. Garrick Hardy, director of education for the Alabama State Association of Elks, the 160-page mimeographed story of the Elks' oratorical contest, civil liberties project, and adult education launchment, is information which should be cherished by any liberty-hungry group. The two-page table of contents, the documentary orations, the photos, all tend to add to the usefulness and handiness of this timely inky production. One of the basic weaknesses of our group lies in the area of written records. Publication is a method of mass education.

In the foreword, Dr. Hardy observed: "The Elks Educational Program has provided more than 750 scholarships to Negro and white students at a cost of more than $1,000,000. Students who have received these scholarships have attended and are attending some of the leading colleges and universities in practically every state in the union. There were fifty-two (52) students receiving Elks Scholarships in the scholastic year of 1956-57."

He adds, "Alabama through its oratorical contestants, has bee well represented, and has claimed many honors in an effort to five a full account of herself in the Regional and National Contest. Alabama has won the Regional Oratorical Contest nine (9) times within the last nineteen years (1938-1957). Alabama's contestant won the National Oratorical Contest in 1954 at the 55th Grand Lodge Meeting which was held in Chicago, Illinois. Alabama's contestant was the national compromise winner in 1956 at the 57th Grand Lodge Meeting which was held in Los Angeles, California. This makes the fourth national win for Alabama within the aforementioned number of years."

The oratorical contest was initiated in 1927 by the Improved, Benovelent and Protective Order of Elks of the World under Judge William C. Hueston. 1957 is its 30th anniversary year.

With reference to the speech approach to full freedom and first-class citizenship, Robert H. Johnson, grand exalted ruler of the Elks, wriitng in the Elks Educatinoal Digest points out: "We have said for 300 years that all men are equal and now the historic decision of the Supreme Court will make our children believe it. We are now at the point where we must consider what can be done to create a well-spring of understanding of man's relation with man."

Ernest J. Wright, state president, sees it this way: "It is to be understood that the entire Educational Program of the Elks has for its major objectives the task of acquainting the public with the rights, the privileges and obligations which should be enjoyed and shared by all first-class citizens living in a democracy."

The "Elks Educational Digest" is equally exhibit of functioning scholarship. The collection and arrangement of the material, its readable presentation, and its documentary technique, give to it authority, integrity, and literary standing. All of which points up the scholarship that went into producing it. And yet without the money to produce this work it would hardly have emerged. For the latter give credit to the leadership and the membership of the 13 lodges and 14 temples which make up the Alabama State Association of Elks.

The biographical sketches and the textural orations of the nine Alabama district winners should be read for guidance into the interests, idealism, and concern of representative Negro youth in Alabama. This should inspire wider and better participation. The story of Elkdom among Negro group in Alabama is both fascinating and challenging.

The appendix of the "Elks Educational Digest" presents "Elks Oratorical Contest References, 1957 Bibliography". Should it be asked whether all or any of such references are available in the school, Community, or professional library? It has been my observation that literature about Frederick Douglass, the immortal journalist, orator and leader, is just about totally absent from the public school library. As an extension of its educational work the Elks might consider a project for making available the freedom liferature to libraries. Special freedom libraries could be set up in the various Elk buildings and a book lending system worked out.

The Tip Off

Wed, B'ham, Ala

1958 will be a big year politically in Alabama and elsewhere in America.

Wed. 11-6-57

Which means that voter-registration, poll-tax-paying, political education, and leadership examination are currently important matters.

P. 6

Alabama needs a militant voter-registration campaign centered around community leadership. This means that the emphasis is going to have to be placed on discovering, developing, and bringing forward rural, small-town, medium-sized-town leaders who in turn can recruit grass-roots leaders.

There are various ideas about large-scale voter-registration. One is that the big effort should be directed at the big cities. That the big city vote could be used as the tide-turning vote. But that plan fails to take into consideration many realities.

In some cities organized labor does a real voter-registration job with its union halls as the focal points. For obvious reasons, that has not been the case in a city like Birmingham, or Montgomery, or Mobile. Which organized labor in some other cities mobilizes a voter-registration campaign it makes it pitch at organized workers at the same time.

In most cities the size of Birmingham, whether North or South, one does not encounter the unexplained resistance to voter-registration as is the case in Birmingham, according to the informal reports which have come to me. Boswelling is an obstacle with which our voter-registration leaders seem to be unwilling to come to grip. Boswellism is the number foe o. voter-registration.

Boswelling is merely the tactic of asking hazy-wazy questions to prospective voters, Boswelling can be beaten. Instead of exposing boswelling, the voter-registration leaders seek to appease it; to accommodate it and get by it. All of which tends to feed boswellism and make it more difficult to break up.

Voter - registration is public business. As such it should not be conducted as if it is a ritual of some secret order. The rejections should be a matter of public interest.

A columnist on our contemporary morning journal continues to give brilliant attention to voter-registration. But he attempts to place voter-registration on a scare instead of a civic basis, it seems to me. Voting is a vital civic service which should be performed by every patriotic citizen. It has more than a mimic value. I feel strongly that every American citizen should bear his share of helping to run his government and voting is one of the best ways he can do this, it seems to me.

Voter-registration is also popping up as a possible political issue. But it is brought up negatively, and in a damaging way. One prospectve candidate for Alabama governor suggests making circuit judges registrars. The hope would be to provide an escape way for those who administer the law unevenly. Judges in a democracy are not above the law. Judicial officers performing administrative duties could not hide behind their robes.

Prof. C. . Gomillion in his research on the Alabama situation, as reported in "The Journal of Negro Education" issued on "The Negro Voter in the South", observes:

"There are many factors which contribute to the low rate of voting among Negroes in Alabama. Some do not qualify to vote because of their limited recognition and appreciation of the significance of voting. Others who are greatly dependent upon the white community for their economic well-being are afraid to manifest any interest in, or to participate in, politics. Perhaps the most important factor contributing to the low rate of voting among Negroes is the difficulty of getting a Certificate of Registration. The questionnaire which the applicant is required to fill out contains 21 questions, some of which have several parts is required have severad parts. Those persons who do not like to fill out questionnaires postpone applying for registration, sometimes for a very long period. Those who read and-or write slowly often prevent others from appearing before the Board. In many counties if a Negro applicant fails to answer every question, or if he makes a single mistake, the application is not approved, the applicant is not notified, and is not given an opportunity to complete or correct his application.

In some counties, theh registrars do not work full days. They come to work late, and - or leave work early. Occasionally, only one of the registrars reports for work, and cannot work because the law requires that at least two registrars be present when applications are accepted and-or applicants certified. The registrars themselves retard the process by holding conversations with the applicants. In some counties, the registrars do not function regularly because they lack adequate supplies or equipment, or there is no room available in which they can work."

31a 1957

NEGRO (EMORY O. JACKSON)

The Tip Off

31a World Sat. 5-4-57

Birm. Ala.

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Since 1947 until now there have been approximately 21 unsolved racial bombings and burnings in the Birmingham-Bessemer area.

Usually these hate bombings have followed certain patterns. (1) Their occurrence seem to be concurrent with the revival and resurgence of the Ku Klux Klans. (2) They have followed legal controversies over disputed issues involving population segments. (3) Political campaigns tend to ignite them. (4) Recently they have made the homes of leaders, their targets.

Emory Jackson

This area has been victimized by seven satan-like bombings beginning with Dec. 24, 1956 through April 28, 1957. Two of the terrorist bombings have been church dwellings. Two of the bombed houses were without tenants, and in a third the dwellers were far away from home. Only 3 of the bombings were in so-called fringed areas. The other four were in strictly Negro communities. The two bombed churches were situated in the traditional pattern. The minister's parsonage and the labor leaders home were in uncontested neighborhoods.

In Bessemer Sunday night, the dynamite throwers used the drive-and-dump method. The bomb-tosser struck at night. But it was the first time that the dynamite throwers hurled their fury at a building where a crowd had gathered. There were those who say there were eyewitnesses to the ride-and-throw squad who pitched explosives at innocent, the unprotected and the unsuspecting.

Bessemer leaders were merely holding meetings. Nothing concrete was on docket for either improving or changing things. The freedom spirit was merely being kept alive. Birmingham, Bessemer and Gadsden are perhaps America's most custom-built cities, racially speaking.

When a cross of bones is burned or a sheet is pulled around one that might be something done to frighten. But when a fuse is lighted on a bomb tossed into a packed church or a person's home murder, destruction and physical malice are signalized. The bomb-thrower is society's most heartless menace. Violence evokes a reminder of the infamous KKK.

Birmingham, Bessemer and Gadsden are cities regarded as the strong holds of the trade union movement. Union leaders will tell you, and with a degree of factual backing, that tremendous strides in desirable race relations have resulted from the labor movement. So the paradox of union strongholds being the hate holes of the South. Labor leaders who are usually vocal on other issues seem to be silent tension violence.

When a bomb is thrown at one's home it carries a message of destruction and death. Hence it is sheer nonsense to ascribe bomb pitching as intimidation toots. Bombs sound a song of death rather than rattle a warning. Luckily no fatality has resulted from dynamite violence.

Placards and other advertising had announced the meeting. Under such circumstances it is hard to see how anyone able to read and get around could fail to know who was sponsoring the meeting and for what purpose. The leaders were church men as well as civic servants. No matter what kind of meeting was being held at the church the bomb-throwers had no right to interfere with it.

Every source that distributes explosives lawfully must register and account for it. Home made bombs contain substance of a nature that makes it checkable. All of these could be utilized as leads if there is concrete interest in solving the bombings, it seems to me.

The Tip Off

31a World Wed. 5-29-57

Birm. Ala.

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

The Federal Government is the nation's chief employer. It has a declared policy of non-discrimination in employment. Yet there are devices which are often employed to circumvent, cancel and confuse the open competition formulations.

Traditionally, members of the Negro group in the South have been employed to some extent in the postal services. Often there was little opportunity for advancement beyond the starting status. In many areas jobs were closed.

In his message to the District Four of the National Alliance of Postal Employment.

Sunday at Thirgood C. M. E. Church, James B. Cobb of Washington, D. C. president of the alliance, pointed up some disturbing situations. He hinted at an attempt through the the clamor for improved pay for postal workers to sneak into the wage structure the outrageous regional pay pattern based upon sectional differentials. Organized labor has fought regional wage differential and now there seems to be an effort to have the federal government approve this repudiated concept.

Perhaps this regional wage concept is tied in with the decentralization idea. But decentralization should not be used as an excuse for either sectional or racial differential. There is no such thing as a regional citizenship and there should be no such thing as regional paysship, it seems to me. Under it the South would be denied the worker purchasing power to make it a prosperous region. Regional and racial differentials have made the South an economic drawback.

Much is being made of the upgrading of Negro federal employees since 1952. Impressive as this may sound it does not mean too much when the total picture is considered. Upgrading a few and barring many from jobs which they can do, wanted, and seek, tends to offset what appears to be tremendous progress.

A group of veterans in Tuscaloosa, Ala. who long have sought Post Office jobs believe they are being given the dodge. In Selma, Ala. job losses sustained by members of the Negro group over a period of years do not seem to have been restored. Negro employees in the Birmingham Post Office are not very high up the ladder of employment. This is not to say there are some additions and perhaps new faces in places where they had not been seen in many years.

Place these advances against the total picture and they do not loom as large as when they stand by themselves. Nor do they look as good in the total as they do when they are put against figures of the same group ten years ago. In other words, say that ten years ago there were no Negro clerks, and now you have 14 or 25. That looks good. But when you consider the total number in the local Post Office, and other equally important job categories still without any Negro employees the progress takes a dimmer glitter.

There are reports of segregated facilities still in enforced use in some Southern Post Offices. When an employee of the federal government, or a worker anywhere in America, has to be subjected to such conditions, he faces a situation which cuts deeply and wrongfully into his citizenship status. One advanced on the wage side and still shackled down on the welfare side by segregation has not made solid advancement, it seems to me. What does it profit a worker to have a hike in salary and a stab in his soul?

Postal employment is but a small swath of federal employment. In 1955, Alabama has an estimated 50,000 federal employees. What percentage of this number was of the Negro group was never revealed. The point is that the Post Office employment is not a fair yardstick by which to judge any federal administration on equal job opportunity. Those who use it in the narrow, questionable, political sense do not seem to be making a substantial contribution to the total job advancement of the group.

In addition to this, there are jobs produced in private industries by government contracts. Most of such contracts are covered by an anti-bias provision. Still there are plants and industries in the South which do not live up to the non-discrimination policy.

Atty. Cobb told the NAPE delegates that "our dedicated objectives combine as one to carry forward the American creed of the sacredness of the individual in his rights."

THE TIP OFF

World p. 6 31 Birm. Ala.

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Take it from the coffee room to the college campus and see what the discussions adds up to.

The small group talked far into the night on the needs for occupational or jobs or trade or vocational training. Somebody defined industrial arts education.

Wed. 5-22-57

At Daniel Payne College, May 17 —Schools Emancipation Day— there was what was billed as "Senior Day" or career prospecting day. career experts rather than the job-buildres were there talking.

In keynoting Payne College President H. D. Gregg pointed to the new field of earning, of learning, of exploring. He told the gathering, composed of both college level and high school esniors to prepare for any job they liked, had talent for, and saw. He took a generalized sweep to make his message stick.

Mrs. Charlotte M. Stephens, dietitian at the University Hospital, spoke on the subject, "A Career in Dietetics," which she narrowed to the hospital field. Yet there were nurses from some of the hospitals. (At another setting where there were seniors who jotted down their nurse career interest, none mentioned the nursing schools of the University of Alabama, which have been opened by Mrs. Autherine Lucy Foster. Through these students who wanted to become nurses I could see the minds of their parents at work and the fears of their teachers stalking in the background.

Mrs. Elizabeth Roberson, principal of North Patterson School, had the rugged task of trying to answer the question, "Shall I Be A Teacher?" To me the subject for her was loaded. For it carried the splendid implication of 'to be a teacher" not a Negro teacher, or Southern

teacher, or white teacher, just a teacher of those who seek and care to learn. But Mrs. Roberson was bothered about any implications she made her points through the personal touch story, by use of citations, and by dredging quotations from some of the educationalists.

Among visiting consultants listed were Dr. Frank DeCosta and Dr. J. T. Brooks, Alabama State College at Montgomery; Dr. B. B. Dunn, Stillman College, Tuscaloosa; Dr. Ramsey Oole, medical doctor; Mrs. Corietta Mitchell, art instructor at Ullman High: Miss Catherine Uurbin, dietitian, University Hospital; George Hunter, State Vocational Trade School; the Rev. W. P. Foley, the Rev. H. C. Terrell, the Rev. C. E. Thomas, Mrs. Leola Potts, R. N., University Hospital; Mrs. Ossie Ware Mitchell, Booker T. Washington Business College, Master Sergeants Calvin and Calvert of the Birmingham Recruiting Station, Mrs. Alice P. Allen of Miles College.

From the big industry, big finance, big labor, big research, there was no one. Most of those who were listed as consultants were teachers. There wasn't anybody from industry's personnel where doctors, scientists, nurses and so on are employed. In too many of our schools there is too little to train for much in today's job market.

Dr. DeCosta in a pointed observation counselled the career explorers to set their job sights at more than the teaching profession. More and more it's becoming harder to become a good teacher in the Deep South because its harder and harder to remain a free teacher. Look at the bills being introducd in the present segregation session of the Alabama Legislature. An Aubrun professor was fired for presenting another side of an unpopular subject.

Apparently our youth is not looking too much at the education others are getting, watching the jobs others are doing, and saying inwardly, "my chance must come." There still is a dependence on self-guidance in the absence of no guidance, although the educationalists frown on such.

Career day is still a challenge day. Skillfully Dr. Gregg worked this into his speech by telling the career-seekers that with the changes which are going on, if he were their ages he would prepare for the job and not the opening Change is bringing new opening and the new man is moving into them.

THE TIP OFF

World p. 8
Sat. 6-8-57
Birm, Ala.

EMORY O. JACKSON

ATLANTA, Ga. — (SNS) — Oldtimers flick their talks with nuggets of history when they return for an alumni meeting.

It doesn't have to be an alumni meeting at Morehouse College for history to tangle with talk. Almost every college has its oldtimers who try to make history help their class out. My class of 1932 was the first to graduate from Morehouse under rating by the Southern Association of Colleges.

Five classes were due back for reunion ..... 1907, 1917, 1927, 1937 (my brother W. W. Jackson's class), 1947. Some other Morehouse men were pulled back for 50-year citations by the Morehouse College Alumni Association headed by Charles W. Greene.

Emory Jackson

You should have heard Prof. James E. Brown of Sandersville, Georgia, a retired school teacher who was identified with what used to be Americus Institute. He graduated from the Morehouse high school in 1899, teacher training in 1901 and the college in 1905. He was inducted into the half-century club. He was up for citation two years ago but was too ill at the time to make the trip.

Dr. Raymond A. Carter who pointed out that he was Morehouse's first quarterback, stood in for Zachary Hubert, (Savannah, Ga.) of the Class of 1901 who also was given a 50-year alumni award.

Dr. Joseph D. Avant, a retired dentist now living in Tallahassee, Fla., represented the Class of 1907. He retired from practice three years ago in Pittsburgh, Pa. Dr. Avant related how he arrived at Morehouse three days after the Atlanta riot of 1906. He was a member of the first Morehouse class to graduate under a Negro (Dr. John Hope) president of this college.

He did not tell enough. So Dr. Benjamin E. Mays supplied the facts. Dr. Avant probably was too modest to reveal or thought inappropriate. Dr. Mays said for 17 years Dr. Avant has made a monthly contribution to the college. The retired Florida dentist started off with $5 a month and raised it to $10 month. Although retired he has kept up the payment. "That represents character," Dr. Mays said.

Prof. Charles H. Wardlaw was the first 50-year-man to be presented the half-century alumni award. Dr. Carter was second and Prof. Paul E. Dansby of Jackson, Miss. was third. Six such awards have now been presented. Dr. Mays commended the gesture and suggested that the alumni association each year pick out a Morehouse man who is making an outstanding contribution in some community and cite him. (The college was awarding an honorary doctorate to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. of Montgomery, Ala., the lift-by-love evangelist of freedom).

The Rev. N. H. Gamble, representing the Class of 1917, asserted, "I have not had as much as some of you men but I am proud of what I have." Just why he selected such words I did not learn. For at alumni meeting all tend to lose themselves in a oneness of spirit and which each has an equal fullness. He went on to tell what use he had made of his influence to help his college. "I have been preaching 49 years," he declared. He almost worked himself up to a sermon.

Dr. A. D. Williams, a member of the faculty represented the Class of 1927. John H. Calhoun, a former publisher of the Birmingham World and presently in business here, made a bruising speech in reporting for the class of 1937.

R. Jackson, Dr. William McArthur (of Birmingham, Ala.), professor and science department head at Knoxville College and Griffith Days of Liberia, Africa were on hand to vouche for the Class of 1947.

Among others spotted in the meeting were Dr. A. M. Townsend, Jr., of St. Louis, Mo., president-elect of the National Medical Association; and Dr. B. J. Anderson (formerly of Birmingham, Ala.) pastor of Witherspoon Street Presbyterian Church, Princeton, N. J., who delivered the commencement sermon at Spelman College. He came out in the Class of 1939. Dr. M. L. King, Sr., father of the Montgomery protest leader, made a ringing plea for support of the college. T. M. Alexander who ran a strong run-off race for the Atlanta Board of Aldermen, the alumni trustee, made a stimulating report.

Alumni members adopted a report which recommended that Rogers Henderson, an Atlanta realtist, be made an honorary member of the Morehouse Alumni Association. It also called on the administration to employ a full-time alumni secretary. Dr. Mays said that such an addition was at least three years away.

In his report, Dr. Mays reminded the alumni group under his 17-year administration Morehouse had never ended a fiscal year in the red. He said that in 1940 Morehouse had two PH.Ds. and presently 20 of its faculty members have doctorates. No other college in the University can match this record. Only Atlanta University can better it in the system.

"I have tried to make a good college better," he said. He saw his function not only to make Morehouse better, "to make a better college the best." He suggested that "Morehouse stands at the top of the best institutions." Dr. Mays said the Red Hill college "meets the standard of excellence" which entitles it to full membership in the Southern Association of College.

THE TIP OFF

World p. 8
Sat. 6-29-57
Birm, Ala.

EMORY O. JACKSON

COLUMBUS, Ohio — (SNS) — Rewarding contacts is always one of the vital pay-offs of these annual meetings of the National Newspaper Publishers Association.

Louis Lautier, chieftain of the NNPA news bureau in Washington, D. C. was on hand to share with us his experiences and observations. Miss Belva T. Simmons, a staff member of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights put in her appearance. Charles H. Bynum of the March of Dimes was around.

One is able to pick up background material from these contacts to fill in the gaps in his own information. He can rub his ideas against those brought by others. One swaps inspirational stories.

Emory Jackson

Take for instance Harry D. Evans, of New York City, sales manager of Associated Publishers, Inc. I have seen him before at NNPA without learning that he was a native of Birmingham. He wanted me to relate to him that "what's going on down there?" How could anyone in a brief conversation pack the story of the run-off election; the rise of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights; the banning of the NAACP, the recurring racial bombings and the building of the new Fletcher Home into a brief conversation. So you try to skip over events and shake off questions.

Mr. Evans told me that he left Birmingham in 1913 after graduating from Industrial (now Parker) High School. "They called me a Southern boy with Northern ideas," he explained jokingly. Yet to him Birmingham was home and he wanted to know whether in spite of the ugly stories he had read if there were any bright spots.

Had Mr. Evans heard the luncheon speech of Jefferson A. Beaver, of San Francisco, Calif., president of the American Savings and Loan League, he would have snatched up fragments of an inspiring Birmingham story. Mr. Beaver an authority on federal savings and loan association, injected into his speech the thrilling story of the organization of the Citizens Federal Savings and Loan Association of Birmingham. His was a penetrating speech in economics as related to the Negro group. He needs to be invited to Birmingham to speak, it seems to me.

In the tour of the plant of The Ohio Sentinel, the host paper, one of the visiting members of a powerful weekly asserted, "I've picked up some good ideas which we can use in our plant." Anytime delegates pick up ideas at a convention which they can convert into either improvements or revenue they believe they have been rewarded for making the trip. Editor-in-Chief Russell Jackson of the host paper brought in as speakers and program contributors those who had something to offer in facts and ideas.

There was Pete Brown, state examiner of the State Highway Adults Division of Ohio, who asked me about Henry Lee of Birmingham, whom he knew as a student at Wilberforce University. He wanted me to bring a message back to Mr. Lee which cannot be reproduced here.

NNPA reflected growth. Five new member newspapers were added. Attendance was up. The convention authorized a study for expanding its news service. This will strengthen the whole Negro-produced press when it is facilitated. Another committee was authorized to study the stimulation of new and better revenue sources.

Publishers showed product consciousness. They seem to be deeply concerned about making the Negro-produced newspapers the pacesetters in American journalism. To do this they know will require constant improvements and supporting revenue.

The Tip Off

Daily World P. 6

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Wed. 3-27-57 Atlanta Ga.

DETROIT, Mich. — (SNS) — Visiting a city in which you have relatives and friends can be made a rewarding experience.

Especially when the visit comes during the celebration of National Negro Newspaper Week and you have the privilege of holding a press conference with reporters from the Negro-produced press and the metropolitan daily press is the experience sharpened.

Reporters inquired into the progress of desegregation in Alabama, the reported conflicts, the colorations placed on events. How would you, as a visitor face such experienced interviewers, and what would you tell them?

They want to know the reaction of Negro leaders to segregation in the North, about the propaganda that race relations in certain parts of the South have deteriorated since the May 7, 1954 United States Supreme Court decision in the field of education, and evidence of progress or lack of it in the area of race relations.

Pro-segregation propagandists are circulating the story, and some newspaper reporters seem to accept it ,that the Supreme Court decisions in the field of constitutional rights has set back group relations. The recognition of change is perhaps confused with setback. Segregation has never provided friendly, natural, dignified relations between the two major competing groups in the South. Any break up of superior-to-inferior, first-class citizenship to second-class citizenship, master to servant relationship, is more a sign of change than anything else, it seems to me.

In discussing the segregation question, I had to remind the Detroit reporters that the evil was nation-wide. That the segregation scandal should be exposed, fought and put in the sunlight of purging publicity. One section makes no contribution to the solution by pointing the accusing finger at the other. Nor does it serve any useful purpose for Negro leaders of the North and those of the South to engage in blaming sessions.

Meantime a quotation from The Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser came in handy. On February 23 the Advertiser in a by-line story of Alaba McConagha entitled, "An Alabamian Residing at 12339 Cherryland, Detroit." The feature story was based upon the stoning of Mrs. Ethel Watkins' home. It had been damaged by a mob of white rock-throwers.

Said the McConagha story: "It wasn't printed in the major Detroit newspapers. It was printed by the three local Negro publications."

But the reporters on the daily press indicated that their newspapers were handling the news coverage of local racial events properly.

The Christian Science Monitor on February 21 said in an article signed by Max K. Giltrap: "Only about one dozen of the 38 newspapers of largest circulation in the South have editorial policies which could be regarded as 'not hostile' to desegregation. Of this dozen all but two are in the upper South or border states. No large daily has come out in the past year to advocate immediate compliance with the Supreme Court's decision. The reverse is true for the Negro press but there is only one (Atlanta Daily World) for the Negroes in the Southernmost states."

One of the new signs of substantial progress of the Negro group in the Detroit area is Radio Station WCHB. It is owned by Dr. Haley Bell, a native of Brunnswick Ga. A number of the staff meembers are from the South, among them Mrs. Clarice Evans Jones, formerly of Birmingham and Alabama. She is a bookkeeper.

Arthur Johnson, formerly of Birmingham, is executive secretary of the Detroit Branch NAACP, which is the largest such branch in the United States. There are so many outstanding former Birmingham people here that it is hard to start listing them.

THE TIP OFF

World P. 8

Sat. 3-16-57

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Birm. Ala.

Dr. H. Gordon Hullfish the noted Ohio State University educationist, speaking at the Wenonah Conference on In-Service Education, March 9, gave an illustration which inspires another, with an equal fitting application. He told of how a class in nutritions had studied about selecting foods for health values. But when the students went for their own meals at the cafeteria, they selected on the basis of appetite. He was trying to emphasize the vitalization of learning by interweaving it usefully into life ways.

Emory Jackson

I thought about, as he lectured, that citizenship was one of the cardinal principles of education, and that voting is one of the signals of functioning citizenship. In some Alabama counties, Wilcox and Lowdnes, a Negro person, be he teacher or angel, is not allowed to vote. The first chairman of the now inactive vote commission of the Alabama State Teachers Association, the late Ligon Wilson, worked at Snow Hill Institute, Wilcox County. He was deputy grand master of the Alabama Prince Hall Masons and had served as state director of NYA work among the Negro group. But Wilcox would not let him nor any other Negro person put his name on the poll roster.

The ASTA vote commission, with the exception of the present administration every election since it was established under the administration of Dr. Carol W. Hayes, a member of the powerful 32-person Birmingham Negro Teachers Association delegation to the spring state teachers convention set for March 28-29 in Montgomery. The ASTA vote commission was allowed to become dormant.

THE ASTA has held district meetings, published an organ, sponsored speaking trips for members of its executive board, without any stimulation of voter-registration, the heart of any sound program in a dynamic democracy. The ballot is one's best tool for building protection. Yet teachers who still represent a seeking group, politically and professionally speaking, allow a fundamental project to become immobilized.

On February 1, the Pike County Teachers met a Troy State Teachers College, Troy, Ala., and discussed the theme "Political Strength Through Professional Unity."

The newspaper account of that meeting presented these details: (1) That "the theme reflected the effort by teachers throughout Alabama this year to develop political strength at the local level through united thinking and action."

(2) That the Alabama Education Association unit "reviewed Alabama's registration and voting laws. Teachers will be urged to see to it that as many friends of education as possible are registered to vote."

The AEA is the companion organization to the ASTA. The AEA sees the need of checking registration and voting laws, stimulating voting among not only among its association members but friends of education. he ASTA drops its vote commission and sets up a nine-person group to work on the "State Teacher of the Year" project. This type of program will have no value at the ballot box when hostile legislation is up for consideration.

The 1956 ASTA convention authorized and instructed its executive committee to continue the vote commission. The resolutions approved by the delegate assembly also instructed the ASTA leaders to provide actual assistances to teachers in those hardship counties who found it difficult to get their names on the poll lists. It is understood that the executive committee approved the name of a person to head the vote commission and set up a budget for this work. But apparently the convention had been flaunted the executive committee ignored and the aspirations of the teachers gone unserved.

1957 issue of "ASTA News" and find no mention in the organ of the Alabama State Teachers Association on voter-registration stimulation. It headlines. "ASTA Makes Final Plans for the 74th Annual Convention," reviews some of the activities for the association year and carries a column entitled "From The President's Desk."

It is a shocking observation for me to read the six-page organ of the Alabama State Teachers Association and find interest so lacking in political suffrage that a voter-registration boosting item is not even used as a filler. Perhaps the ASTA leadership will explain all of this to teachers who pay the bill at the forthcoming convention.

THE TIP OFF

Daily World

Wed. 4-3-57

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Atlanta Ga.

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (SNS) —Unless the ASTA sets up a special committee that will devise guides and budgetary controls the employment of an executive secretary might have to wait longer than expected despite the new $5 membership fee.

P. 6

The mandate to put the Alabama State Teachers Association on a modern basis could be defeated by free spending from the treasury on all sorts of things. Take a look at some trends and the evidence pops up.

Entertainment such as the barbecue is now an expense item of the association. **At one time this type of courtesy was provided by the host association. Montgomery is likely to become the permanent convention place of the association with the Auditorium-Arena constructed. Which means that Montgomery teachers no longer have to be concerned about eith-**

or expenses to attending a meeting outside of their hometown nor bearing the cost of entertaining the visiting delegates.

Some changes are proposed in the ASTA constitution which itself needs to be rewritten to bring it in line with an up-to-date professional organization. Some committees which ought to be free to function independently are placed under offices where they can be dominated.

Hoisting the membership fee was just one of the several things which needs to be done to modernize the ASTA. The constitution needs revamping. Only paid officers should be elected by the executive committee. Under the present constitution this is not the case. Why should one major officer not on the payroll have to stand election from the delegate assembly while another doesn't?

The proposed amendments will reduce the size of the executive committee and deny the affiliates direct representation at this level. Whether excluding affiliate representation on such a committee is a wise thing has not yet been debated by the delegate assembly. It will come before that legislative body in 1958.

Although there were those who are fearful of losing their place on the executive committee by the proposed amendments banning affiliate representation not a murmur was heard when the proposal was submitted. Whether the executive committee members as such are fully aware of the meaning of the proposed amendments to the constitution has not been determined. Such proposed amendments do not have to originate in the executive committee nor necessarily sponsored by it. They can come only one way.

Most of the delegates seemed impressed with the fact that they had financial reports in prepared form. What an analysis of such reports would show from a budgetary and auditing standpoint is something else. This has not any bearing on their being correct and honest reports. But what does such correctness and honesty tell in terms of trying to accumulate money to begin operating the association with a full-time salaried executive secretary. Likely to put into operation such a program will require hard decisions and tough spending policies.

One delegate raised the question during the membership increase debate. He wanted to know how much money was needed before a start on the new program could be made and how the treasury looks at this point. He was giving the answer that the start would be made as soon as the money is in hand. This is where the whole idea of budgetary controls and guides come in.

What economies will be necessary to get the new program rolling? What expenses can be dispensed with until the association becomes financially stronger? What parts of the old program could be lopped off to save money with which to finance the modern program?

The execution of the modern program could be jeopardized through misunderstanding. That is why these observations and questions are being raised.

The Tip Off

Wonted B'ham, Ala.

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Coincidentally, the decision in the 22 bus-seat cases heard Monday, March 18 in City Court, came while the Alabama League of Municipalities was holding its annual convention here at Thomas Jefferson Hotel.

Sat. 3-23-57

While back, 21 municipal leaders met in Montgomery and announced their determination to enforce racial seating laws. In Birmingham, city officials have rescrewed the marked - seating laws. All of this has happened after the U. S. Supreme Court junked the restricted seating laws in Montgomery, Ala.

No city court can overrule the United States Supreme Court. Yet it may not follow that such a court may feel disposed to accept application of its ruling without specific direction. In the Birmingham, the divided-seating cases, will move back to the federal district court in the event the issue is not settled in favor of open-seating in the City Hall court.

City lawyers have requested and received 16 additional days in which to get in their answer to the petition filed on behalf of the arrested bus-riders in federal court. Which gives them until March 21 to state their position. The cases were filed Jan. 14.

Obviously there was little, if anything substantially new, used by the prosecution in the city court last Monday which has not been considered or rejected by the federal courts. Time after time the federal courts have ruled that violence could not be used as a legal reason to deny an American citizen his civil rights. But from the testimony brought out on cross-examination of one of the prosecution witnesses there was a disturbing foreshadowing of something. This witness testified that on a bus where he arrested a fare-paying, orderly bus-rider, who was a Negro person seated in front of a board marked "white", a white passenger exclaimed, "either get him off this bus or I'll kill him". No arrest was made although the threat was made in the presence of an officer an officer of the law. The arrested Negro fare-payer has threatened no one, but he was arrested under a type of city law the highest court of the law has declared unconstitutional.

To argue violence as a defense against granting one his civil rights is to advocate anarchy, it seems to me. Violence is the core of anarchy when it is embraced by those who represent a governing body. Acts of violence do not constitute valid evidence that segregation is the bulwark of peace. Such violence reflects a breakdown of law and order and the lack of capacity to deal with such disorder.

Atty. Arthur D. Shores, defense counsel and one of the lawyers who worked in the Montgomery bus-seating challenge case argued: "The city can't give way to mob rule where individual rights are concerned." Mass violence is mob rule.

He declared further: "Police power pertains to law and order, not giving sanction to disorder."

Shores pointed out: "An unconstitutional law is a voiw law. This law (1413) is unconstitutional. It violates the laws of our nation. The city does not have the right under its police power to infringe on the rights of the individual."

Chief City Attorney J. H. Wills, injecting into his argument the suggestion often made by those who dislike the Supreme Court's ruling in the field of public education, that the decision was based upon psychology, declared: "Your Honor knows more about Negro psychology than the Supreme Court."

Certainly this was a quip rather than a serious view. There is no branch of psychology known as "Negro psychology". Such is a myth of no better standing scientifically than "white supremacy."

Dr. Erich Froman, a noted psycho analysis, has written an excellent piece on the subject in The Saturday Review of Literature, March 16, 1957. He says: "The endeavor to understand man by thought is called psychology, 'the knowledge of the soul'".

He observes the legitimate aim of psychology, as far as ultimate knowledge is concerned, is the negative, the removal of distortions and illusions, not the positive, full, complete knowledge of the human being."

"Modern man", says Fromm, is lonely, frightened, and little capable of love. He wants to be close to his neighbor, yet he is too unrelated and distant to be able to be close."

Man understanding man will allow no hostile barrier to stand between him and another.

THE TIP OFF

Wonted B'ham, Ala.

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Wed. 3-27-57

DETROIT, Mich. — (SNS) — Visiting a city in which you have relatives and friends can be made a rewarding experience.

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THE TIP OFF

Daily World
Wed. 1-23-57
Atlanta, Ga.

By EMORY O. JACKSON

FISK UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE, Tenn. — (SNS) — My eyes were fastened on him. P. 6

Arna Bontempt, the author-librarian, was standing there at the head table in Jubilee Inn, waiting to be seated at the banquet session of the NNPA workshop, which was featuring him. No one pointed him out to me and the pictures I had seen of him were of no help. But that had to be the poet-author. All of his movements seemed to reflect the creative arts. Refined, elegant, pleasant, and graceful of manners, this was the man who had to be Arna Bontempt.

Emory O. Jackson

When I was in college trying to plough through a course labeled 'Negro Literature,' I swept through Bontempt's novel, "One Way to Heaven" in almost one sitting. The book fascinated me. Last Labor Day I ran through his "Story of the Negro" and hauled it around the coffee spot and read passages from it to the sandwich set. Now I was to hear Bontempt speak.

His speech was a new approach to understanding the Negro Press. His was a type of literary tauting which works one up to a pitch of breaking into a library to read. Yet Bontempt would not taunt, he merely made it tempting. He checked off the "four falsehoods." He debunked them with artistic and historical skill.

Frederick Douglass ..... W. E. B. DuBois ..... T. Thomas Fortune ..... William Monroe Trotter ..... Could these be "Forgotten Men of the Negro Press?" After the speech, W. Beverly Carter, publisher of The Pittsburgh Courier, chuckled "this T. Thomas Fortune was a character. He was one of the old-style journalist. You could have learned much working under him as I did."

Bontempt had worked on my memory. Surely I had read about the controversy between Monroe Trotter and Booker T. Washington. In 1950 while attending an NAACP meeting in Boston, Mass., I strolled the chilly streets and stumbled on the office of the Boston Guardian, operated by the sister of Monroe Trotter. Far into the night we sat over an oil stove in that dingy office and she told me interesting things about "my brother." The Guardian was Trotter's paper, now in tabloid size. Without fire, and lacking in fury, it was just another weekly. Trotter apparently left no disciples.

Fisk has a number of outstanding scholars. A university must have them. Today it is the showpiece of Negro scholarship. Housed at this university is some of America's finest research in race relations. Its late president, Dr. Charles S. Johnson was one of the scholars in the finest sense of the word. He was a scholar's scholar.

Just before Bontempts spoke, I had been given a shock. Dean George M. Redd, in his greetings had purposedly, and with full public relations intent, put in a plug for Fisk. He related that Fisk had been advised to apply for unconditional membership in the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Fisk was one of the five predominantly Negro colleges apparently cleared with about 26 others placed on the probationary list. Others did not measure up at all.

It came back to me that earlier in the day, William J. Trent, executive director of the United Negro College Fund, of New York City, had told a panel that "Fisk is one of our show places." He asserted that we need all of our measure-up-to-standards institutions. Some 31 private colleges make up the United Negro College fund.

Now for a few sidelights. The 500 Fisk students were engaged in semester examinations. The first two days of our stay on the campus the temperature was low. Until the weather broke, I thought it was the examinations that were keeping most of the students out of sight. Warmer weather brought them away from books ..... Miss Patricia Ard of Fairfield came to chapel to hear Thurgood Marshall speak, where she spotted me. She is a senior majoring in music, she told me. I believe the other young lady who asked me about the Birmingham bombings when I came out of Jubilee Inn, identified herself as Miss Eloise Eaton. Arriving in Nashville around three A. M. January 17, a chap recognized me as I trudged out of Shrimp Grill and asked me, "Aren't you editor of the Birmingham World?"

"What's those cats doing in Birmingham? What are y'all doing about those bombings? Are you riding the buses?"

THE TIP OFF

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Wed. 1-30-57

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — (SNS) — Birmingham's new order leadership is under appraisal from both the inside of the city and outside the state. P. 6

A visiting investigator who represents a potent segment of the group's followship was in the city last week to make an on-the-scene size-up of the Birmingham leadership. Some leaders returning from visits to the Southwest, the Midwest and the East bring back reports of the same examining interest.

Reasons for this new concern for local leadership seems to stem from the accepted pattern of new order leadership as represented by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., non-violence and protest leader of Montgomery, Alabama; the vacuum left when the NAACP was ordered out of business by the courts the fold up of the Jeffcho Coordinating Council's interracial committee because of the pressure and the new outbreak of hateful violence.

Frequently one hears the question asked: "Is there a coordinating leader in Birmingham who can bunch the various church, civic, business and unclassified leaders as Dr. King has done in Alabama's Capital City?"

Birmingham has had a depth rather than a dearth of leadership. Leadership was organized on a basis of division of work rather than an over-all operation with various departments, units and affiliates. Montgomery seems to have had a background of top-man leadership which more recently was blended into teamwork leadership. Birmingham had cooperative leadership which found cohesion on a limited, common, specified objective. When the purpose was achieved the leadership bloc dissolved.

At the height of the NAACP in Birmingham, there were the now inactive Greater-Birmingham Negro Business League, the Jefferson County Progressive Democratic Council, the Alabama State Federation of Civic Leagues, informal interracial committees, the Emancipation Association of Birmingham and Vicinity and the Committee on Voter Registration, the Birmingham Council of Negro Women, the Birmingham-Jefferson County Housewives League, the Abraham Lincoln Republican Club, and other organizations. As can be observed, these groups represented a division of service. Almost everyone of them had in its scope of activity a feature of the civil rights struggle.

For a long time the Interdenominational Ministerial Association served to bring the pastors of the various denominations together under one leadership roof. The short-lived Birmingham Ministerial Association sprung up when the campaign for Negro policemen seemed to be losing vigorous advocacy, except the efforts of the Rev. George Rudolph. More recently the Jefferson County Betterment Association headed by the Rev. E. W. Williams, pastor of First Baptist Church, Fairfield and the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, piloted by the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, pastor of Bethel Baptist Church (North).

With the NAACP inactive in Alabama, there have been those who wanted to see a localized NAACP, or NAACP substitute, developed. First the NAACP cannot be duplicated or substituted. Secondly, the NAACP, to cope with the new problems of the violent South, would need to revamp its program. This need for a revised program has long been obvious to some of the new thinkers in the South. Both the Betterment Association and the Movement had been conceived before the NAACP ran into court difficulties in Alabama. Their programs encompassed areas of service not entered by the NAACP. Many of the followers in the Movement seem to be newcomers to the civil rights struggle. The Movement has been able to recruit workers the NAACP never reached or touched, it seems to me.

One local appraiser of Birmingham's now-on-the-scene top leaders of the two newest civil rights-type organizations says one is too hot and the other is too cold. Leadership is not limited to heads of organization although it must be measured by the power, influence and prestige of organizations, it seems to me. Each organization's head is the sum of the total leadership in this organization.

THE TIP OFF

World P. 6
Wed. 2-6-57
B'ham, Ala.

By EMORY O. JACKSON

SELMA UNIVERSITY, Selma, Ala. — (SNS) — Baptist leaders here, representing an estimated 400,000 communicants reflected revitalized interest in two of their chief agencies. One is Selma University and the other is the 73 year old Baptist leader.

This illuminized interest pierced through the discussions at the adjourned session of the Alabama Baptist State Convention which convened on the campus here January 30. The convention leaders approved a fund-raising plan presented by President James H. Owens which will help Selma University improve and expand its physical facilities.

Selma University was conceived by the Baptist convention just five years after it was organized. The convention at its meetings held in 1873 in Tuscaloosa voted to locate the college in Selma, a Civil War mili-

tary depot city.

"Alabama Almanac and Book of Facts - 1955-56" reveals that Rev Harrison Woodsmall, a white minister from Franklin, Ind. who was in the South working with the Negro group, was installed as the first president of Selma University. "The Selma University Chronicle" in its January, 1957 issue points out that "the school (was) founded to train ministers and Christian teachers for Alabama and the world."

The Chronicle observed that Dr. U. J. Robinson, convention president, "is very anxious to advance Selma University to where it will take its rightful place among other colleges of the nation." The university has found in Dr. Robinson a fervent, hard-working, constantly-plugging champion. He has radiated his enthusiasm for strengthening the college to other stalwart Baptist leaders.

The first step toward this "to advance" Selma University program was to bring in what is called "a school man" as president. President Owens is an educator, administrator and scholar. The second step in the program was to revamp the system of convention support to dry up trails of waste, clear the course so that money raised for the school could flow more freely into the Selma University treasury, and to stimulate more church support for the school. A few months back the convention made a $25,000 donation to Selma University. The third step is the "Owens Plan" for raising capitol funds.

Already one can see signs of improvement at this Baptist-sponsored college. This should help the fund-raising plan. With a team like S. U. President Owens and Convention President Robinson the Baptist should be able to raise the minimum fund goal in less than a year. For it is a modest sum to be sought in the light of present day higher education. The college needs more than capital funds. It needs an endowment and a more adequate source of operational money, it seems to me.

Selma University is rich in history. It is almost as rich in historical lore as the City of Selma itself. Selma with its 100-year-old oak trees was an important Confederate city during the Southern Rebellion, or Civil War. It was reduced to ashes by federal troops on April 2, 1865. Since 1941 Craig Air Force Base has been located in this city which once was the stronghold of the Confederacy.

In the debate over recommendations presented by the State Publishing Board, one thing came to light. The convention leaders recognize that The Baptist Leader is a powerful instrument. Dr. Robinson described it as "the most important agent of this convention."

This Baptist organ is the oldest Negro produced journal in Alabama. It more nearly approaches a statewide publication than other Negro newspaper. Unlike some other church organs, The Baptist Leader is strictly a newspaper.

When National Negro Newspaper Week is celebrated March 17-23, the observance will spotlight the relationship between the Negro-produced newspaper and the Negro-led church. This will mark the 130th anniversary of the Negro-directed newspaper in America.

The Tip Off

World Sat. 3-9-57 P.8

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

FAYETTE, Ala. — (SNS) — As in other sections, some civic leaders in the nine-county Seventh Congressional District, assert that indifference, lethargy, political inertia, and social apathy are responsible for the voter-registration lag.

Out of an estimated 31,651 Negro persons in this district who are 21 years and older, there are an estimated 6,556 Negro voters. Meantime there are an estimated 87,447 white voters. Negro voters represent less than 7 per cent of the total number of voters.

Birm, Ala.

Here are the estimated actual and potential Negro voters in this district: Blount 87-425; Cullman 81-246; Fayete 243-1487; Franklin 325-695; Marion 202-378; Pickens 517-5544; Walker 2,400-3840; Winston 25-63 and Lamar 100-1199.

Emory Jackson

No way seems to have been worked out to overcome apathy and to stimulate a sustaining interest in voting. Just what the churches are doing was not mentioned. Nor is the lodge hall leaders discussed in connection with whipping up voter-registration interest. Apathy is a self-made barrier.

I have been moving over the state to get a first-hand, close-up view of the general status of the group. My first trip to this city was in 1949. I have run through the files to read what I wrote at that time. Contrary to what has been said in certain circles, the report did not contain the details attributed to a column I wrote in the Tuesday, May 17, 1949 issue of the Birmingham World.

Prof. W. J. Moore, principal of Lewis School in Birmingham and member of the board of directors of the Alabama State Teachers Association, was guest speaker and consultant at the meeting of the 29-member Fayette County Teachers Association which convened at the Training School. The Rev. Mr. James DeBardeleben, formerly of Bessemer, is president of the association and Prof. J. E. Beatty is the principal of the training school.

It appears that the various members of the ASTA board are meeting with the county associations to interpret, relate and familiarize them with the ASTA program. The ASTA convention is scheduled for the last week-end of March.

One thing, the ASTA has scrapped its basic program of voter-registration stimulation. Its vote commission, if named, has not functionad. The present ASTA leadership does not seem to have been passionately interested in promoting expansion of the ballot. Emphasis has been placed elsewhere. This seems to be part of the story of voter-registration apathy.

As discussed by Mr. Moore, the association is publishing The ASTA News, has seen to it that the nine association districts functioned purchased $25,000 insurance coverage for the ASTA headquarters building in Montgomery, laid plans for the celebration of the ASTA 75th anniversary in 1958, set up the "ASTA Teacher of the Year" project and encouraged research on a "Negro Progress" project.

The Fayette teachers meet monthly. They have several committees at work. One study group made a report on building interest in the P-T.A. A lively discussion came after the reports were presented. Mr. Moore made valuable observations on the P-T.A. subjects and contributed ideas on school discipline.

Fayette is sending two delegates to the ASTA convention. The association meets the first Tuesday of each school month. Work for the association appears to have been formulated for the entire year. At least one gets the impression that the program has been built for the year and revolves around committees.

The ASTA seems to be finding a new utilization of its board members by sending them on visits of the local associations. Experienced educators like Mr. Moore should be able to give helpful assistance.

Only seven Negro-enrolling public schools are located in Fayette County.

THE TIP OFF

Daily World Wed. 3-13-57

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Atlanta, Ga.

On February 27, the daily press carried a signed story based upon statements made by Milton Rosen, commissioner of public utilities in St. Paul, Minn. in which he is quoted as saying that "the Negro's status in the South is much better than the impression Northern people have gained." P. 6

It would seem that Mr. Rosen has incomplete information on the status of the Negro group. He seems to have limited himself to a guided trip made by those in Birmingham who showed him only what they wanted him to see. He apparently restricted his observations to Birmingham and generalized about the whole South..

A visitor to a city seeking business would be expected to say kind things about that city. Obviously Mr. Rosen knew little about the Negro group and less about the South. One visit is hardly enough for one unfamiliar with Southern customs, discriminatory practices and humiliating treatment growing out of bitter racial segregation to understand.

Had Mr. Rosen visited City Hall, and observed closely, he would have seen those irritating signs over toilet doors and drinking fountains. If he were a Negro arriving by plane in Birmingham he would find that he could not ride the limousine to town like other plane passengers, be served in the Airport cafe or counter.

While Mr. Rosen was in the city he apparently failed to avail himself of the opportunity to talk with any authentic Negro leaders. This by itself weakens the position of the St. Paul commissioner and shows that he received a one-sided picture. For Birmingham is said to have the toughest segregation laws in the South. It might be suggested that he write City Hall in Birmingham and request a copy of its racial ordinances.

This comment is restricted to Birmingham because what Mr. Rosen had to say seemed to have been presented in such a setting despite his extension of his remarks to say "misinformation . . . regarding the South."

An interracial committee working within the framework of the traditional pattern of the South was disbanded in Birmingham. Voters have restored a law which banned interracial sports. The State Legislature has passed a set of new laws tightening segregation. A mob drove Mrs. Autherine Lucy Foster from the campus of the University of Alabama. Churches and homes of Negro persons were bombed in Montgomery. Birmingham has its unsolved racial bombing going back to 1947. Last Christmas night the home of a Baptist minister was bombed. Robed members of the KKK attended churches, crosses are burned, and there are beatings.

What is this "lot of misinformation" which Mr. Rosen discovers about the South? Schools generally operated for the Negro group are inferior to those provided the white group. In Birmingham the Negro group has nothing like Ramsey Tech. Even had they such a school, this would not square with the revised yardstick of progress. Negro persons are not members of the Birmingham police force, of the National Guard, the Highway Patrol, the state militia, and generally, the sheriff's staff of deputies.

What did Mr. Rosen expect to find in the South? His interview did not shed any specific light on this point. Housing officials have used blighted area figures many times in arguing the need for better housing. The Negro group is fenced in with little opportunity to expand. A College Hill group recently organized with the announcement purpose to block the residential expansion of Negro families. No where, except in voting, are the injustices against the Negro group more pronounced than in housing. Birmingham still has its shacks and the Negro group is bearing the brunt of sacrifice resulting from the relocation or redevelopment projects.

THE TIP OFF

Wenonah Pa.
Birm, Ala.

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Some one suggested how the math library could be used in helping with the teaching of mathematics.

But another at Wenonah High School Math and Science Day conference pointed out that a number of elementary schools (and high schools) do not have a library of any kind. Even some community public libraries refuse to admit Negro students.

So the Negro teacher who has nothing to do with the neighborhood libraries gets blamed for the barred student not being able to show off as well as the student who is admittable to the community libraries. The Negro teacher is being blamed for the effects and by-products of enforced racial restrictions which are not of his makings.

Emory Jackson

One day after the Wenonah Math and Science Day conference the Alabama Association of College Teachers of Mathematics met at Jacksonville State College to discuss such subjects as "The Uses of Puzzles in Teaching Mathematics," "Mathematics on Television," "Is There a Philosophy of Mathematics?" and so on. Here again is an insurmountable stonewall which would face a Negro college instructor of math who might care to join this organization and benefit from participating in its membership and discussions. It is like asking one to make candy without sugar.

Absence of guidance programs and lack of enlightened counseling services were cited as obstacles in the way of students who were allowed to select certain courses. Not knowing the importance of math and science and fearing both, without guidance, the student is likely to skip over these two vital subjects. Selective courses tend to fit best where a school has a sound guidance program.

So the Negro teacher is blamed.

In a few days the Alabama Congres of Parent-Teachers Association will meet in Bessemer, Ala. Likely none of these problems will come up. The Negro teacher will just get blamed for the shortcomings produced out of an inferior system of education based on the dual doctrine. They want the Negro teacher to make syrup without juice.

Nobody seems to blame the inferior school system for obvious weak spots found in some of its products. Segregation leaves its devastating marks on those it touches. No where else is this more evident than in the dual school system. Yet the Negro teacher must strive to help those he teaches to rise above the obstacles and to land at the feet of opportunity.

Under the present teacher certification system many of those trained in mathematics and the sciences in the liberal arts colleges are not employable as public school teachers because they did not grind up time in courses of education. Put this down as one of the reasons why many of those trained in the rugged sciences do not bother to apply for teaching posts. Such a problem as this must be solved by the politicians who make the educational rules for public education.

Nick Aaron Ford has written an interesting article, "Consider the Negro Teacher" in the April 15 issue of The New Republic magazine. He is a teacher at Morgan State College Baltimore, Maryland. He seems to have anticipated one of the questions raised at the Wenonah Math and Science Day conference on why so many Negro college graduates turn to teaching. He observes:

"The fact is that in several large cities in the South, the average Negro teacher has more academic training and more tenure than his white colleague, which is not surprising since white college graduates have a far large assortment of occupations open to them at higher salaries than do Negroes. And since the teaching profession represents for the Negro one of the highest paid white collar occupations available, once a Negro qualifies for a teaching position he generally remains until retirement—improving his status and salary by periodic attendance at summer school."

THE TIP OFF

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
4-19-57

By EMORY O. JACKSON

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The Tip Off

Wanted B'ham, Ala. Sat. 5-4-57

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Since 1947 until now there have been approximately 21 unsolved racial bombings and burnings in the Birmingham-Bessemer area.

Usually these hate bombings have followed certain patterns. (1) Their occurrence seem to be concurrent with the revival and resurgence of the Ku Klux Klans. (2) They have followed legal controversies over disputed issues involving population segments. (3) Political campaigns tend to ignite them. (4) Recently they have made the homes of leaders, their targets.

This area has been victimized by seven satan-like bombings beginning with Dec. 24, 1956 through April 28, 1957. Two of the terrorist bombings have been church dwellings. Two of the bombed houses were without tenants, and in a third the dwellers were far away from home. Only 3 of the bombings were in so-called fringed areas. The other four were in strictly Negro communities. The two bombed churches were situated in the traditional pattern. The minister's parsonage and the labor leaders home were in uncontested neighborhoods.

Emory Jackson

In Bessemer Sunday night, the dynamite throwers used the drive-and-dump method. The bomb-tosser struck at night. But it was the first time that the dynamite throwers hurled their fury at a building where a crowd had gathered. There were those who say there were eye-witnesses to the ride-and-throw squad who pitched explosives at innocent, the unprotected and the unsuspecting.

Bessemer leaders were merely holding meetings. Nothing concrete was on docket for either improving or changing things. The freedom spirit was merely being kept alive. Birmingham, Bessemer and Gadsden are perhaps America's most custom-built cities, racially speaking.

When a cross of bones is burned or a sheet is pulled around one that might be something done to frighten. But when a fuse is lighted on a bomb tossed into a packed church or a person's home murder, destruction and physical malice are signalized. The bomb-thrower is society's most heartless menace. Violence evokes a reminder of the infamous KKK.

Birmingham, Bessemer and Gadsden are cities regarded as the strong holds of the trade union movement. Union leaders will tell you, and with a degree of factual backing, that tremendous strides in desirable race relations have resulted from the labor movement. So the paradox of union strongholds being the hate holes of the South. Labor leaders who are usually vocal on other issues seem to be silent tension violence.

When a bomb is thrown at one's home it carries a message of destruction and death. Hence it is sheer nonsense to ascribe bomb pitching as intimidation toots. Bombs sound a song of death rather than rattle a warning. Luckily no fatality has resulted from dynamite violence.

Placards and other advertising had announced the meeting. Under such circumstances it is hard to see how anyone able to read and get around could fail to know who was sponsoring the meeting and for what purpose. The leaders were church men as well as civic servants. No matter what kind of meeting was being held at the church the bomb-throwers had no right to interfere with it.

Every source that distributes explosives lawfully must register and account for it. Home made bombs contain substance of a nature that makes it checkable. All of these could be utilized as leads if there is concrete interest in solving the bombings, it seems to me.

The Tip Off

Wanted Sat. 5-11-57 P. 8

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

B'ham, Ala.

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (SNS) — Take a quick look at five counties in Alabama and you get a view of some of the things done to keep the electorate small, restricted and suppressed.

In Lowdnes and Wilcox counties no Negro has been allowed to register and vote in 57 years. Things are so bad in these two counties that the colored man is afraid to let it become known that he is interested in voting. So racial disfranchisement rages under the shadows of terror.

Here in Montgomery an effort to place the names of an appreciable number of Negro persons on the voting rolls has run into obstacles.

The lines in which would-be voters seek to get their names on the official voting register moves slowly. Registration officials point out that it takes the colored applicant longer to organize his application form than the white applicant. It is said that some applicants require an hour and more to fill out the application form.

Emory Jackson

An official of the voter-registration committee of the Montgomery-Improvement Association charged that there was "a deliberate slowing up the lines" by the registrars. Of about 250 applicants, only about 100 were able to turn in their application forms.

It would be interesting to compare the record of the Montgomery County Board of registrars among the whites against the Negro group. Averably over 500 were registered during 1956. Still a small number of 250 Negro applicants were "missed."

Time-wasting methods have been one of the devices used to limit the registration of Negro applicants. By asking the applicant an excessive number of questions, engaging him in non-registration conversation, and by boswelling time can be consumed. One has a limit he can stay in a voting booth but not a limit he can stay before the voter-registration officials.

When a board has a table for Negro registration and one for white registration that on its face is discrimination, it seems to me. The observation is made that the Montgomery Board of Registrars had two tables which would seat four persons but one was reserved for white applicants. Not many white applicants showed up so the reserved-for-white table went unused. Here is ugly, bare-faced, open racial discrimination in the registration process.

When there is an overflow of the registrars office, why can't a courtroom be used to process the applicants? Why can't the applicants be seated in one of the courtrooms and fill out their forms under the supervision of the clerk in the registrars' office? Two tables aren't enough to handle a stream of applicants.

In Macon County, the board of registrars lacked office equipment so no voter-registration was conducted. It has been six or more months since there has been registration of new voters. A former head of a White Citizens Council is chairman of the Macon County Board of Registrars. The WCC is opposed to Negro voting.

In Elmore County where more Negro applicants sought to become voters than during any other time in the past two years the obstacle was getting white vouchers. This means that one has to get three white persons who are qualified to say that an applicant is eligible for voting. The voucher system is simply a hindering system as it is often used in Alabama.

The ballot is the citizen's best self-help tool. It's the potent evener in a democracy. One who is without the ballot is a political dependent. Without the ballot one is politically disarmed. Voting is the most vital of the civil rights because upon it rests all of the other basic rights.

Conduct of registration officials in these five Alabama counties should serve to spur President Eisenhower to fight for his civil rights bills which are being watered down, bogged down and maneuvered down in Congress. By holding off the ballot from the weak, the poor and the friendless the selfish rulers can hold control.

But in Montgomery for the first time on a wide scale the new scholars are observing what is going on. At least they will be able to gather the facts, analyze them, and present in such a way as the authentic picture of voter-registration will be revealed. When the church and the scholars team up voter-registration is bound to pick up. It would be that way in Lowdnes and Wilcox counties if any local leadership could be developed in those two counties.

The Tip Off

Daily World Sat. 3-16-57

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Dr. H. Gordon Hullfish, the noted Ohio State University educationist, speaking at the Wenonah Conference on In-Service Education, March 9, gave an illustration which inspires another, with an equal fitting application. He told of how a class in nutritions had studied about selecting foods for health values. But when the students went for their own meals at the cafeteria, they selected on the basis of appetite. He was trying to emphasize the vitalization of learning by interweaving it usefully into life ways.

Emory Jackson

I thought about, as he lectured, that citizenship was one of the cardinal principles of education, and that voting is one of the signals of functioning citizenship. In some Alabama counties, Wilcox and Lowdnes, a Negro person, be he teacher or angel, is not allowed to vote. The first chairman of the now inactive vote commission of the Alabama State Teachers Association, the late Ligon Wilson, worked at Snow Hill Institute, Wilcox County. He was deputy grand master of the Alabama Prince Hall Masons and had served as state director of NYA work among the Negro group. But Wilcox would not let him nor any other Negro person put his name on the poll roster.

The ASTA vote commission, with the exception of the present administration every election since it was established under the administration of Dr. Carol W. Hayes, a member of the powerful 32-person Birmingham Negro Teachers Association delegation to the spring state teachers convention set for March 28-29 in Montgomery. The ASTA vote commission was allowed to become dormant.

THE ASTA has held district meetings, published an organ, sponsored speaking trips for members of its executive board, without any stimulation of voter-registration, the heart of any sound program in a dynamic democracy. The ballot is one's best tool for building protection. Yet teachers who still represent a seeking group, politically and professionally speaking, allow a fundamental project to become immobilized.

On February 1, the Pike County Teachers met a Troy State Teachers College, Troy, Ala., and discussed the theme "Political Strength Through Professional Unity."

The newspaper account of that meeting presented these details: (1) That "the theme reflected the effort by teachers throughout Alabama this year to develop political strength at the local level through united thinking and action."

(2) That the Alabama Education Association unit "reviewed Alabama's registration and voting laws. Teachers will be urged to see to it that as many friends of education as possible are registered to vote."

The AEA is the companion organization to the ASTA. The AEA sees the need of checking registration and voting laws, stimulating voting among not only among its association members but friends of education. he ASTA drops its vote commission and sets up a nine-person group to work on the "State Teacher of the Year" project. This type of program will have no value at the ballot box when hostile legislation is up for consideration.

The 1956 ASTA convention authorized and instructed its executive committee to continue the vote commission. The resolutions approved by the delegate assembly also instructed the ASTA leaders to provide actual assistances to teachers in those hardship counties who found it difficult to get their names on the poll lists. It is unuderstood that the executive committee approved the name of a person to head the vote commission and set up a budget for this work. But apparently the convention had been flaunted the executive committee ignored and the aspirations of the teachers gone unserved.

I have examined the March, 1957 issue of "ASTA News" and find no mention in the organ of the Alabama State Teachers Association on voter-registration stimulation. It headlines, "ASTA Makes Final Plans for the 74th Annual Convention," reviews some of the activities for the association year and carries a column entitled, "From The President's Desk."

It is a shocking observation for me to read the six-page organ of the Alabama State Teachers Association and find interest so lacking in political suffrage that a voter-registration boosting item is not even used as a filler. Perhaps the ASTA leadership will explain all of this to teachers who pay the bill at the forthcoming convention.

THE TIP OFF

B'ham, Ala. World p. 8

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Sat. 3-30-57

MONTGOMERY, Ala. —(SNS)— An effort was made to interest more teachers in attending their professional meeting.

Leaders of the Alabama State Teachers Association received a disturbing assist play. There are reports that some school systems made attendance just about compulsory. Teachers had the alternative of attending the 74th annual meeting with pay or not attending without pay, it is said.

ASTA leaders are not anxious to have any form of compulsory attendance. They have tried to make the program attractive enough, the activities so appealing, and the occasion so compelling that teachers will have that ripened desire to attend their annual convention.

Some of the more enlightened ASTA leaders are quietly concerned about the methods used by some school systems to try to assure attendance at the Spring teachers convention. It's a path could lead to something incompatible with the dignity of the teaching profession.

Varied social activities unrelated to the convention have been worked out by the host college by the community, and by individuals. Some will come from the far out places to shop, although Montgomery is not the shopping center that Birmingham is.

Although the ASTA convention program is more versatile this time than in some other years, it has less range, fewer prestige figures, and a higher percentage of teacher-specialists than its companion organization, the Alabama Education Association. By meeting in different cities the ASTA cannot draw on any of the program attractions of the AEA. The top figures in elected public offices seldom attend both sessions. Here you see the heartbreaking injustice of dual democracy and the two-level school system. Check carefully the AEA meeting in Birmingham to see in graphic description the observation made here.

A few ASTA leaders seem to want it this way. They want to back away where "we can be by ourselves." But no valid reason can be adduced in support of such a point of view. The "by ourselves doctrine" is just another way of stating the rejected racial dualism doctrine. Backing up in a corner covering up does not help to advance the goals of such an organization. The ASTA needs to come out of its corner and compete as an up-to-date professional organization, it seems to me.

Evidence that it has arrived at this decision can be glimpsed from one item of business. There was a proposal to run the dues up to $5 a member annually. For a long time the membership fee was 50 cents per teacher. It was hoisted to $1 a teacher and later an additional $1 headquarters building fund assessment was tacked on. At present $2 annually is all the teachers have to pay in membership dues to the ASTA.

There is a bit of compensating irony in the 'State Teacher of the Year" project. A number of enterprises conduct promotions and campaigns in recognition of the work of teachers. But the older promotions exclude teachers of a certain easily identifiable segment. This too is a brutal exhibit of the unfairness and evil of the two-group racial doctrine. So the ASTA teacher recognition project comes in handy, if no more than an unintended protest against the wrongful and uncalled-for exclusion of Negro teachers from participating in other teacher recognition promotion. The teaching profession is one profession.

Teachers are thrilled over the project in which some of them are getting long-overlooked recognition. Likely, this appreciation will show itself in the vote on the proposed $5 dues. Some of them have expressed themselves as feeling that the ASTA is trying, at last, to do something for the teachers. This may not be a justified reaction, but it is a real one.

One day somebody is going to have the courage to give Negro teachers credit for the service they have contributed to America. They have been the pillars of faith in th midst of the failure of democracy to pay off its full promise. Without faith an individual is without a future, it seems to me. Negro teachers have had to do more and harder work with less tools and poorer facilities than other teachers.

THE TIP OFF

Daily World Fri. 3-29-57

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Atlanta Ga. p. 4

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THE TIP OFF

World P. 8
Sat. 4-6-57
Birm. Ala.

By EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY Ala. —(SNS)— A re-check of the ASTA constitution against the proposed amendments reveal that the status of representation by affiliated organizations on the executive committee would not be disturbed by the suggested constitutional changes.

Section 2-c of Article 5 of the constitution of the Alabama State Teachers Association says the committe eon nominations shall receive, "Through the respective affiliated organizations, one nomination each as organizational-representative on the Executive Committee."

The proposed changes presented by the "Report of Committee on Resolutions and Legislation" recommended the following amendments to the constitution be considered at the 1958 ASTA convention:

"(a) That Article IV be revised to read 'that the Executive Committee will include the officers the immediate past-president and three members- at- large.. with the immediate past president serving for a one year non-renewable term immediately following his term as president."

Emory Jackson

Presently Section I of Article IV reads: "Officers—president, general vice-president, organizational or district vice-presidents as may be designated, executive secretary, research secretary, treasurer, and executive committee (the officers and three members-at-large.)"

While there is no language in Article IV to suggest "affiliated" representatives as members of the executive committee under Article V dealing with the election officers the committee on onminations and elections receives "one nomination each as organizational-representative on the Executive Committee."

Just what is the difference between a "member-at-large" on the executive committee and an "organizational - representative" on the executive committee. This is what confused me and still leaves me without a full understanding.

On re-reading the proposed amendments I come to the opinion that in the event the revisions are approved that would not upset the membership of representatives of affiliated ASTA organizations on the association's executive committee. Likely this will be clarified in the discussions and debates on the advocated modifications.

At the 1957 ASTA convention there were 17 departmental meetings. Some of the departments apparently have not yet received affiliated status. The official program listed 10 officers of affiliated ASTA organizations. The official program of The Alabama Vocational Teachers Association lists C. A. Bronson as "ASTA representative" and T. A. Lawson as president. Mr. Bronson's position with AVTA is not carried along with his name in the ASTA official program as is the case of the other nine affiliated executive committee "organizational-representatives."

Each affiliated organization determines which of its members will serve on the ASTA executive committee.

Some ASTA delegates voiced fears that the proposed revision relative to the executive committee would remove the representatives of the affiliated organizations from this committee. Based upon the fears and an inadequate reading of the section under discussion this pillar raised the question of subjecting the issue to searching debate.

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The officers of the ASTA are trying to shape it into a modern organization which can perform on a first-rate, up-to-date, progressive basis for the teachers. Membership dues have been raised and a nw program, fresh approaches and expanded services envisioned. To do all of this the ASTA leadership will need support, understanding and encouragement.

It is with this in view that an effort was made to drag some of the fears out into the open.

Sidelight shorts: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., attended the Thursday night ASTA convention session at which Dr. James A. Colston, Knoxville College, president, was the guest speaker. Alabama A. and M. College's exhibit room received glowing mention from delegates. At no session did delegates and visitors completely fill the vast Auditorium-Arena where the general sessions were held. Delegates were not seated at the general sessions by districts.

THE TIP OFF

Wed. P. 6
B'ham Ala.
Wed. 4-3-57

By EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (SNS) —Unless the ASTA sets up a special committee that will devise guides and budgetary controls the employment of an executive secretary might have to wait longer than expected despite the new $5 membership fee.

The mandate to put the Alabama State Teachers Association on a modern basis could be defeated by free spending from the treasury on all sorts of things. Take a look at some trends and the evidence pops up.

Entertainment such as the barbecue is now an expense item of the association. **At one time this type of courtesy was provided by the host association. Montgomery is likely to become the permanent convention place of the association with the Auditorium-Arena constructed. Which means that Montgomery teachers no longer have to be concerned about either expenses to attending a meeting outside of their hometown nor bearing the cost of entertaining the visiting delegates.**

Some changes are proposed in the ASTA constitution which itself needs to be rewritten to bring it in line with an up-to-date professional organization. Some committees which ought to be free to function independently are placed under offices where they can be dominated.

Hoisting the membership fee was just one of the several things which needs to be done to modernize the ASTA. The constitution needs revamping. Only paid officers should be elected by the executive committee. Under the present constitution this is not the case. Why should one major officer not on the payroll have to stand election from the delegate assembly while another doesn't?

The proposed amendments will reduce the size of the executive committee and deny the affiliates direct representation at this level. Whether excluding affiliate representation on such a committee is a wise thing has not yet been debated by the delegate assembly. It will come before that legislative body in 1958.

Although there were those who are fearful of losing their place on the executive committee by the proposed amendments banning affiliate representation not a murmur was heard when the proposal was submitted. Whether the executive committee members as such are fully aware of the meaning of the proposed amendments to the constitution has not been determined. Such proposed amendments do not have to originate in the executive committee nor necessarily sponsored by it. They can come only one way.

Most of the delegates seemed impressed with the fact that they had financial reports in prepared form. What an analysis of such reports would show from a budgetary and auditing standpoint is something else. This has not any bearing on their being correct and honest reports. But what does such correctness and honesty tell in terms of trying to accumulate money to begin operating the association with a full-time salaried executive secretary. Likely to put into operation such a program will require hard decisions and tough spending policies.

One delegate raised the question during the membership increase debate. He wanted to know how much money was needed before a start on the new program could be made and how the treasury looks at this point. He was giving the answer that the start would be made as soon as the money is in hand. This is where the whole idea of budgetary controls and guides come in.

What economies will be necessary to get the new program rolling? What expenses can be dispensed with until the association becomes financially stronger? What parts of the old program could be lopped off to save money with which to finance the modern program?

The execution of the modern program could be jeopardized through misunderstanding. That is why these observations and questions are being raised.

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The Tip Off

World Sat. 1-12-57

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Birm. Ala.

HEADLAND, Ala. — (SNS) — Here in the Wiregrass sector of Alabama the voter-registration picture presents striking contrasts. P.8

Since 1951, there has been a slow but steady increase in the number of voters in Henry and in Houston counties. Bullock County, which board of registrars is under court injunction in connection with voter-registration discrimination practices, has witnessed the reduction of Negro voters from seven to six. That reduction came through death.

Efforts to add other Negro voters have run into obstacles. They include the resignation by the whole board following a vote denial suit; alleged refusal based upon imperfect reading of the oath of registration by the applicant, and kindred devices. Civic leaders have not gone back to court to try to get the injunction implemented.

Voter-registration seems to be at a standstill among the Negro group in Russell County. Less than 300 Negro persons are on the registration list despite the heavy Negro population. Obstacles hampering voter-registration are not being thrown in the spotlight of public opinion. No longer does one hear from the civic leadership in this county.

While there is inaction, ineffective leadership, and untackled obstacles in Bullock, Russell and Barbour counties, there has been the organization of the Henry County Voters League with J. B. Newman as president. Henry County which had no Negro voters as late as 1951, now has approximately 700 Negro voters today. It was Mr. Newman who along with about four others who instituted a vote denial suit for the right to vote.

This new league, about three-months old, held its first major countywide meeting here Sunday, January 7 at Shiloh Baptist Church pastored by the Rev. H. E. Fields of Ozark. The Rev. Mr. Fields is described as part of the new order leadership in Alabama. Constantly he has lifted his voice for political suffrage from his pulpit and in other church circles has stimulated interest in the ballot.

In none of the nine Congressional districts in Alabama is there more than token voting by the Negro group. Which reflects itself in the potency of the Filibuster Bloc in Congress. The Negro vote is less than 15 percent of the total vote in most or all of these districts. It is in the Congressional Districts where the vote-building will have to be done if the quality of elective public officials is to be improved. Civic leaders no where in Alabama have much to show toward effective vote figures.

Church leaders are in the best position to assist in voter-registration campaigns. They are the group's independent, mass-supported, recognized leaders. They know how to organize, inspire and influence. They could use their moral power to help remove unfair barriers. One word from the pulpit on voter-registration each Sunday morning could help to awaken interest in voting.

The past year saw the Alabama State Teachers Association halt its formalized program of voter-registration promotion. Yet teachers in Bullock and Barbour counties face racial obstacles should they apply for registration certificates. In Wilcox and Lowndes counties there is a rigid bar against any Negro voting. Still the ASTA is inactive, not even helping its own dues-paying members. How will the ASTA leadership explain this inaction in the voter-registration at its March convention?

Any Negro organization in this period of change which fails to work in the field of voter-registration is hardly providing its fullest service to the Negro group and its own members, it seems to me. The ballot is the master tool for building the new order of first-class citizenship. Unless this fight for the ballot is pushed into Wilcox, Lowndes, Bullock and other Black Belt counties, the freedom fight will remain hard in sections of the state.

That brings the big opportunity the Masonic lodges in the Black Belt have to liberate the ballot from racial bondage.

The Tip Off

World Wed. 1-16-57

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Birm. Ala.

The Montgomery, Alabama Board of Commissioners "does not deem it necesary to call for extra help from any other agency" to help clear up the unsolved hate disturbances in that city. The Capital City officials "are of the opinion that our forces are adequate to maintain law and order within our jurisdiction." P.6

Governor James E. Folsom has offered the assistance of state law enforcement officers to help clear up the unsolved crimes and to work to curb tension violence. Persecuted population fragments have suggested that the FBI be invited into the picture. But the city rulers in Montgomery are unwilling for additional assistance to come in "at this time."

Still, the picture looks bad. Bus service has had to be suspended because of unsolved and uncoped with violence. A bus curfew has been imposed. Interracial meetings have been halted. A curfew is urged for youth. Six unsolved firings on buses are still fresh. Six churches and homes have been threatened. Unsolved beatings of women bus riders stand out like the show window of a department store. Verbal defiance of the law and mad condemnation of the Supreme Court come from the WCC and the KKK. Twenty extra police have been added but not a single law-defying bombing has been solved, Reservist police (none of which are members of the Negro group) have been pressed into service. But the violence remains unsolved.

All that has been done has not been enough to solve the hate violence in Montgomery. The local law enforcement has worked diligently trying to solve the violence but apparently has not been successful. Yet, the Montgomery commissioners do not think it is necessary at this time to "call for extra help." Suppose it was the case where the churches and homes of the other group were being dynamited, wrecked, and ruined, would the city officials think and act the same way?

Such a question might never have to be answered. Let everybody hope that no circumstance will ever necessitate that any such answer be given.

When a city has to suspend its bus transportation system because of violence which it has not cleared up and is obvious fearful of its recurrence, it does not seem to have the situation well in hand. When violence halts essential service, law enforcement bows to its presence. Instead of stopping violence, the Montgomery city officials have suspended bus service. It can check bus service but it has not checked violence.

The position of the Montgomery city officials is weakened because they are members of the White Citizens Council which is dedicated to try to make bus-riding dignity and 14th-Amendment democracy unworkable. It is hard to see how any city official could embrace the ideology of the WCC and at the same time be true to an oath of office calling for upholding law and order. This seems to be the heart of the trouble in the Montgomery disorders. How can one be useful to both the WCC and to a public oath of office?

Give-away to what might be up was the meeting of a committee (which included two city attorneys) with a district federal subject where it is believed a proposed law-flouting bus service plan was discussed. The fact that city officials participated in such talks would seem to bring the whole plan within the punishing power of the federal courts. Any bus service plan touched by city action brings it within the striking power of the 14th Amendment, it seems to me.

Bus-seating freedom is now part of the freedom to travel. No amount of violence can change this principle. It is not likely to intimidate the Supreme Court judges. Certainly it is not likely to be long ignored by federal authorities. Internal violence of the sort experienced in Montgomery is no less a menace to peaceful government than a fifth column. Hoodlum is too mild a description for bomb-throwers. They are subversive elements which imperil the domestic strength of the country.

The freedom to ride with dignity is no less than the freedom to walk with dignity. Moral force yields to nor loses to violence. Bus-seating democracy is interwoven with both a legal and moral principle. It is anchored in a humanity which is bigger than any race and equal to all of them.

City officials in Montgomery will have to weigh their words and deeds on the scales of history. The facts of terror in Montgomery are now the property of thinking men all over the world. Objective and thinking men everywhere will ask how could it be necessary for one to join the WCC to uphold the law when it is not necessary for one to join it to obey the law?

Looking at the situation broadly, it does seem that the facts bear out the sugestion that "extra help" is not needed "at this time." On the contrary, the evidence tends to cry out for all available help from every level of government. The eyes of the world are as much on the federal court as on Montgomery officials in connection with the unsolved criminal violence in the Cradle of the Old Confederacy.

THE TIP OFF

Daily World

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Birm. Ala.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — (SNS) — **He came bearing information. It was sprayed over the small gathering like ideas scattered over a class in thinking. Raymond B. Floyd of Xavier University, New Orleans, La., revealed to the luncheon session of college representatives and guests attending the Parker High School "Go To College Day" program of an important leadership departure in the Crescent City.** P.6

The Mardi Gras parade is going to be scrapped this year and the money saved by junking it turned over to the NAACP. For a number of years the parade because of its jungle angle and outlandish features, had come under critical fire. The parade gave undue emphasis to frolic

and contributed little, if anything, to civic dignity and useful freedom.

While some others directed well deserved praise to the Parker administration and its fine student body, Mr. Floyd directed his remarks in still another ticklish area. He seemed troubled over his observation that too many college students do not seem to know what is going on around them. Indirectly, he saddled the blame on the leaders, teachers, and parents of these students.

As an example, he told of his conversation with some New Orleans students with reference to a speaking engagement Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., protest and nonviolence leader of Montgomery, Ala., had in New Orleans. Although Dr. King's name has been in the news, on TV and radio, and other media places, the question was honestly asked, "Who is this Dr. King.?

Mr. Floyd saw in the revamped Mardi Gras program a triumph for the new-order leadership of which he delightfully identified himself. He did this by asserting how the custom-bound leadership had clung to the parade despite the arguments advanced for revising it. But this does not mean that the elegant social activities connected with the Winter Frolic Festival will be abandoned.

On the observation about college students seeming to be less sharp on trends, serious movements, and historic controversies than he seemed to have thought they should be, Mr. Floyd could have extended the blame, partly, to the segregated system which stifles, robs, and denies. A Negro student in the South is shut off from the best libraries, provided inferior facilities, and often denied admissions to lectures where scholars do not have the time to make double appearances.

Still this does not entirely excuse one who is supposed to be in college searching for the truth, seeking ideas and engaged in the never-ending business of learning. But the college set has the capacity to learn. Check them on bogey or rock-N-roll.. Many of them can argue stoutly over brand names of whiskey.

All of this, Mr. Floyd seems to think, could be changed should teachers try to alert students on what is going on around them. That brings up something else. Some teachers of my acquaintance seem to be afraid to be associated with knowing what is going on.

And the talk went on. C. E. (Pop) Warner, representing Morehouse College, was enchanted by the Parker singing. Left to him, be said, he would try to recruit the whole singing group. (But, they may not all have been seniors). He was fascinated by what he described as the "cooperative spirit of these schools (Parker, Ullman, Western-Olin). These three schools banded together in sponsoring their go-to-college project.

Of course when guests are eating a nice meal, they can say the sweetest things. That is what made what Mr. Floyd had to say stand out above all of the other chew-time chapter. What he said was different, if not entirely dsturbing

It was not only in the merging of the go-to-college program that a new trend was indicated. Provisions were made for those who do not plan to attend college. Assistance was offered to those who look forward immediately to becoming job-fillers and homemakers.

THE TIP OFF

Daily Worker
Atlanta Ga.
Wed. 1-16-57

By EMORY O. JACKSON

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — (SNS) — The Montgomery, Alabama Board of Commissioners "does not deem it necesary to call for extra help from any other agency" to help clear up the unsolved hate disturbances in that city. The Capital City officials "are of the opinion that our forces are adequate to maintain law and order within our jurisdiction."

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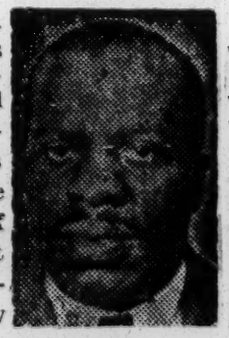

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THE TIP OFF

Daily Worker
Fri. 3-8-57
atlanta, Ga.

By EMORY O. JACKSON

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — (SNS) — An article in The Los Angeles (California) Tribune, Feb. 27, dealing with a minister's reaction to reading the Negro newspaper comes in handy. For the week of March 17 through 23 has been designated by the National Newspaper Publishers Association as National Negro Newspaper Week. This will commemorate the 130th anniversary of the Negro newspaper press in America.

The first Negro publication, "Freedom's Journal" was started by John Russwurm and the Rev. Samuel Cornish. The oldest going Negro-owned publication in America is a church organ, the Christian Recorder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. In Alabama the oldest Negro organ is the 73-year old Baptist Leader, sponsored by the Alabama Baptist

E. O. Jackson

Church and fraternal organs were among the Negro publications that were able to survive after the Negro group in the South was stripped of political suffrage. Educators like Booker T. Washington who was part owner of the New York Age and William Councill, founder of Alabama A. & M. College, who owned newspapers.

A number of Negro publishers have been ordained ministers. Among them, Frederick Douglass, the abolitionist who published The North Star. This year the sponsors of Negro Press Week are trying to emphasize the church angle.

Here is the article from The Los Angeles Tribune: "The Los Angeles Tribune has always seemed a little closer" to Holman Methodist church, "because it is in our community", the Rev. L. L. White, pastor, told his congregation in a recent 'pulpit editorial' in the church bulletin, in which he answered the question, "Do you read Negro newspapers"?

The minister answered that he not only reads Negro newspapers, "but I am a regular subscriber to one. I read Negro newspapers and believe in them for several reasons.

"For one thing," the Rev. White said, "I want to know what is happening among my own people. I do not find this in other papers. For another thing, I believe the Negro newspaper is the articulate voice of the Negro in ways no other paper, at the moment, can be.

"For another thing, the Negro newspaper is a Negro business. I believe in supporting Negro business.

"Finally, the Negro newspaper has been the instrument for producing some great newspaper people and they never would have developed otherwise."

The Rev. White advised his congregation that it can "take any one of the reasons mentioned above as valid for your support of the Negro Press. All the local papers and the Pittsburgh Courier have been most cooperative with this church.

"Because it has been cooperativ always, and because we have a sincere appreciation for its militant attitude on racial justice, I urge your support of our Negro press, an agency which belongs to us all. Your subscription is one means of support."

31a 1957

THE TIP OFF

World P.8

Sat. 2-16-57

By EMORY O. JACKSON

B'ham, Ala.

TUSCALOOSA, Ala. — (SNS) — On the eve of Race Relations Week the Alabama Council on Human Relations held its annual meeting on the campus of 80-year-old Stillman College here Saturday, Feb. 9.

Two splendid keynote speeches, both an object lesson in the meaning of Christian brotherhood, gave the meeting vibrant atmosphere, the uplifting spirit, the rewarding fellowship necessary to make it a memorable event. Persons of varying professions and occupations, of religious faiths, and diversified backgrounds were meeting simply as persons of goodwill who have faith in Alabama, love for America, and concern for humanity.

Dr. Dan C. Whitsett, pastor of First Methodist Church, Sylacauga, speaking on the subject, "Darkness Before Dawn" stressed the need for patience and understanding and fair press, progress and providence. The Rev. Raymond F. Harvey, pastor of the Greenwood Baptist Church, Tuskegee Institute, dealt with the concept of combinations. In a passing way, he mentioned the significance of the work of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., acknowledged leader of the American non-violence, change-by-love, and protest movement for freedom and first-class citizenship.

As Rev. Harvey mentioned Dr. King, my mind flashed back to a story I had read in the Birmingham morning daily on riding to Tuscaloosa. The story related that in the Magic City most of the Protestant ministers were taking a cold attitude toward reading to their Sunday congregations a Race Relations Message prepared by Doctor King for the National Council of Churches which distributed it.

However two church pastors, according to the story, had prepared original messages for delivery on Race Relations Sunday. One of the two ministers was Presbyterian and the other Methodist. The associate pastor of the Methodist Church was scheduled to preach a Race Relations Sunday sermon at a Negro church.

This brought back a point I like to stress. The so-called Negro Church and the so-called Negro college occupy a position in the South which make them the forts of freedom. Not even the sermon of a distinguished Negro minister like Dr. King can get read in a Birmingham white church. Perhaps the King sermon was read by a number of white ministers who dare not deliver it as such before their congregations.

The Dexter Echo, official organ of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, of which the Rev. King is the minister, in its Feb. 6 issue carried an editorial entitled, "Brotherhood and Race Relations." It said in part: "The concern of Negroes with race relations is based not merely on self-interest, but on religious principles which touch the foundations of Christianity. In the sight of God, there are no racial exclusions; and those who call themselves Christians must also bear the burden of His law, however difficult, however onerous, however dangerous at times."

"Because of his number and his iniquitousness, the Negro has become the symbol of race relations. But his problems are shared by others," the editorial added.

In discussing race relations I sometimes like to refer to the piece by Evangelist Billy Graham in the October 1, 1956 issue of Life magazine. He points out that "Jesus put no color bar on the Golden Rule. There is no evidence of racial discrimination in the early church. James wrote: 'If you show partiality, you commit sin.'"

He, Billy Graham, observed: "The Christian minister must be on guard lest he conforms his message to the climate of the times."

Some weeks back the newspapers published stories of Ku Klux Klan members attending church in robes and putting money in the collection. Would these same churches which accepted money from the KKK accept a Christian message on brotherhood from the Federal Council of Churches, such as the one written by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.?

Must the Protestant Church anywhere be open to those who burn crosses and closed to those who bear crosses?

NEGRO (EMORY O. JACKSON)

The Tip Off

31a

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Fred C. Jenkins, 64-year old Masonic Grand Lodge endowment secretary, whose funeral services were held Monday, Feb. 18 was perhaps Birmingham's least understood leader. He was a man consumed with trying to become a perfectionist in his chosen field of accounting. He made accounting an art, a system of figurery beauty, and a discipline rod against crookedness.

How and where he learned so much about some of the local group's sunken financial institutions, the thieving way in which some of them were wrecked, and the escape path they took to dodge public exposure and punishment, I do not know. It was about 1927 when he came to Birmingham and worked with a financial institution which had a fair field for succeeding and the necessary patronage. Yet it went under and those who know the inside would not dare reveal the story, even at this late date.

Oldtimers will tell you that Birmingham was perhaps the first city in America where the Negro group operated three banks at one time. Some of the glossiest names in Negro life at that time were associated with these ventures. A coalyard owner and a doctor, schoolman-preacher, preacher and church leaders, all made up descriptions, in all of them. Yet all of the trouble was not due to shaky integrity. Part of it rested upon lost of the ballot.

Mr. Jenkins came to Birmingham during the time an effort was being made to salvage something from the group's business ruins. But many of those who saw themselves in rescue roles employed the same system which undermined the fallen structures. Mr. Jenkins was unwilling to put his talents at the hire of those who were shown a system that would stand up under the test of inspection and the purging lights of publicity.

For some years the Jenkins were our neighbors but some of the time I was away in college. In one of my accounting classes I tried to find out why Birmingham lost its Negro banks and some other financial institutions which seemed deserving of living. Those were not classroom questions and nobody has done a published study which reveals the answers. I wish Mr. Jenkins had written a book on what he learned about vanished banks as a guide to the younger generation who wants to build up again.

Dr. E. W. Taggart who it is said knew Mr. Jenkins better than any other person outside his immediate family was one of the three speakers at the funeral program. The Rev. J. W. Goodgame delivered the eulogy and Grandmaster Charles V. Hendley oratoricalized a tribute. Mr. Jenkins, it is said made a formal selection of a religious faith. Formality in personal manners and firmness in his profession were enough for him. The Rev. D. B. Washington of Anniston read the scripture and prayed.

Sat. 2-23-57

Dr. Taggart listed three signal-light qualities about Mr. Jenkins. (1) He was an untiring worker. (2) He was a technician of the first rank—exact, precise, prideful. (3) He had an ear of impeccability. He was an idealist, a man of integrity, despite his idiolyncrasy.

He carried the air of excellent breeding, elegant manners, of bouyant refinement, and polished taste. The way he dressed, tipped his hat, carried his walking cane, sipped from a drinking class, or greeted one on the streets depicted a man of a high sense of aristoracy. You saw these things and sensed something which made you want to know more. He was born in Charlenton, S. C.

There was another side to all of this. There were conflicts in the life of Mr. Jenkins. They were contained but not unknown to his closest friends Mr. Henley and Dr. Taggart especially, knew about the conflicts.

Mr. Jenkins was a member of Mount Hebron Lodge Number 15, Royal Arch, Zerubal Chapter, No. 8; Red Cross Consistory 320 Scottish Rite; Ancient Egyptian Arabic Order Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, Khedive Temple No. 16; Supreme Council, 330 Southern Jurisdiction; Eastern Star, Pride Sayre Chapter Number 557; Knights of Pythian, Iron City Lodge Number 3 and American Legion, Clark-Robinson Post No. 311.

I wanted to do this column a little different. It would have been written in a breezy way to let Fred C. Jenkins poke fun at those who appeared on the program. He would have been disgusted with the sloppy dress and the atmosphere of curiosity. I would have let him talk about the program.

What do you think he would have said?

THE TIP OFF

World P.6

Wed. 2-20-57

By EMORY O. JACKSON

B'ham, Ala.

In a piece in this space January 23, datelined from Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., some mention was made of comments by Fisk Dean George M. Redd at the NNPA Workshop banquet.

The column related that Dean Redd suggested that Fisk was one of five Negro-roster colleges which had been invited into full membership of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, which rating agency currently bans Negro-identified institutions. He suggested that about 26 other Negro-designated colleges had been placed on probation, or the waiting list.

Emory O. Jackson

His emphasis was threefold. (1) Fisk for years had met the rating standards of S. A. C. S. S. but was victimized by the color bar. (2) More than the five colleges on the tap list as of now measure up fully to the present association standards. (3) The old probation list is going to be abolished. Only a few Negro colleges are on the below-par list.

Such points were neither elaborated upon nor emphasized at the time because I tried to point out that Dean Redd was doing an indirect public relations job, it seems, for Fisk University. However, that

portion of the column seems to have been read with an entirely different slant by William J. Trent, of New York City, executive director of the United Negro College Fund, who attended the workshop but not the banquet.

On February 5, Mr. Trent wrote me, in part: "I noted the reference to the statement of Dean Redd about Fisk. I think that if there is any implication in his statement that all of the other member colleges of the UNCF are not accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, it is most unfortunate. It is certainly true that some of our colleges are better than others; but in order for a college to hold membership in the UNCF it must be accredited by the Southern Association. Also, it is not a fact that 26 member colleges of the UNCF are on probation; there are some colleges that will have to clear up certain difficulties, but even so they are considered accredited by the Southern Association and meet the minimum requirements."

"I would appreciate it very much, if you think it necessary, if this point might be clarified because the Fund is dedicated to the proposition that unless these colleges measure up they ought not to be any concern of ours at the present time."

It seems that the point I reported with reference to Dean Redd's comment is this: Under the new system the Southern Association will not formulate dual yardsticks "accredited" schools for the Negro institutions. The two lists will be consolidated. Not all of the qualified Negro colleges will be admitted into the SACSS with one sweep. What I called "probation" colleges was in terms of the gradual admission plan and not the present dual system. The 26 colleges measure up but will be placed on the waiting list under the gradual plan, as I understood the comment.

Substantially, there is no conflict, as I see it, between Dean Redd's observations and the presentation of Mr. Trent. It was merely the treatment of the subject by this column. I looked at the situation in terms of the apparent new system that will be used to admit to the Southern Association the predominantly Negro private colleges and the merged rating lists.

When the Ford Foundation made its grants to the various schools, colleges and universities, I understand that only a small percentage of Negro-roster colleges was in the bonus groups. However the Ford grant formula was perhaps different from the rating formula.

The 26 colleges (I do not know whether they are UNCF institutions or state-supported colleges) which meet the Southern Association standards but are not likely to be among the first five selected, by current dual-list standards are not on the association's probation list. Let's call it the waiting list in the event the two-pronged system is abolished. The dual rating system is not likely to be eliminated until all of the up-to-par colleges have become full members of the Southern Association, it seems to me.

The Tip Off

World Sat. 3-2-57

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

B'ham, Ala.

About 16 categories of new services would be provided the approximately 8,000 members of the Alabama State Teachers Association under the proposed dues-hike program. The minimum cost of this far-reaching and vital activities program as outlined by Dr. J. Garrick Hardy, non-salaried ASTA executive secretary would be $5-per-teacher annually. In other words this is a dime-a-week membership dues proposal.

P. 8

Dr. Hardy in presenting the proposal to the Birmingham Negro Teachers Association February 20 supported the membership hike proposal with facts and figures.

Alabama Negro teachers pay less in their association than any other similar group. The membership dues have remained about $1 possibly since the association was organized 73 years ago. But salaries have gone up. Needs have broadened.

In a way, ASTA-ers have benefited from the work done by those who pay higher membership fees. Now, if Negro teachers are to improve themselves professionally, they must erect services by which this can be done. If they are to be functioning teachers on standing with others of their profession, they must pay for it. They need to look forward to the day when Alabama will have both a single teacher association and a school system purged of those specific discriminations.

The dues-hike proposal seems to be in the direction of preparing for the change which is inevitable. Under the new program which could be financed by advancing the dues to less than a cent and a half a day would be the establishment of a credit union, legal service, group insurance, workshops, scholarship fund, and such.

Progress is something you have to pay for. If the ASTA-ers are to go forward, their dues will have to go up.

The present administration headed by Prof. Vernon McDaniel of Tuskegee Institute is trying to get the teachers to see the need for raising their dues to a figure that will provide the association with a full-time paid executive secretary and office staff to do the work required of a modern association.

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Whether this program is adopted is likely to depend in large part on the leadership which comes out of ASTA District IV, and especially the Birmingham Negro Teachers Association which has 32 delegate assembly votes and also influential leaders. The BNTA group is better off than teachers in some other systems.

Dr. Hardy seems to have sensed the importance of the BNTA group because he came to the city for their meeting despite the fact that this was examination time at Alabama State College. Realizing, and respecting the powerful leadership that the BNTA has, he told them frankly why the ASTA administration was proposing the membership raise.

A few days before, Mr. McDaniel was in Russell County telling the ASTA teachers there about the approaching convention, the proposals, and especially the "ASTA Teacher of the Year" project. Teachers in Russell County are impressed with the teacher recognition project. Mrs. Bessie Sears Estelle invaded North Alabama as an ASTA representative, or vice-president.

Officials of the ASTA seem to realize that hard work will have to be done to get the teachers to understand why they are being asked to increase their dues. No teacher association can successfully operate on a $1-a-year membership rate. Five dollars is too low but ASTA leaders will be happy to get it raised to that figure.

Still something else needs to be pointed out. ASTA leaders have sacrificed the vote commission in concentration on revamping the association so that it can really function as an up-to-date organization.

To me, however, it seems inexcusable that the ASTA sidetracked its voter-registration program. Neither a Negro teacher nor any other Negro person can register and vote in Wilcox and Lowndes counties. There are only six Negro voters in Bullock County in which the president of the Alabama Congress of Colored Parent-Teacher Association is employed as a supervisor of schools. In Mr. Daniel's present home county of Macon there is not even a functioning board of registrars. In Dallas County civic leaders report that there is a tendency to refuse voter-registration to the easily identifiable minority.

As did the administration before it, the present ASTA administration has de-emphasized, if not completely dropped, the basic program on voter-registration stimulation. But there seems to be not one small voice among the teachers to even question the failure of the ASTA administration to work in the field of vibrant citizenship. The ballot is the most important asset a citizen can have. An ASTA membership card loses luster unless it is placed against a background of a registration certificate, it seems to me.

The Tip Off

World Sat. 3-9-57

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

B'ham, Ala.

An article in The Los Angeles (California) Tribune, Feb. 27, dealing with a minister's reaction to reading the Negro newspaper comes in handy. For the week of March 17 through 23 has been designated by the National Newspaper Publishers Association as National Negro Newspaper Week. This will commemorate the 130th anniversary of the Negro newspaper press in America.

The first Negro publication, "Freedom's Journal" was started by John Russwurm and the Rev. Samuel Cornish. The oldest going Negro-owned publication in America is a church organ, the Christian Recorder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. In Alabama the oldest Negro organ is the 73-year old Baptist Leader, sponsored by the Alabama Baptist

E. O. Jackson

Church and fraternal organs were among the Negro publications that were able to survive after the Negro group in the South was stripped of political suffrage. Educators like Booker T. Washington who was part owner of the New York Age and William Councill, founder of Alabama A. & M. College, who owned newspapers.

A number of Negro publishers have been ordained ministers. Among them, Frederick Douglass, the abolitionist who published The North Star. This year the sponsors of Negro Press Week are trying to emphasize the church angle.

Here is the article from The Los Angeles Tribune: "The Los Angeles Tribune has always seemed a little closer" to Holman Methodist church, "because it is in our community", the Rev. L. L. White, pastor, told his congregation in a recent 'pulpit editorial' in the church bulletin, in which he answered the question, "Do you read Negro newspapers"?

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NEGRO(EMORY O. JACKSON)

THE TIP OFF

Daily World

Fri. 3-1-57

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Atlanta, Ga.

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THE TIP OFF

Daily World

Wed. 2-6-57

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Atlanta Ga.

SELMA UNIVERSITY, Selma, Ala. — (SNS) — Baptist leaders here, representing an estimated 400,000 communicants reflected revitalized interest in two of their chief agencies. One is Selma University and the other is the 73 year old Baptist leader.

P. 6

This illuminized interest pierced through the discussions at the adjourned session of the Alabama Baptist State Convention which convened on the campus here January 30. The convention leaders approved a fund-raising plan presented by President James H. Owens which will help Selma University improve and expand its physical facilities.

Selma University was conceived by the Baptist convention just five years after it was organized. The convention at its meetings held in 1873 in Tuscaloosa voted to locate the college in Selma, a Civil War military depot city.

"Alabama Almanac and Book of Facts - 1955-56" reveals that Rev Harrison Woodsmall, a white minister from Franklin, Ind. who was in the South working with the Negro group, was installed as the first president of Selma University. "The Selma University Chronicle" in its January, 1957 issue points out that "the school (was) founded to train ministers and Christian teachers for Alabama and the world."

The Chronicle observed that Dr. U. J. Robinson, convention president, "is very anxious to advance Selma University to where it will take its rightful place among other colleges of the nation." The university has found in Dr. Robinson a fervent, hard-working, constantly-plugging champion. He has radiated his enthusiasm for strengthening the college to other stalwart Baptist leaders.

The first step toward this "to advance" Selma University program was to bring in what is called "a school man" as president. President Owens is an educator, administrator and scholar. The second step in the program was to revamp the system of convention support to dry up trails of waste, clear the course so that money raised for the school could flow more freely into the Selma University treasury, and to stimulate more church support for the school. A few months back the convention made a $25,000 donation to Selma University. The third step is the "Owens Plan" for raising capitol funds.

Already one can see signs of improvement at this Baptist-sponsored college. This should help the fund-raising plan. With a team like S. U. President Owens and Convention President Robinson the Baptist should be able to raise the minimum fund goal in less than a year. For it is a modest sum to be sought in the light of present day higher education. The college needs more than capital funds. It needs an endowment and a more adequate source of operational money, it seems to me.

Selma University is rich in history. It is almost as rich in historical lore as the City of Selma itself. Selma with its 100-year-old oak trees was an important Confederate city during the Southern Rebellion or Civil War. It was reduced to ashes by federal troops on April 2, 1865. Since 1941 Craig Air Force Base has been located in this city which once was the stronghold of the Confederacy.

In the debate over recommendations presented by the State Publishing Board, one thing came to light. The convention leaders recognize that The Baptist Leader is a powerful instrument. Dr. Robinson described it as "the most important agent of this convention."

This Baptist organ is the oldest Negro produced journal in Alabama. It more nearly approaches a statewide publication than other Negro newspaper. Unlike some other church organs, The Baptist Leader is strictly a newspaper.

When National Negro Newspaper Week is celebrated March 17-23, the observance will spotlight the relationship between the Negro-produced newspaper and the Negro-led church. This will mark the 130th anniversary of the Negro-directed newspaper in America.

THE TIP OFF

Daily World

Thurs. 2-28-57

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Atlanta, Ga.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA. — (SNS)— In about a month, the approximately 8,000 teachers in Alabama's other schools, will be holding their 7th annual convention at State Teachers College in Montgomery.

P. 6

Elaborate preparation is being made by the official family of the Alabama State Teachers Association to make this a meaningful meeting. ASTA administration forces have been traveling over the state trying to acquaint city and county groups with association activities, plans and needs.

Dr. J. Garrick Hardy, the ASTA non-salaried executive secretary appeared Wednesday afternoon at the meeting of the Birmingham Negro Teachers Association. He carefully went over the highlight features of the approaching Spring convention. He reviewed the major activities of the association for the year.

The visit of Dr. Hardy, an acknowledged Brilliant organizer, should be viewed in two direction, it seems to me. ASTA leaders seem to recognize fully that the current program is out of date. It knows that the kind of program today's needs call for requires bigger money. Hence the ASTA administration has proposed a jump in membership dues. The vast association membership must understand the needs and services of the new order which is dawning upon us.

ASTA leaders are in the field trying to sell this long over due dues jump to the teachers. Dr. Hardy seems to have assumed the role of the front line salesman. He came to Birmingham where the city teachers have 32 votes and an influential delegation. He came armed with facts and figures and also buttressed by friendships and personal prestige which fling out in many directions.

Dr. Hardy spoke to the BNTA members in simple, blunt, granite language. He used no trimmings, no tricks, no traps. He put it on the line and related in cold facts the situations. Alabama Negro teachers have the lowest membership dues of any other Negro state association. Their dues scales is far below that of members in the Alabama Education Association. The raise in dues is less than necessary to finance the total program needed but would be enough to start in that direction.

What the BNTA will instruct its elected delegation to do is unpredictable. What is important is that the BNTA delegation could play a decisive, positive, enlightened role. Its delegation is made up of some of the most influential leaders in the state and nation. Birmingham has usually championed worthwhile proposals.

It was Dr. Carol W. Hayes, a member of the BNTA delegation, whose ASTA administration set up the voter-registration program. BNTA President Henry J. Williams who will lead the local delegation as head of the vote commission is credited with helping to stimulate more teachers to become voters than any other leader. Mrs. Bessie Sears Estelle, who is ASTA vice-president and secretary of the National Sunday School and Baptist Training Union Congress; Mrs. Hattie Bryant Witt, a towering figure among AME women; Mrs. Lucinda Brown Bobey, an effective civic and cultural voice and William J. Moore, are among others in this powerful BNTA delegation.

At the meeting Mrs. Estelle, who has also been in the field trying to help interpret the dues raise program, spoke for the change. She seems to understand that a first-class program will require more than the outrageously low present membership fee.

These leaders concede that the dues change will be an uphill fight. They seem to be concentrating on this phase. But they ahave other convention gimmicks, to use the language of the advertising trade. Teachers will be given a convention show such as never before has been presented. Past presidents of the association will be honored and a "State Teacher of the Year" selected. The mortgage-burning ceremony will thrill and lift the hearts of the teachers. The proposed 75th anniversary program for 1958 which will stretch over three days will dazzle them. Negro achievements will be spotlighted and everybody will be in a happy mood.

Behind this does not appear to be any conscious attempt to lull the teachers into approving a dues-jump program. Dr. Hardy was frank in presenting this proposal to the BNTA members. He wanted it weighed, understood, and passed on by teachers themselves. For this reasons he asked that the delegates try to come to the convention instructed on how to vote on the issue. Dr. Hardy seems to have made a strong case for the proposed membership increase.

The dues-hike proposals which would raise the membership from $1 a year to $5 a year should be considered on its merit. Dr. Hardy presented the proposal factually, boldly, and convincingly without any window-dressing.

Waiting Room Case

World Sat. 3-9-57 P.1

Slated to Be Appealed

Birm, Ala.

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

U. S. Judge Seyburn H. Lynne's March 4 decision in which he dismissed a segregation-in-waiting rooms test case is scheduled to be appealed.

Attys. Demetrius C. Newton and Oscar W. Adams, Jr. who represented Mr. and Mrs. Carl L. Baldwin in a case arising out of their Dec. 22, 1956 arrest by Birmingham police at the Birmingham Terminal Station said that they would appeal the adverse decision.

Judge Lynne heard the case March 1 at which Atty. Joe F. Johnston represented the Terminal Station; Asst. Atty. Gen. Gordon Madison, represented the Alabama Public Service Commission and Birmingham City Atty. J. H. Willis represented the three-man Birmingham City Commission (Mayor J. W. Morgan, R. E. Lindburgh, J. T. Waggoner) defendants in the suit.

Disorderly conduct charges against the Baldwins were dropped in Recorder's Court Feb. 25.

The Baldwins filed their federal court suit through their lawyers Jan. 25.

Mr. Baldwin 36, is a furniture dealer. His 31-year-old wife is a city school teacher.

Atty. Newton, chief counsel for the plaintiffs, said that after a study of Judge Lynne's decision, it was decided to appeal the case as soon as the formal order is issued by the courts.

Meantime, there was a mob-like incident at Terminal Station Wednesday, March 6 where Lamar Weaver, white, was stoned, pushed, and chased when he entered the waiting room to see the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth and wife off. Mr. Shutlesworth president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, and his wife, used the same waiting room in which the Baldwins were arrested. Pro-segregation forces challenged him, but under police escort he boarded a train.

Here is the full text of Judge Lynn's March 4 dismissal decision:

"This is but another in the growing list of cases wherein both the tutored and the untutored apparently entertain the mistaken notion that the proper function of the federal courts is propaganda rather than judicature.

"They who espouse the theory that such courts should essay the roles of super legislatures know not what they do. One day they may be reminded of Mary Shelley's terrified self-reproach in 'Frankenstein:'

"'I beheld the wretch—the miserable monster whom I had created.'

"The framers of our Constitution, in contriving a system of checks and balances, taught us a lesson which we have never learned but which we have never quite forgotten; that the federal judicial power extends only to 'cases' or 'controversies' in the constitutional sense.

"No judge of a federal court has a right to adjudiciate a difference or dispute ofa hypohtetical or abstract character. The wisdom of witholding from the federal judiciary power to render advisory opinions would seem to be self evident."

(Here Judge Lynne cited nine federal decisions, most of them in the Supreme Court.)

"In vain the court has searched the allegations of the complaint for a definitive statement of facts, showing 'that there is a substantial controversy between (plaintiffs and defendants) of sufficient immediacy and reality to warrant the issuance of a declaratory judgment.' Maryland Casualty Co. vs. Pacific Co., supra.

World

Stripped of excess verbiage and argumentative innuendo a summary of the factual averments in capsule form is as follows: P.8

On Dec 22, 1956 plaintiffs, Negro citizens, holding tickets entitling them transportation as passengers ininterstate commerce, while seated in a waiting room of the Birmingham Terminal Station designated "Interstate and White Passengers," were placed under arrest and confined in jail by police officers of the City of Birmingham.

"Mere reference to the silence of the complaint as to the character of the charge on which plaintiffs were arrested is to demonstrate its insufficency. It is not arguable, nor has it been contended that their status as interstate passengers would insulate them from a charge of breach of the peace under local laws.

"Oral arguments of counsel for plaintiffs fell far short of clarifying the theory of the complaint. Their objective it appeared, was to obtain a declaratory judgment that Title 48, Code of Alabama, 1940 Sec. 86, is unconstitutional because it offends the 14th Amendment and that these plaintiffs have legal standing to raise that question.

"Forensic efforts to defend the present complaint recalled to the court's mind Milton's lines from "Paradise Lost:"

"'With ruin upon ruin, rout, on rout,

"'Confusion worse confounded.'

"It seems incredible that an effort will be made to amend the complaint although a reasonable opportunity will be afforded to do so.

"It is quite clear that the challenged section of the Alabama Code has no direct impact on passengers of any race. For a violation of any order promulgated by the Alabama Public Service Commission under its authority only the offending railroad may be held criminally responsible as provided in Title 48, Code of Alabama, 1940 Sec. 428.

"There is no ordinance of the City of Birmingham or statute of the State of Alabama which purports to compel interstate Negro passengers to occupy waiting rooms designated "Colored."

"It is conceded that if such order were issued by the Alabama Public Service Commission it would be because of the transcended order of the Interstate Commerce Commission entered on Nov. 7, 1955 reported in 297 ICC 335.

"The court is not, nor could it be concerned on the complaint of these plaintiffs with the constitutionality of state action designed to compel the segregation of white and Negro intrastate passengers. Admittedly these plaintiffs did not fall with that category.

"The long and the short of the matter is that a mistake apparently was made in arresting these plaintiffs. Charges pending against them have been dismissed.

"No good purpose would be served by prolonging this baseless litigation.

"This the 4th day of March, 1957."

"Seyburn H. Lynne (signed)
"Chief Judge."

31a 1957

THE TIP OFF

World p. 6

Wed. 5-8-57

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Birm, Ala.

TUSCALOOSA, Ala.— (SNS)— Knit together a few recent incidents and events and a clarifying picture emerges.

31a negro

A few months back newpapers all over the world headlined the story of a hate mob driving a young brownskin co-ed from the campus of the University of Alabama.

Men were driving a woman from a great University because she had committed what they considered the mistake of trying to improve herself at the best educational institution in Alabama.

This event ranks with the name of the century.

Now the Rev. W. B. Shealey, pastor of First African Baptist Church and president of the Tuscaloosa County Fellowship Association has reportedly resigned the pastorship of his church and left this city. From what can be learned, he had received lettres containing threats.

No one seems to know why the Morehouse-trained minister was sent any messages of threat. It is theorized that the scare letters could have come from disgruntled persons rather than from the well known hate organizations which operate boldly here, as they do also in other parts of Alabama and the South It is pointed out that the minister never flavored his sermons with any integration subject matter.

Civic leaders here do not seem to link the scribbled threats with the work of any. of the suppression leaders, which tends to thicken the mystery and cloud the possible motive. The Rev. Shealey had, it is said, substantial church and community support. He had those who would have stood by him at the highest possible cost.

The Shealey story serves only to reveal something more disturbing. Some of the deeply concerned wanted to know from the responsible how things stood in the face of the known operation of the Ku Klux Klans and White Citizens Council in this area. A detachment from one of the hate groups had attempted to invade the campus where an interracial meeting was held earlier in the year. One of these thought-control groups paraded at the University of Alabama campus where a religious group was conducting a forum. A columnist on a Birmingham daily was barred from lecturing by one of these hate groups.

This concerned group was told by this responsible group that the KKK and WCC had given them a non violence pledge. Which goes to show the strength and status these hate outfits seemed to have gained. The record reveals that the history of the KKK is that of violence. The WCC creates the atmosphere and the KKK fills in the acts.

In Birmingham, April 30 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. condemned the WCC and KKK for using "intimidation, reprisal and violence." It urged members of the 850,000 strong organization to lift a voice of protest against those groups which appeal to prejudice and spread fear".

In his inspirational message to the assembly, Dr. Albert B Kissling of Jacksonville, Fla. twitted church leaders for their silence on hate violence. He observed that the "sons of the nightshirt brigades" were on the terror warpath.

Something else comes to mind. In whisper circle the story is leaking around that one of the standpatters sought out a visiting reporters fro ma powerful eastern daily who was to cover the assembly. The stand-patter without establishing the identity of the person he assumed was a reporter invited him on a tour of Birmingham to show that integration would not work. The two made the trip on which the stand-patter tried a brain-washing job. But what he did not know is that the person he took on the tour was neither a Northerner nor a reporter. He was a Southerner who knows the full story of the South's ways.

On the optimistic side there is the announcement that the Rev. Frank T. Wilson, dean of the School of Religion at Howard University, Washington, D. C. has been appointed the first education secretary of the 28-member Board of Foreign Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.

NEGRO (EMORY O. JACKSON)

The Tip Off

World p. 6 31a

~~BY EMORY O. JACKSON~~

Wed. 5-12-57

Sheer curiosity perhaps motivated me to secure a copy of the booklet, "The Clennon King Story" which carries the series of eight articles written by an Alcorn College instructor and published by the "State Times", Jackson, Miss. The booklet may be had by sending 10 cents to the newspaper.

Birm, Ala.

Some persons interested in learning more about the NAACP recently checked their impressions against my own about this organization. At the time I had not read the King series but had read the accounts published about the articles. To my surprise in reading the articles I found some of the things I had been asked to discuss.

The King articles are not valid research. They are not consistently factual and much of it reads like rehashings from literature of the White Citizens Council, of which I am an occasional reader. Basically the articles tend to set up Prof. King's disagreement with the stated goals of the group's authentic leadership.

The booklet carries an introductory article and a closing one by the Jackson State Times'" associate editor. The opening account pictures Professor King as an heir to history's "victims of intolerance." The current issue of Ebony magazine brings out some further details about the protest by students of the professor's newspaper essays.

The impression is labored that Professor King's freedom of speech had been challenged. Yet there is no account which I have seen of anybody trying to exert pressure to keep the articles from being published or seeking to punish the newspaper that published the articles. That speaks well for reader maturity in Jackson, Miss. Alcorn College students asked the ouster of the author-professor and went on strike to back up their demands.

Some Negro newspapers opened their columns to Prof. King to tell his side. One national weekly carried an account by Prof. King, it is said, exactly as he prepared it for publication.

Associate Editor Robert Webb said in one place in his foreword that "it was the editors' conviction that the King series ..... took no firm position for or against integration, as such ..... "Then he states that "it remains the editors' view that Prof. King, is stating well his beliefs that racial integrity, morality and harmony are much preferred to naked, mass integration ....."

Here is the opening line of the first article of the King series: "Perhaps the NAACP is the National Association for the Agitation of Colored People after all."

He, Prof. King, claims to have once been a part-time worker for the NAACP. He asserts that the NAACP is "quiet about the disquieting rate of Negro crime."

The two citations were made because they seem to represent the line of attack used by the White Citizens Council. Secondly, these two quotations would tend to indicate that Prof. King is hardly well informed about the NAACP and its program. Crime is a community problem. Crime tends to reflect unhealthy democracy and stems from social forces which have little connection, if any, with race.

The King series is unimportant except it casts light on some of the obstacles in the path of change. What I was trying to do was review the situation about the denial of free speech and see what facts could be found on the charge.

To disagree with one who has exercised his freedom of speech is no denial of speech freedom. To criticize one who puts his talents in the employment of those who are against you is no denial of freedom of speech. Integration is the essence of equality.

March 13, Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, New York City, released the telegram sent March 9 to the president of the Alcorn College Student Council. It reads:

"National Association for Advancement of Colored People appreciates spirit of students in opposing views expressed by Prof. Clennon King, but we deplore any pressure which denies him free speech on integration.

"We believe King is mistaken, but under our system of government any person has a constitutional right to express his opinion on any issue. We demand this right for ourselves and we must protect it for others. We wish free speech for all persons in the South of both races and on both sides of the integration issue without muzzle or reprisal of any kind.

"The issue cannot be settled fairly unless everyone is free to debate. We remain confident that in such free debate the ironclad segregationists cannot win. We trust that some satisfactory settlement may be reached which will assure the return of students to classes and at the same time preserve Prof. King's right to freedom of expression."

THE TIP OFF

Daily Herald

By EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (SNS) - Take a quick look at five counties in Alabama and you get a view of some of the things done to keep the electorate small, restricted and suppressed.

Tues. 5-14-57

In Lowdnes and Wilcox counties no Negro has been allowed to register and vote in 57 years. Things are so bad in these two counties that the colored man is afraid to let it become known that he is interested in voting. So racial disfranchisement rages under the shadows of terror.

Here in Montgomery an effort to place the names of an appreciable number of Negro persons on the voting rolls has run into obstacles.

Emory Jackson

Atlanta, Ga.

The lines in which would-be voters seek to get their names on the official voting register moves slowly. Registration officials point out that it takes the colored applicant longer to organize his application form than the white applicant. It is said that some applicants require an hour and more to fill out the application form.

An official of the voter-registration committee of the Montgomery-Improvement Association charged that there was "a deliberate slowing up the lines" by the registrars. Of about 250 applicants, only about 100 were able to turn in their application forms.

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It would be interesting to compare

the record of the Montgomery County Board of registrars among the whites against the Negro group. Averably over 500 were registered during 1956. Still a small number of 250 Negro applicants were "missed."

Time-wasting methods have been one of the devices used to limit the registration of Negro applicants. By asking the applicant an excessive number of questions, engaging him in non-registration conversation, and by boswelling time can be consumed. One has a limit he can stay in a voting booth but not a limit he can stay before the voter-registration officials.

When a board has a table for Negro registration and one for white registration that on its face is discrimination, it seems to me. The observation is made that the Montgomery Board of Registrars had two tables which would seat four persons but one was reserved for white applicants. Not many white applicants showed up so the reserved-for-white table went unused. Here is ugly, bare-faced, open racial discrimination in the registration process.

When there is an overflow of the registrars office, why can't a courtroom be used to process the applicants? Why can't the applicants be seated in one of the courtrooms and fill out their forms under the supervision of the clerk in the registrars' office? Two tables aren't enough to handle a stream of applicants.

In Macon County, the board of registrars lacked office equipment so no voter-registration was conducted. It has been six or more months since there has been registration of new voters. A former head of a White Citizens Council is chairman of the Macon County Board of Registrars. The WCC is opposed to Negro voting.

In Elmore County where more Negro applicants sought to become voters than during any other time in the past two years the obstacle was getting white vouchers. This means that one has to get three white persons who are qualified to say that an applicant is eligible for voting. The voucher system is simply a hindering system as it is often used in Alabama.

The ballot is the citizen's best self-help tool. It's the potent evener in a democracy. One who is without the ballot is a political dependent. Without the ballot one is politically disarmed. Voting is the most vital of the civil rights because upon it rests all of the other basic rights.

Conduct of registration officials in these five Alabama counties should serve to spur President Eisenhower to fight for his civil rights bills which are being watered down, bogged down and maneuvered down in Congress. By holding off the ballot from the weak, the poor and the friendless the selfish rulers can hold control.

The Tip Off

Herald Sat. 5-18-57

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Its time to narrow the yardstick of political fairness to the single issue of civil rights .

Basically the cardinal principle of civil rights is voting rights. When one is robbed of his right to vote the most precious thing of his democratic life has been taken away from him.

Birm, Ala.

The disfranchised are not wholly without means of doing something about this. First a new approach to political action has become nenecessary. Those who are in Congress who vote against civil rights should not be supported no matter

P.8

how bad their opponent. By removing the incumbents, if possible you strike at seniority by which the enemies of civil rights gain the vantage position to fight.

Party responsibility needs to be emphasized. This will have to be made clear. The Southerners in Congress who wield powerful influence owe their committee leadership to party control was made possible through a loyal group of voters in other sections where the ballot is free.

The entrenched Democrats are in many instances beyond the reaching power of the restricted vote. But it can be made known in the next Congressional elections that one is dissatisfied with the party which allowed its members to sabotage the civil rights bills.

Recently this release came from Washington:

Senator John Sparkman (D, Ala) announced full support of a resolution adopted by the Alabama League of Municipalities at its 1957 convention opposing Federal civil rights legislation.

"The League's resolution is in keeping with the Constitution and with the principle of fairness to all of our citizens, minority as well as majority," Senator Sparkman said.

Sparkman restated his opposition to President Eisenhower's so-called civil rights legislation. He charged that it would destroy trial by jury and it would give the Attorney general of the United States dictational powers over local law enforcement officers.

"I am not willing," Senator Sparkman said, to give any Attorney General of the United States such great authority, and that is especially true of the one now in office."

The resolution adopted by the Alabama League of Municipalities is strongly opposed of Federal civil rights legislation, according to Senator Sparkman. It states in part:

WHEREAS, statutes are now being sponsored in our Federal Congress, popularly referred to as Civil Rights Legislation, which under the guise of protecting minority groups would endeavor to legislate social equality and invade the rights reserved to the states and to the individual, and .....

"WHEREAS, our Congressional Delegation from the State of Alabama has valiantly found this inimical legislation and continues to oppose its adopton.. .."

The League resolved:

"That we oppose the passage of this legislation by whatever means that are available to us and are in keeping with the democratic processes of government.

"That we shall not compromise the principles hereinabove stated by inducements which might be offered by proponents of this legislation to secure its passage.

"That we hereby commend our Congressional Delegation for their valiant fight in this issue.

"That we encourage and support our Congressional Delegation for their valiant fight in this issue.

"That we encourage and support our Congressional Delegation in their continued opposition to any and all so-called Civil Rights Legislation."

Senator Sparkman has previously attacked civil rights legislation proposed by Attorney General Brownell during his session of Congress

"There is no individual or group no government or agency, local or national; no employee, federal, state or private, that would be free of the whims and fancies, real or imaginary of the Attorney General and the Lawyers he would hire under this legislation," Senator Sparkman recently warned in testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee.

However, here is a mass of evidence that refutes the points made by the league and embraced by Senator Sparkman. In the case of the NAACP in Alabama, the Attorney General secured an injunction. In the proposed strike of L & N workers the company obtained an injunction. In the case of alleged non-bid contracts in Alabama the Attorney General secured an injunction. The injunctive process in equity cases has been a non-jury process.

Those who talk loudest about "Trial by jury" are silent on the right to vote.

THE TIP OFF

Herald P.8

Sat. 6-1-57

EMORY O. JACKSON

Birmingham, Ala.

The jubilant gathering at the banquet celebrating the seventeenth anniversary of the YMCA Industrial League Wednesday night, May 29, heard speakers spray tributes lavishly. The talkie-eatie affair was held in the auditorium of the 18th Street YMCA. One of the names singles out for kind, elegant, inspiring worlds figured in the establishment of the YMCA branch.

Emory Jackson

Henry J. Williams, president of the Birmingham Negro Teachers Association; W. Wesley Whetstone, chairman of the branch Y. M. C. A. board of management and William J. Moore, president of the YMCA Is Industrial Baseball League Umpires Association, all heaped praise on the late C. W. Askew, who spearheaded the league's establishment in 1940.

At the same time, the league honored Robert E. Bolden, dean of the "Y" shop league managers. He is pilot of the Acipco baseball club and is perhaps the lone surviving skipper from the old industrial league. He has been a power of strength in the present set up since linking up with it and also an inspiration to the younger managers. He has helped to develop teenage baseball in the community and also assisted players who sought to move into the bat-for-bread circle.

In the league's early days there was the late H. L. (Hog) Mosely, Mr. Whetstone, Mr. Williams, Herman Hill, "Bull" Wilson, Bill Walker and others who played a part in building a league which continues to grow, to improve, and to be useful. Mr. Askew, who was an athlete at Talladega College helped to organize the Vulcan Bowl which deserved to continue. He helped start the so-called T-B Game Classic or Health Bowl Game.

Mr. Askew use to point out to me when I was writing Hits and Bits and there was no YMCA building for the group that baseball was the basic activity. The league became the vehicle for winning support for the YMCA. It was a line of communication with the influence centers of industry. Because I use to insist on information about the league, and the service later proved helpful, in the early days I became the chief source of publicity about the league. But at no time was I ever an official part of either the shop league or the Vulcan Bowl.

"Hog" Mosley had once written sports for the same newspaper that employs me.

Today the YMCA Industrial League has an office in the Branch YMCA Building. There are now two umpires for official league games. League members are given beautiful certificates of membership. The league has a series of promotions Under Willie Young its genial, ever-smiling, easy-going president, the league shows signs of progress. Yet there are needed improvements such as a commissioner, a defined status, efficient records-keeping system, organization of official scorers, league statistician and an up-to-date history of the league. Team reporters are needed.

One of the league members took the floor at the banquet to speak up for voter-registration. As he spoke I sat there listening to him, wondering what moved him to speak. The ballot is the torchlight of freedom given to the weary, the burdened, the overloaded, the downtrodden, they by the light of their ballot could see their way and make their journey.

Use Spiritual Swords To Win White America, Steele Says

By EMORY O. JACKSON

B'ham, Ala. — (SNS) —

A cheering gathering that filled Sixteenth Street Baptist Church Sunday night, June 9 heard the Rev. C. K. Steele of Tallahassee, Florida urge the Negro group "to fight (racial segregation) with spiritual swords until we win white America on our side."

He was delivering the featured speech climaxing a week-long celebration of the first anniversary of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights of which the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth is the president.

The Rev. Steele, a graduate of Morehouse College and native of Bluefield, West Virginia, told the applauding "freedom soldiers" that "If we fail America will fail.' He is president of the Inter-Civic Council, head of the Tallahassee NAACP Branch and pastor of Bethel Baptist Church in the Florida Capital City.

"Overcome fear with faith—faith in God. . . .Overcome hate with love. . .Overcome wrong with right. . . . represent the highest in humanity", the Rev. Steele urged in his message. He added, "Unless we succeed America is doomed."

Stressing faith and love, the Rev. Steele declared that the strugglers for freedom" should not be afraid to give up their life for freedom. "One of the worst things in the world is to be living when you ought to be dead," the speaker asserted. "If I should die tonight I wouldn't be any deader than when I die", he declared.

"The greatest enemy the black man has in America today is fear", declared Rev. Steele. "When the average Southern white man finds out your aren't afraid, he gets afraid", the Florida minister asserted.

4 TYPES OF COWARDS

He listed these four kinds of cowards, namely, (1) the running coward; (2) the cringing coward; (3) the compromising coward and (4) the fighting coward. Rev. Steele declared that the cowards have no place in the freedom movement.

Things which might be done to help advance the freedom through faith and love approach were listed by Rev. Steele as (1) a wise use of money, (2) support of Negro-owned business, (3) wise use of the ballot and (4) personal excellence

"You cannot expect freedom to come free. Little else in the world is as expensive as freedom", the Rev. Steele declared. He cited instances where it was indicated that large sums had been spent on whiskey. "If you spend $6 for fifths you ought to spend $6 for freedom", he declared.

The visiting minister outlined what he described as "America's Responsibility — America's Endowment and America's Obligations". America's vast productive power, highest economic standards in the world, the industrial genius" and said "God is challenging America as never before."

Both America and the Negro group have been blessed by God ,the Rev. Steele said. He added: "Where God has entrusted a blessing he has placed a responsibility." He said in some parts of the world the people are dying from starving but in America they are dying from stuffing.

ORGANIZED AT SARDIS

The Rev. Nelson Henry Smith, Jr., vice-president of the one-year old Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, which was organized June 5, 1956 at Sardis Baptist Church, introduced the Rev. Steele.

Appeal by W. C. Patton, music by the New Hope Choir and the New Pilgrim Choir, remarks by the presentation of Mrs. F. L. Shuttlesworth; expressions of the appreciation by Rev. Shuttlesworth, rounded out the program. The Rev. Edward Gardner presided.

The Rev. Shuttlesworth delivered the anniversary message last Wednesday night, June 5 at the celebration program held at St. Paul A.M.E. Church of which the Rev. A. L. Lamar is the minister. He asserted in that speech that ". . .there really is no real freedom for us under segregation."

"Segregation, not the white man, is the enemy we face", he declared He added that "Any system which must be supported by threats, unjust laws, bombs and ill will cannot live." He called on the Movement followers to develop "a faith for these times" and to "follow leadership that will lead."

PRAYER HOUR SHIFTED

Celebration began June 3 at New Pilgrim Baptist Church.. A luncheon session of the board Tuesday afternoon at the A. G. Gaston Restaurant; talent and variety night at New Hope Baptist Church Tuesday night; youth night at Union Bethel Independent Methodist Church, Thursday night; the Prayer hour on the lawn of New Pilgrim Baptist Church Friday evening and the freedom feast at Camp Pauline Bray Fletcher last Saturday rounded out the program.

Prayer hour has been originally scheduled for Kelly Ingram Park but was shifted. ACMHR leaders did not make public their reason for changing the site.

ACMHR's regular weekly mass meetingg was held Monday night, June 10 at the Zion Star Baptist Church pastored by the Rev. J. S. Phifer.

The Tip Off

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—(SNS)—Ride a bus from Birmingham, Ala. into this race-track city and you get a side-eyed view of slight changes that are taking place.

It isn't the same old bus ride although the stops along the way are about as usual.

Only one racial sign remains at the Louisville bus terminal at which I arrived. It points to a cafe annex. In the waiting room there is general cafe with no sign at all displayed.

Three small colored boys were eating in the racially S i g n l ess cafe last Sunday night when I departed from that spot. Nobody seemed disturbed.

All passengers walked through the s a m e cafeteria line at Cave City, Kentucky where the bus riders ate break fast. Some of the darker passengers entered the obscure door to the cafe while others used the main entrance. Those who used off-entrance sat in what appeared to be an annex and sat down to the tables. A pick-up waitress told them to be served they had to use the same cafeteria line as the other passengers.

None of the colored passengers who alighted in Nashville for a rest period used the general waiting room. Sleepy-eyed persons w e r e stuffed in the small, steamy, smoke-filled waiting room marked "colored". Bums asked for matches to light their cigarettes. Toilets were in full view and the odors mixed with the food fumes. Only in Jim-crow situations do you find conditions like these in Nashville. I had heard that there was improvement in this city which serves as the Capital of Tennessee.

On a sightseeing trip through Louisville I was impressed at the number of instances where children were playing without regard to race and color. This was true in those areas where the school pattern has not been revamped.

Here as in other places outside of the South the people are interested in a first-hand account of the disturbances they have read about, heard about, and seen screened on the newer media. Some of them just can't believe that in Wilcox and Lowndes counties no Negro has been allowed to vote in 57 years. They are shocked at hearing that there have been approximately 21 unsolved racial bombings and burnings in the Birmingham-Bessemer area since 1947.

They want a size-up of the group's leadership. Questions are asked on how could the State of Alabama outlaw the NAACP? One is asked about specific cases which seem to indicate double-pattern justice.

Some times one is so close to misery, wronged so long, pushed around so much, and denied so often, he tends to lose a sense of his situation until some one calls it to his attention. That's why its good to move around sometimes, it seems to me.

The Tip Off

By EMORY O. JACKSON

A double emphasis program pivoting around excellence of citizenship and self-betterment would help.

Too much of the wage income of the group goes into crime and too little into citizenship and circumstances which factors and circumstances which lead to vice, violence and social depravity need to be attacked and overcome.

In Birmingham our group has little to show for its vast purchasing power; its two liberal arts colleges, business college, several beauty schools, vocational trade schools and 15 high schools. More of the sweated earnings seem to go toward crime costs than citizenship costs. Injustice, segregation, and an uneven educational opportunity are all contributing

factors. But there should be some overcoming tools.

While back in Detriot, Mich. I had an opportunity to visit St. Paul A. M. E. Church which has, among other community services, a credit union. It has a fellowship program which reaches far out into the community. Young men have been attracted to the church and seemed to be enjoying a spiritual, civic and inspirational program. Over-borrowing, planless spending, and wastefulness keep many of our noses to the grinding stone.

Many of us are the victims of easy credit and soft spending. Money which could be devoted to self-improvement, to freedom defense, home improvement and community betterment is assigned to paying rent on borrowed money, often secured for things which one could have done without. There is a need of education for better living.

In another area of the group's social life there is something equally disturbing on what seems to me to be an unwise use of money. In an organization that I had the good fortune to sit in on some discussions a few months ago reports were heard on planning the year's activities. One item was an expanded dance. The National Guard Armory was one of the sites mentioned for holding this frolic affair. In Alabama the National Guard and the state militia bar Negro persons from belonging. Yet to me it seemed ironic that the so-called uppercrust, the well-thinking would consider using a place under the circumstances which doesn't think enough of the finest Negro person to permit one to serve in it.

Yet the so-called better-class members of the group shut their eyes to this situation, pay out their money, use their names to support a place which holds off full service to the group. There are other places one could hold a dance or meeting. Then too, a dance adds nothing to the fight for freedom, and if entirely abandoned and the money used instead to help a character development program would be more helpful. The better class members of the group bow needlessly, and even pay for symbolic humiliation and in a way place their stamp of approval upon wrongful exclusion.

It seems to me the time has come for a re-thinking of the approaches to freedom of citizenship. Emphasis needs to be placed on action for a respected status than on merely assistance for a defe e isolated acts of doubtful value in the social machinery of change. The group needs to spend more in trying to remove ugly stigma. Mind and money need to be thrown into the fervent and rugged struggle for freedom.

A planning conference seems to be needed to consider a non legal action program designed to help erase those whittling discriminations. Some attention needs to be given to some of the overlooked resources which might be used in overcoming those handicapping discriminations. Stock needs to be taken of the leadership to determine whether there is more faking than functioning.

Finally, the idea that the individual is helpless should be discarded. For each individual has a part to play and a contribution as a person to make to this social liberation struggle. Self-improvement is one of the things one might consired as a person.

Each individual through his conduct, character and contributions should be able to help present the group in a more favorable light. Personal excellence cannot be snubbed where values are considered.

Use Spiritual Swords To Win White America, Steele Says

World Wed. 6-12-57 B'ham, Ala.

By EMORY O. JACKSON

A cheering gathering that filled Sixteenth Street Baptist Church Sunday night, June 9 heard the Rev. C. K. Steele of Tallahassee, Florida urge the Negro group to fight (racial segregation) with spiritual swords until we win white America on our side."

He was delivering the featured speech climaxing a week-long celebration of the first anniversary of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights of which the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth is the president.

The Rev. Steele, a graduate of Morehouse College and native of Bluefield, West Virginia, told the applauding "freedom soldiers" that "If we fail America will fail.' He is president of the Inter-Civic Council, head of the Tallahassee NAACP Branch and pastor of Bethel Baptist Church in the Florida Capital City.

"Overcome fear with faith—faith in God. . . Overcome hate with love. . Overcome wrong with right. . . represent the highest in humanity", the Rev. Steele urged in his message. He added, "Unless we succeed America is doomed."

Stressing faith and love, the Rev. Steele declared that the strugglers for freedom" should not be afraid to give up their life for freedom. "One of the worst things in the world is to be living when you ought to be dead," the speaker asserted. "If I should die tonight I wouldn't be any deader than when I die", he declared.

"The greatest enemy the black man has in America today is fear", declared Rev. Steele. "When the average Southern white man finds out your aren't afraid, he gets afraid", the Florida minister asserted.

4 TYPES OF COWARDS

He listed these four kinds of cowards, namely, (1) the running coward; (2) the cringing coward; (3) the compromising coward and (4) the fighting coward. Rev. Steele declared that the cowards have no place in the freedom movement.

Things which might be done to help advance the freedom through faith and love approach were listed by Rev. Steele as (1) a wise use of money, (2) support of Negro-owned business, (3) wise use of the ballot and (4) personal excellence

"You cannot expect freedom to come free. Little else in the world is as expensive as freedom", the Rev. Steele declared. He cited instances where it was indicated that large sums had been spent on whiskey. "If you spend $6 for fifths you ought to spend $6 for freedom", he declared.

The visiting minister outlined what he described as "America's Responsibility — America's Endowment and America's Obligations". America's vast productive power, highest economic standards in the world, the industrial genius" and said "God is challenging America as never before."

Both America and the Negro group have been blessed by God ,the Rev. Steele said He added: "Where God has entrusted a blessing he has placed a responsibility." He said in some parts of the world the people are dying from starving but in America they are dying from stuffing.

ORGANIZED AT SARDIS

The Rev. Nelson Henry Smith, Jr., vice-president of the one-year old Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, which was organized June 5, 1956 at Sardis Baptist Church, introduced the Rev. Steele.

Appeal by W. C. Patton, music by the New Hope Choir and the New Pilgrim Choir, remarks by the presentation of Mrs. F. L. Shuttlesworth; expressions of the appreciation by Rev. Shuttlesworth, rounded out the program. The Rev. Edward Gardner presided.

The Rev. Shuttlesworth delivered the anniversary message last Wednesday night, June 5 at the celebration program held at St. Paul A.M.E. Church of which the Rev. A. L. Lamar is the minister. He asserted in that speech that ". . .there really is no real freedom for us under segregation."

"Segregation, not the white man, is the enemy we face", he declared. He added that "Any system which must be supported by threats, unjust laws, bombs and ill will cannot live." He called on the Movement followers to develop "a faith for these times" and to "follow leadership that will lead."

PRAYER HOUR SHIFTED

Celebration began June 3 at New Pilgrim Baptist Church.. A luncheon session of the board Tuesday afternoon at the A. G. Gaston Restaurant; talent and variety night at New Hope Baptist Church Tuesday night; youth night at Union Bethel Independent Methodist Church, Thursday night; the Prayer hour on the lawn of New Pilgrim Baptist Church Friday evening and the freedom feast at Camp Pauline Bray Fletcher last Saturday rounded out the program.

Prayer hour has been originally scheduled for Kelly Ingram Park but was shifted. ACMHR leaders did not make public their reason for changing the site.

ACMHR's regular weekly mass meeting was held Monday night, June 10 at the Zion Star Baptist Church pastored by the Rev. J. S. Phifer.

THE TIP OFF

World 7-6 Wed. 6-12-57

EMORY O. JACKSON

B'ham, Ala.

The run-off election June 4 probably has ruined for a long time the friendly cooperation of the group's political action leadership and that of the trade union movement.

So many things happened. The group's rank and file labor leaders were able to see where the other side stood. All sorts of manuevering went on.

These groups teamed up to contribute substantially to the victory. They included some extremely emotional organizations, the major section of organized labor and the vice interest.

Labor leaders complained about the way telephone workers and the aircraft workers were treated during strikes. They lost sight of every thing else. Members of the deprived group have not been given the strongest helping hand toward job provisions with either the telephone or the aircraft workers.

Violence whether in labor or race relation should not be condoned or winked at. The weaker group suffer wherever violence is allowed. Selective violence is as incompatible with peaceful community relations as wild violence. No community can prosper whose resources, civic spirit, and standing is constantly marred by violent distrubances.

The June 4 run-off election was a serious blow to the prestige of the group's political action leadership, it seems to me. Had there been scientific, systematic, sustained political action the outcome likely would have been different. Old guess-and-scold methods have played out.

Civic leaders among the group should be particularly disturbed over the outcome of the election. For it most certainly will see the resurgence of the vice leaders to dominance. There is hardly a community where members of the group live that will not be shamed, shakled and tortured by the activities of unwholesome elements. They are already talking about their expected return to their old stands.

The racial issue is used merely as a sheet of fear behind which blemished figures can operate. Many of the operations allowed in residental areas of the group would not be tolerated anywhere else.

Community inventory needs to be taken. Civic organizations should make a survey of recreational, social and cultural activities in the community. Lack of such opens the way for the vice masters to move in and set up their dingy business. Unless steps are taken now to open war on their planned return rallying cry. It might even easier to the front some new civic ful figures will move in and establish harmful spots. hurry to the political action leaders.

To combat such vice, violence, delinquency among the group call for the employment of members of the group in law enforcement agencies. Churches and other organizations should provide more privately-sponsored social, literary, sports, recreational and character-enriching programs.

The June 4 run-off election can be converted into an advantage. Most certainly it will provide a better propaganda target and an

THE TIP OFF

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tag the tip off

Violence, evasion, delay, and pressure seem to be the chief weapons in the arsenal of these steadfast in the defense of conformity.

Attention currently is being directed at public school conformity based upon unconstitutional patterns. B'ham News, p.6

Here in Birmingham the racial placement law is rushed into action as a brace against school transition. Placement tests-something new - are being used. But used only where requests are asked for permission to enroll students in the nearest school on the basis of the American way.

Birmingham does not have a school system by which students are placed on the basis of their aptitude, achievements, handicaps, and ability. Ramsey Tech is not opened to all on the basis of ability. Wed. 9/25/57

Suppose that a student moving from Ensley to Smithfield desired a transfer from Western to Parker. Would he encounter the same kind of enrollment testing that executive school officials indicate would be necessary if he attempted to transfer from Parker to Phillips?

Is there a citywide "placement" program to determine which school would best serve the students? If so, when and where is the "placement" screening held? On what is it based that says when a student is best suited for Ullman, Glenn Vocational, Western or Ensley High? Certainly the public is entitled to know if placement is actually based upon aptitude, achievement and other (constitutionally valid) factors.

In Little Rock, Ark. armed soldiers were used to prevent, not protect little children from attending school. These were dark-skinned children. Gubernatorial defience and force-backed states' rights resistance were used to prevent token transition. It is widely believed that the Fabulous formula will be used by the other defiant states to resist change.

The Washington Post in an editorial, observed in part: "It is possible, indeed, that some of the extremist groups appeased by the (Arkansas) governor are looking for a repetition of the episode at Mansfield, Tex., in which Negoro students were intimidated and desegregation was called off."

Advances in the Little Rock situation is the questionable doctrine of state's parity and priority rights. It seems to be the contention in some areas of federal interest that states have priority rights over individual rights and parity rights over national rights. When states' rights are placed ahead of individual rights there ceases to be the concept of capitalism and the theory of democracy.

Where the state is supreme there you have something other than democracy. It could be a budding form of state facism. Hence the theory of conformity backed by armed might has in it features which should disturb thinking people.

Now rises the question as to what is the best way to bring about the transition from the dual to the democratic public school system? The primary and major responsibility for this lies with the Board of Education. School development must not be entrusted to the politicians but must be left to the educators. Civic leaders should become law and order leaders.

THE TIP OFF

EMORY O. JACKSON

31a Negro

These are sad days in the South. **Bigotry has gained the upper hand. You see bigotry's upper hand in repressive racial laws. It breaks out in mob violence. It shows itself in inflammatory writings.**

Wherever as many as two persons meet, the conversion tends to eventually get around to the rampant bigotry in Little Rock, Ark. Bigotry is the mother of violence.

Troops have been dispatched to Little Rock to quell violence. But they cannot cure bigotry which is the disease of ignorance. Troops can halt sadistic violence, but they can hardly help brotherhood which is ripened love. World

What is the ignorance out of which spring such violence that has occurred at Tuscaloosa, in Birmingham, and now in Little Rock? First, there is the ignorance about states' rights. The doctrine of states' rights secures its status from the federal constitution. States rights are not paramount to individual rights. Nor is states' rights the right of way to violence. B'ham, Ala.

The second ignorance is the failure to realize that a government of laws is based upon respect for laws. This being true, illicit passions of the majority, the fetish ravings of the minority, and selfish scheming of the few, are never yardstick by which law is measured. Majority sentiment which works to change the law is on better ground than that same sentiment working to violate the law. To be ignorant of this fact is to be ignorant of democracy. Lit. 9-28-57

There is the third ignorance in warped assumption states' rigts can be debased to violent rights. If that assumption was allowed, there could be the sacrifice of constitutional rights to contempible mob violence. When states' rights draw their breath from violence there ceases to be orderly government. In such a case states' rights are themselves caught up in the whirlpool of wild violence.

The fourth ignorance is that the Federal Government was devoid of actual or exploratory power to uphold and enforce the laws of the land. Which means that there are those who seem not to fully accept the Civil Rights Amendments. Perhaps this ignorance grew out the failure of these amendments to be fully enforced. For the classical scholars of constitutional history have long pointed up there were federal laws, is used vigorously, on the books to enforce the equal protection clause.

There were other factors hardly based upon ignorance. There was the obvious plan to interpose state police powers between the enforcement of an order of the federal courts. Almost invariably when you read the basic literature of the White Citizens Council you find the state police power angle. Some writers who trumpet the WCC ideology have kept this concept before the public. Hence state police power was to be used to protect a federal court order on integration.

This police power to defend and protect segregation is being echoed by some of the prospective candidates in the 1958 gubernatorial race in Alabama. State police power under this horrible concept would be used to negate due process of law and the equal protection of the law. Such a monstrous concept is a constitutional calamity.

Out of such a terrible threat the President of the United States had to make a bold move. He had a constitutional responsibility a moral duty, and the challenge of conscience. He decided that constitutional rule must not be supplanted by mob rule. In days when things cool off and sanity has its way, the South is likely to concede that father hesitation wavering moderating, that President Eisenhower took the only course of logical, decisive, vital action left too apatriotic leader in love with the United States and concerned for constitutional government.

A localized array of state power against federal power had been displayed in Arkansas. Lurking in the lawless prowler was a mob which latter pitted its ugly strength against city police. The mob and the state guard had the same goal to keep Negro children from exercising their constitutional right. When the National Guard and the irrational mob take turns at doing the same thing, what does that make a state?

THE TIP OFF

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Attention currently is being directed at public school conformity based upon unconstitutional patterns. P. 6

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against school transition. Placement tests-something new - are being used. But used only where requests are asked for permission to enroll students in the nearest school on the basis of the American way.

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Jackson Gives Highlights Of Leadership Conference

World Birm. Ala.
Wed. 8-14-57

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (SNS)—Highlights of the two-day Southern Christian Leadership Conference could be classified under four majors heads.

1. The meeting of the SCLC executive committee. This is where spade work was done. Committees were appointed and strategy approved. This was a closed meeting.

2. The membership meeting held Aug. 8 at Holt Street Baptist Church pastored by Dr. A. W. Wilson was divided into morning an afternoon session.

SCLC President Martin Luther King outlined the voter-registration campaign. There was considerable discussion. One trade union representative told of steps taken by his organization to help finance such an undertaking. Dr. Roland Smith of Little Rock, Ark., suggested amending the name of the organization by inserting "Christian".

Free lunch was served by the host church.

Various speakers at the afternoon session told of projects on integration. Texas, Louisiana, and North Carolina representatives had interesting success stories to report. Many of the reports revealed how the integration projects were initiated, conducted, and obstacles overcome.

3. A leadership panel headed by Dr. King participated in the press conference. The daily press wanted to know detailed plans on the voter-registration campaign, who would work as executive director whether any spots would be singled for attack. The daily press wanted to know whether the "boycott" had been adopted as a weapon against integration. Dr. King answered that the campaign director had not been named, no spot selected for special attack, and that the "boycott" had not been adopted as a tool for building an integrated society. I wanted the panel to define "boycott" for the gentlemen of the press to determine whether they had in mind what I had learned as a student of economics about "boycott". A reporter on the daily press gave his definition of "boycott" which hardly fitted the Tuskegee situation.

4. The wind-up mass meeting was a festival of freedom oratory. It was presided over by the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, the preacher sociologist, who is co-leader of the Montgomery protest movement.

Here are a few other sidelights. The Shriners were scheduled to honor E. D. Nixon, a member of the Montgomery Improvement Association, Tuesday night, Aug. 13 at Holt Street Baptist Church. The Rev. Abernathy was scheduled to deliver the citation speech. He is also scheduled to deliver the headline address at the 47th annual conclave of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity in Los Angeles, Calif, Sunday afternoon, Aug. 18.

Among those in attendance were Miss Ella Baker, of Brooklyn, N. Y., who is with the Friends Service (Quaker); Rev. and Mrs. Ashton Jones of Atlanta, member of the Society of Friends and Lester Banks of Y[illegible]

THE TIP OFF

World 8-8
Sat. 8-17-57
Birm. Ala.

EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (SNS) —The mass meeting which climaxed the two-day meeting of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference here August 8 was used to display the come-to-the-front freedom leaders of the South.

Dr. Ralph D. Abernathy, the pulpit sociologist and co-leader of the Montgomery struggle, told the overflow gathering that "we want to see some of the outstanding leaders of the South who are doing things." He had them step forward and tell their own leadership story.

Dr. Raymond Francis Harvey of Tuskee Institute, Ala., used stories illustrations and a cartoon published in The Montgomery Advertiser to convey the meaning of the spend - for-freedom emphasis in the Macon County hardship. But he spoke with embellished oratory which moved and shook up the audience.

Came next Dr. T. J. Jemison of Baton Rouge, La., who was involved in the first present-day ride-with-dignity bus-seating effort. He told of his birth in Selma, Ala. and his schooling at Alabama State College in identifying himself as a son of Dixie. He distinguished between social privileges and civil rights. He held up to ridicule those who make social excursions at night and attend White Citizens Council meetings in the day. He soared into flights of oratory which excited and gripped. The crowd roared its approval. "When you ride in your own automobile, that's your social privilege. When you ride on a street car and take a seat any where, that's your civil right," he explained.

The Rev. C. K. Steele who formerly pastored in Montgomery related the situation in Tallahassee, Fla. where he is spearheading the open-seat struggle on transit buses. He addressed the platform guests as co-fighters for freedom and tied the Florida struggle in with the national picture and the global outlook. As he swept through his speech he made gestures which the TV reporters worked hard to capture in films. He delineated the four types of cowards.

The Rev. A. L. Scott of Shreveport, La., related an interesting story of how Jim Crow had just about killed organized baseball in Shreveport. He gave an interpretive view of segregation and its evils. They are also working on a ride-with-dignity.

Presiding over the collection was the Rev. A. L. Davis of New Orleans, La., the hub city of integration activity in the Deep South. He had offered the resolution in the afternoon meeting praising the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Then came a story told in a speech. It was Dr. Martin Luther King, Sr., of Atlanta, Ga., who tried to account for the stuff that is in his son, M. L., Jr. It was the touching account of a father who was seeing in his son himself at work. The story the senior Dr. King told is much too long to be condensed in this story. But he directed his message at the young people for he wanted them to know how he had knocked down obstacles to educate himself, bring up a family, and acquire something of value. It was a balanced account of bitter experiences of a country boy who used those experiences as a spur.

Martin, Jr. spoke briefly.

THE TIP OFF

World Birm. Ala.

EMORY O. JACKSON

Job discrimination based upon racial, religious and related factors is weakening the labor movement and wasting the Nation's man-power.

With the South becoming industrialized and industry in the North becoming automatonized, the question of brutal discrimination looms even larger. The race issue is a handy weapon for unfair bargainers to use in seeking to defeat union organizers in the South. Now days the integration issue is seized upon.

This fact was pointed in an article which appeared in Labor's Daily, November 8, 1957. The article reports show the United South ern Employee Association, Inc., of Southport, S. C.; the Southern States Convention Union People of Chattanooga, Tenn., and Southern Crafts, Inc., of Birmingham, were exploting the racial issue. These Dixie-based unions advocate compulsory segregation and are against the union shop.

..**This seems to be regional unionism based upon hostile discriminations. Usually the company unions and spurious unions favor the so-called right-to-work laws. And too they have appeared to favor dual unionism in the sense that a member could hold membership in the older unions and the all-Dixie union.**

In the South today the largest industry is textile. Considerable gains have been made in electronic leader in the unpopular fight Negro group is the largest ethnic minority in the South. Many of the industries hold government contracts which carry an anti-discrimination clause. Some of the unions who represent the workers in these plants have a national policy in opposition to any depriving discriminations.

James Carey, presdent of International Union of Eletrical Workers (AFL-CIO), and a dynamic leaders in the unpopular fight against bigoted discriminations, in a speech before the 41st Annual Convocation of The School of Religion of Howard Univerity, Washington, D. C., turned attention to something union leaders seemed to have previously been silent. He said: "Not one of these organizations cited as corrupt by the AFL-CIO has a national civil rights or anti-discrimination committee."

"Not one of these organizations has anything even remotely resembling an overrall national civil rights program. Not one of these organizations has had in recent history a Negro in its top governing body."

Carey added: "these are extremely revealing facts when viewed as the inevitible characteristics of corrupt unions. They indicate that the organization that has no concern for expanded democracy in the larger world."

He suggested that "The American unions that have the most active and successful civil rights programs are exactly those union that have the most active and successful international democracy governing their own affairs. And they are the unions, consequently, most remote from racketeering control and corruption.

"The first thing that must be said about the organizations that have been cited as corrupt by the AFL-CIO is that they are not democratic unions. 'Democratic unionism' and 'corrupt unionism' are direct opposites, mutually exclusive. 'Democratic unionism' means rank-and- file participation and control there cannot be - and never has been corruption in a union."

This week Carey's union is holding the IUE Civil Rights Conference in Detroit, Mich., at which the Phillip Murray Award will be presented to the local which has best fulfilled the "IUE 5-point program." This program includes (1) no discrimination in the lacal; (2) no discriminatory lay-offs, hiring, or promotions; (3) Non-discrimination clause in the contract; (4) an active civil rights committee in the local and (5) cooperation with other civil rights groups.

Industries in which the IUE holds bargaining representation are located in the South. Some other AFL-CIO affiliated unions cover employees working in Southern industries. Such unions have a national policy against extraneous discrimination, but what about the Southern situation?

Industry, the labor union, the federal government, the leaders and the thinkers need to perform a big partnership that is dedicated to weeding out of employment, Employment discrimination can be licked if there is the will and the determination to drive it from the American economy. it seems to me.

THE TIP OFF

World B'ham Ala. p. 6 Wed. 10-30-57

EMORY O. JACKSON

31a Negro

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No matter how large the financial war chest and how numerous the experts, it is likely that no voter-registration campaign will pay off which does not draw to itself side the inspired community leadership. There is also going to be needed a type of self-education for political action. Non-voters are going to have to be made so conscious of the significance of suffrage that they will find away to become voters over the most numerous obstacles.

The twin obstacles to meanful voter-registration in Jefferson County are boswellism and apathy. The voter-registration leaders have found no answer to these two barriers. Boswellism can be beaten through public exposure. Since the leaders apparently have not conducted voter - registration campaigns in the pattern of militant voter-registration they seem without the documented facts to carry the evils of boswellism to the public.

In the right-to-vote bill enacted by the 85th Congress there seems to be able devices to help overcome unfair voter-registration denials. Arthur Krock, writing in the Sept. 24th issue of The New Times summarized this section of the bill as follows:

"42 U. . Code 971 provides that all citizens -- who are otherwise qualified by law to vote at any election by the people in any state, territory, district, county, city, parish, township, school district, municipality or other territorial subdivisi n shall be entitled and allowed to vote at all such elections, without distinction of race, color or previous condition of servitude; any constitution, law, custom, usage or regulation of any state or territory, by or under its authority, to the contrary notwithstanding."

"This was made part of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 by reference as subsection '(a)' of section 31 of the bill. It was originally adopted to implement the Fifteenth Amendment and has always been held to apply to local as well as to Federal elections, including primaries where these in law or in fact in part of the state election procedure."

"The only effect the Act has on what is now subsection '(a)' of Section 131 is to provide for the first time authority for the Attorney General to intervene to secure those rights derived from the Fifteenth Amendment -- whether against state or local officials or those clothed with state authority."

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World B'ham Ala. P.6 Wed. 10-30-57 31a Negro

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The Tip Off

World - Birmingham, Ala. P. 6. Wed. 10-9-57

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

The issues in the so-called Little Rock incident have begun to brighten out plain enough for all to see them.

Simply put, it is whether the 14th Amendment is implementable? If so, how? However, there are some states' righters who question the legality of the 14th Amendment, and who challenge the decisions of the United States Supreme Court as being the established law.

States' righter have launched a powerful propaganda campaign to convert public opinion to their side. In Columnist David Lawerence, the States' righters have found an expouser of their views. The columnist questions the authority of the President of the United States to exert the powers of highest office of the land to uphold law and order.

On the other side, while some liberals regard the use of federal troops to restore law and order in Little Rock as "a tragic, a dreadful necessity," they think President Eisenhower has made an inadequate presentation of the case.

The New Republic stated it this way: "Never has he (the President of the United States) said that integration is right and is inevitable. Did he say so to the delegation of Southern governors with whom he met last week (Sept. 24?) And in speaking to have in mind also the hearts of of the hearts he has never seemed those whose skins are dark. One waited in vain, when the President addressed the nation over television, for him to remark on the heroism of Negro children and adults in Little Rock — men, women, and children who in the midst of so much ugliness, gave us a great moment in freedom's history."

Life Magazine (Oct. 7) in its editorial, observed in part, on the Little Rock situation: "It would have been the better part of leadership for the President to reflect the true situation: since the time of the 14th Amendment in 1868, the American Negro has so far advanced in economic status and in his expectations as a citizen that a living and progressive law, adjusting itself to changed realities, must now include segregation as a part of his citizenship. People might violate the 18th Amendment without feeling guilty, but grown people who curse and spit upon children have a cause to feel guilty, violating, as they do, not only the 14th Amendment but Christ's commandment, 'Love thy neighbor.'"

Arthur Krock, writing in the New York Times (Oct. 3), summarized what he considered to be the present administration's policy toward law and order enforcement of court-ordered school integration as follows:

"1. Not only must state Governors use all their powers, military and other, solely to enforce integration. They must refrain from employing any official power that may have the effect of "obstructing" integration. They must refrain from expressing or implying any personal reservation that, in the judgment of the Executive, has the effect of inciting forceful "obstruction" to integration by others."

"2. No "pretext" of maintaining order that takes form in calling out the National Guard, or permitting "mob violence to occur," with the result of obstructing integration will be tolerated by the President — and whatever a Governor has advanced a "pretext" will be determined by the Federal power. If it so determines, the President will use "whatever means may be required by the particular situation" (to enforce the "final" integration orders of a Federal court) including the use of the Army."

"3. The Attorney General, on the invitation of a Federal Court, "must" assist it — an obligation "the courts have made clear."

"4. The 1954 Supreme Court decision is "the law of the land, under existing constitutional provisions," and obedience to it is the duty of all state authorities and all citizens."

The school desegregation decision is not only the law of the land but the conscience of America. Resistance, like evil, and sin, will continue but it will not stop progress.

THE TIP OFF

31a Home

EMORY O. JACKSON

HUNTSVILLE, Ala. (SNS) —With missile production added to the variety of industry in operation in Alabama, how does the racial employment picture look?

There is no agency functioning in Ala. that audits job opportunities. Nor is there employment exploring leadership dedicated to widening racial job opportunities and seeking to reduce the talent and manpower waste

One factor in job building is training. Job training opportunities are not broadly and fully opened to members of the Negro group. Unions, Industry, and the publicly - supported schools jointly share this blame.

The racial minority is caught in the vicious circle. Some powers-that be educators refuse certain types of job training to the deprived minority on the assumption that some jobs are closed to the darker citizens because of his race. Job recruitment officials pass over this hampered minority, they say, because he lacked requisite training, the American citizen is now a mobile citizen. Yet the vicious circle continues to operate.

Birmingham

Recently the Wall Street Journal published an article in which a manager of a General Motors Assembly plant in Atlanta, Ga. is quoted as saying that GM "agreed to abide by local custom and not hire Negroes for production work" General Motors' parent office denied that any such policy existed and asserted that the company had a non-discrimination policy.

Wed. 11-27-57

However the main office of General Motors indicated that it was leftto the local manager to determine who should be hired. This is so-called "escape clause" Proof of the practice is the employment roster.

The observation is made that a number of new plants have set up residence in Decatur, Ala. There are rumors that a gentleman's agreement between the plant and the local center-of-power leaders to hire Negro persons only in the lowest classifications such as janitors, maids, sweepers. Whether such an unwritten agreement exists is likely to remain unrevealed for a verified stand point. Yet the job roster could make a report which no rumor would disturb. The practice is the mirror of policy.

Roland L. Adams in a speech to the 20th annual session of the Alabama State Chamber of Commerce, which incidentally is an all-white organization, is quoted in the press as indicating that 54 new industries with an involvement of $90 millions were added over the year and that 36 existing industries plan an expansion program. He is also quoted as estimating that utilities will make an expansion calling for an outlay of $250 million.

Just how will these new industries and plant expansions effect the job pool, of which the Negro citizen is a part? Local managers or branch plants are allowed to determine the employment policy and the Chamber of Commerce works to bring in new business. Is the Negro group fairly represented to industry as part of the worker force There is no existing agency to collect and distribute such information.

The trend toward various types of migration, the emphasis on industrialization of the South, mechanization of the farms and the Sputnization of science are factors at work changing the South, and revamping civilization. Which means an industrialized society must blend with an integrated economy. The advocacy of equality must carry with it the acceptance of integration it seems to me.

An enlightened economy depends upon an educated citizenry. Yet Mr. Adams is quoted as saying, "Alabama would abolish its public schools before it would submit to integration and other Southern ates would do the same thing." The advocacy of abolition of the schools is a type of defiance of the law of the land no higher than lower forms of defiance.

North Carolina Governor Luther Hodges, also speaking at the ASCC, appealed for giving considerations to the majority. Yet the American system is based upon prime consideration for the individual. In a democrary the individual is king. Majorities in America are no more than a rolling together of shifting minorites.

The point is, the individual should be considered on the basis of his

In a recent year 18 million fishermen and 15 million hunters bought licenses in the United States, notes a Twentieth Century

THE TIP OFF

World
B'ham, Ala.

EMORY O. JACKSON

31a
Wed. 6-5-57

TITTUSVILLE, the red -clay community, is showing what can be accomplished where there is an intelligent blending of civic spirit, purchasing power and the franchise.

Most of its comunity improvements reflect strong neighborhood leadership, strategic use of the ballot and a charitable sense of the dollar. What has been asked for with worldscould often be coaxed by those twin tools of civic improvement, the ballot and the dollar. Tittusville has no more than could be demanded by any other community holding the same tools and possessing the same time of dedicated leadership.

The Memorial Park Community Center stands as a tribute to the service and leadership of the South Elyton Civic League, presently under the leadership of Clarence L. Price. It is one of the few affiliates of the Alabama State Federation of Colored Leagues which is still active, ill delivering, still stimulating voter -registration.

Civic and church leaders from other Communities were among the crowd that gathered here Saturday, June 1 for the grand opening of the swimming and baseball season **While one should have the privilege of using the nearest or any public recreational facility, the work of this community should not be overlooked. Every community that has anything to show has often had to hoe the same kind of long, cloggy, and sometimes thorny, civic road. Tittusville is making the grade the same way other good communities have had to make it.**

As the group moves up the scales of first-class citizenship it will find the need for tremendous work in the field of self-improvement Regardless of causes, too much of group's economic power is being wasted in vice and crimes. Convert this wasted money into better citizenship programs and a number of attitudes will improve.

No group nor community can rise high in the sight of its contemporaries which is blighted by crimes, vice, scandal and immorality. Recreation is one of the ways by which to approach, to attack, to overcome such a serious situation. Usually this is both a sensitive, touchy and unpopular area of discussion. Yet it is going to have to be faced, not merely as a matter of group interest, but national. Crime weakens the manpower and gnaws at the moral tissue of society.

It is true that much of the social blight results from irrational discrimination, no group seeking to move up can wholly excuse itself for not doing its fullest to correct the situation. What does it profit a communitty to build fine Churches, erect class-A schools, and lose its youth to crimes and prisons? It seems to me that we have arrived at a period when the home, the school and the church will have to furnish the friendship, the interest, and the concern to help the youngsters.

At the Park League Baseball opening last Saturday, according to information furnished to me, one of the players had a pistol, reloading it and flashing it. The manager of the team should have had an opportunity to know about this. One manager had suited up a known professional baseball player when both the player and the manager knew the rules. Language of some of the players was too filthy even for cleansing.

The team and the boys belong to the community. Their conduct reflects on the community. Lttle things like letting a player pocket a pistol, a manager roster a professional among amateurs include the foul-months, are symptoms which should not be ignored.

The citation was not made to scare but to show. The directors of the Park Recreation Board Baseball League have 13 rules and regulations which will help them deal with such situations relative to the league. But expelling a player, dropping a team, throwing out a manager does not fully meet the problem. All this does is issue a warning to the community from which such offenders come.

THE TIP OFF

Daily World
Fri. 6-7-57

EMORY O. JACKSON

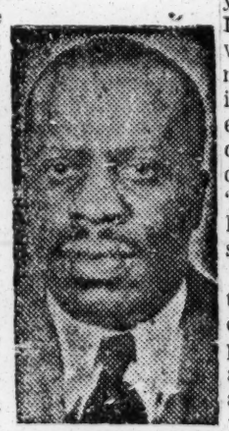
Atlanta, Ga.

ATLANTA, Ga. — (SNS) — Oldtimers flick their talks with nuggets of history when they return for an alumni meeting.

It doesn't have to be an alumni meeting at Morehouse College for history to tangle with talk. Almost every college has its oldtimers who try to make history help their class out. My class of 1932 was the first to graduate from Morehouse under rating by the Southern Association of Colleges.

Five classes were due back for reunion ..... 1907, 1917, 1927, 1937 (my brother W. W. Jackson's class), 1947. Some other Morehouse men were pulled back for 50-year citations by the Morehouse College Alumni Association headed by Charles W. Greene.

You should have heard Prof. James E. Brown of Sandersville, Georgia, a retired school teacher who was identified with what used to be Americus Institute. He graduated from the Morehouse high school in 1899, teacher training in 1901 and the college in 1905. He was inducted into the half-century club. He was up for citation two years ago but was too ill at the time to make the trip.



Emory Jackson

Dr. Raymond A. Carter who pointed out that he was Morehouse's first quarterback, stood in for Zachary Hubert, (Savannah, Ga.) of the Class of 1901 who also was given a 50-year alumni award.

Dr. Joseph D. Avant, a retired dentist now living in Tallahassee, Fla., represented the Class of 190.. He retired from practice three years ago in Pittsburgh, Pa. Dr. Avant related how he arrived at Morehouse three days after the Atlanta riot of 1906. He was a member of the first Morehouse class to graduate under a Negro (Dr. John Hope) president of this college.

He did not tell enough. So Dr. Benjamin E. Mays supplied the facts. Dr. Avant probably was too modest to reveal or thought inappropriate. Dr. Mays said for 17 years Dr. Avant has made a monthly contribution to the college. The retired Florida dentist started off with $5 a month and raised it to $10 month. Although retired he has kept up the payment. "That represents character," Dr. Mays said.

Prof. Charles H. Wardlaw was the first 50-year-man to be presented the half-century alumni award. Dr. Carter was second and Prof. Paul E. Dansby of Jackson, Miss. was third. Six such awards have now been presented. Dr. Mays commended the gesture and suggested that the alumni association every year pick out a Morehouse man who is making an outstanding contribution in some community and cite him. (The college was awarding an honorary doctorate to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. of Montgomery, Ala., the lift-by-love evangelist of freedom).

The Rev. N. H. Gamble, representing the Class of 1917, asserted, "I have not had as much as some of you men but I am proud of what I have." Just why he selected such words I did not learn. For at alumni meeting all tend to lose themselves in a oneness of spirit and which each has an equal fullness. He went on to tell what use he had made of his influence to help his college. "I have been preaching 49 years," he declared. He almost worked himself up to a sermon.

Dr. A. D. Williams, a member of the faculty represented the Class of 1927. John H. Calhoun, a former publisher of the Birmingham World and presently in business here, made a bruising speech in reporting for the class of 1937.

R. Jackson, Dr. William McArthur (of Birmingham, Ala.), professor and science department head at Knoxville College and Griffith Days of Liberia, Africa were on hand to vouche for the Class of 1947.

Among others spotted in the meeting were Dr. A. M. Townsend, Jr., of St. Louis, Mo., president-elect of the National Medical Association; and Dr. B. J. Anderson (formerly of Birmingham, Ala.) pastor of Witherspoon Street Presbyterian Church, Princeton, N. J., who delivered the commencement sermon at Spelman College. He came out in the Class of 1939. Dr. M. L. King, Sr., father of the Montgomery protest leader, made a ringing plea for support of the college. T. M. Alexander who ran a strong run-off race for the Atlanta Board of Aldermen, the alumni trustee, made a stimulating report.

Alumni members adopted a report which recommended that Rogers Henderson, an Atlanta realtist, be made an honorary member of the Morehouse Alumni Association.

THE TIP OFF

World 7-8
Saturday 6-8-57
B'ham, Ala.

EMORY O. JACKSON

ATLANTA, Ga. — (SNS) — The struggle for bus-riding freedom began in June of 1953 in Baton Rouge, La.

Yet it has earlier antecedents here in Atlanta and in Montgomery, Ala., dating back to the early 1900s. There were walking and non-riding demonstrations in those days to try to achieve the ride-with-dignity aspirations to which again grip the group.

Since 1953 the ride-with-pride struggle has moved to South Carolina, Montgomery, Tallahassee, Birmingham, and Atlanta with dramatic emphasis. In a number of other Southern cities old signs have come down without contest and bus seating yield to riders on solely a paying basis.

Two ministers here have asked a three-judge federal court panel to declare the Atlanta bus segregation laws unconstitutional. — They were not among those who, some months back, rode buses here in pious challenge of the law. Those ministers were indicted by a state grand jury of riding as free and equal Americans, which is against the law of Georgia and some other Southern states. Yet this is not the law of the land, nor the highest law. It is Jim Crow, which is wrong law, unconstitutional law.

Emory O. Jackson

Bulwarked by the Bible, sustained by decent public opinion, armed with faith and shielded by the Unit-

ed States Constitution, the ministers of the gospel are providing the spiritual and testing leadership in the new surge for freedom in the South. Here a college professor of philosophy and a seminary student, both ministers of the gospel, filed the bus-seat test suit. Here is leadership akin to the kind Ralph Waldo Emerson, the poet-philosopher believed should be supplied by the scholar. The scholar-preacher in Atlanta, the same as in Montgomery, Baton Rouge and Tallahassee is taking the risk and shouldering the responsibility.

These scholar-preachers are but the flickering shadows of institutions. Both the liberal arts college and the enlightened church are making contributions to the battering march of freedom. Politicians may squall, bigots scream, and the fearful squirm, but they will not scare the scholar nor shake the college.

For too long the constitution has been ignored, the Supreme Court flouted, and now Congress threatened, by a fanatical few in a certain section. For some of them scream that if the Congress enacts President Eisenhower's mild civil rights program there will be defiance. That's the tip off why the South wants the irrevelant jury-trial feature written into the proposal so that defiance of Congress can be made easier and respectable. The Supreme Court is already being defied disobeyed and disregarded in the field of public conveyance. Certain emotional leaders in the South openly threaten to extend the defiance to Congress. In way, the President has been threatened with defiance if he sees fit to do his constitutional duty of enforcing compliance to the decisions of the federal courts, especially the Supreme. Can irrational leaders defy the three branches of the national government and get away with it?

Tie this with an observation made by Benjamin Muse in his article entitled, "Bus Ride To Georgia," published in the June 3, 1957 issue of the New Republic magazine. Journalist Muse observed that in many of the protest spots the freedom leadership had just about been stymied. He pointed out:

"Orangeburg is quiet now, and State College has been purged. The Negroes are "in their place" again. Business is good. It is almost like the "good old times" before the Supreme Court decision."

"Only the question, What's the use? — is more poignant for Negroes than it was before. Most of them seek consolation and self-expression in religion. Behind the walls of churches like McCollom's they are able to rise to full human stature. No white man stands between them and God. A weaker few take the road of alcohol and vice — and swell the Negro crime and immorality figures in the segregationists' file of arguments."

THE TIP OFF

World P. 6

Wed. 6-19-57

EMORY O. JACKSON

Birm Ala.

Evangelist Billy Graham is not expected to visit Birmingham soon for a spiritual reclamation campaign. The Southern-born Baptist-hitched, seminary-trained evangelist doesn't speak to racially segregated audiences.

Street corners arn't segregated in Birmingham yet.

So it might be that the Rev. Billy Graham should be asked to come to Birmingham and conducted street-corner revivals. Of course, this might require getting a permit. Then too, he might conduct an open field, old fashioned revival meeting in the Magic City, where even Jim Crow might itself get converted.

Better than this, let Revivalist Billy Graham, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the liberation-by-love leader and Vice-President Richard M. Nixon go on a Southern good-will tour spreading the message of freedom, brotherhood and friendship. This freedom triumvirate would help awaken the souls of men and ignite the torch of liberty.

Both Mr. Graham and M.r Nixon have been urged to tour the South. But I'd like to see them and Dr. King go barnstorming for goodwill. Vice-President Nixon has the opportunity to emerge as the symbol of civil rights just as Mr. Graham is the religious symbol of non-segregation and Dr. King is the symbol of non-violence. All three are relatively young men.

Can city law require that religious services be segregated services. If so, churches themselves should rush a test case to court on any such law. Freedom of worship means freedom from interference by segregation. If city law can intergulate church seating it can interfere with constitutional freedom. Freedom of worship carries with it freedom of seating at a place of worship.

But the problem likely would not be with church seating. Evanglist Graham could hardly rent a public place large enough to accommate his revival services that would not require seating segregation. That tends to spotlight the meaness of segregation laws. Religious freedom is the mother of all freedoms. Yet the church in the case of the invitation to Revivalist Graham is silent on the Birmingham conditions which would likely make it incompatible with his personal and religious principles to conduct a meeting here.

The Birmingham Baptist Association, composed of 120 (white) churches, is understood to have suggested the invitation to Evangelist Graham, a native of North Carolina. No comment has come from the BBA leaders since Mr. Graham made his position clear on segregated seating. Race has no place in religion based upon humiliating segregation.

In one of his New York sermons, Mr. Graham declared: "Jesus had no racial prejudice.. Jesus had no bigotry.. Jesus had no national animosities... Any man who looks down on another human being because of his color is sinning against God. The heart of all men is the same in God's sight, despite the shape of their physique or the color of the skin."

Still it can't be overlooked that bigotry seems to have a rank with the Bible in some churches. A Baptist minister was Alabama chieftian of the Ku Klux Klan. The KKK garbed in the robes of intolerance worships in churches and strolls in full hateful dress to the collection table. Ministers of the gospel make rousing hate speeches at the meeting of the White Citizens Councils. Skin is rated above the scripture.

For that reason it seems that Evangelist Billy Graham should come to Birmingham and conduct street corner or open field meetins under non-segregated conditions. His is one of the Bible-inspired voices that would be respected and heard. Segregation couldn't silence him. Mr. Graham is doing much to revive interest in Christanity and to restore faith in the preached gospel of Jesus Christ. Birmingham is bigotry's stronghold and Evangelist Graham, the church's strong man in the service of Jesus Christ, it seems to me.

THE TIP OFF

World P. 6

Wed. 6-26-57

EMORY O. JACKSON

Birm Ala.

COLUMBUS, Ohio — (SNS) — At the breakfast table in Hotel Seneca, where the National Newspaper Association is in session, the news of the sudden death of Dowdal H. Davis, Jr., breaks. It came in the form of, "wasn't that bad about Dowdal?"

"What's bad, I asked'?"

Mr. Davis, a man of many talents, was general manager of the Kansas City (Mo.) Call, one of the vital weeklies. He was an artist and photographer, the former by training and talent and the other by hobby. He was an art student at the University of Kansas, where he also studied journalism.

Dowdal sat across from me at the opening day luncheon. I kidded him, mentioning that it should be an interesting meeting because John Sengstacke, publisher of the Chicago Defender, had put in his apparence at the first session.

Moss Hyles Kendrix, formerly of Atlanta, Ga., now of his own public relations firm in Washington, D. C. took up the kidding of Mr. Davis at the dinner meeting Thursday night. He told of his golf playing with Mr. Davis and asked whether he brought along his clubs so that an early match could be staged. Dowdal sat there smiling, Moss kept boasting of his own golf game.

That was the last time I saw Dowdal, not knowing that I was never again to see him alive.

For a number of years I had the priviledge of working with Dowdal on the NNPA board of directors. It was under his administration as NNPA president that an effort was made to widen association participation. Through him a number of us on the smaller newspapers were made conscious that the association appreciated all of its members.

Since the second meeting of NNPA, which like the founding session, was held in Chicago, Ill., I have attended every one except the one held in Kansas City. Dowdal was host and I was due there. But things did not work out.

When we held the NNPA workshop at Tuskegee Institute some winters back, Dowdal asked me about the distance from there to Tuscaloosa. He said that he understood that he was a break-off of an Indian tribe that was once active in those parts. He mentioned Indian Chief Tuscaloosa, but seemed positive that he was a distant offspring of some Indian tribe.

Usually at these meetings he would inquire about Atty. Arthur D. Shores whom he met when both were enrolled at the University of Kansas.

At the workshop held at Tuskegee there came tragic news .... the accident that eventually took the life of Charles Browning of the Chicago Defender, also a young man. Rushing to make a plane take-off, he was struck by a propeller of the airship. The best brain specialists were unequaled to the repairing the damage.

Dowdal from what I gather had not suffered from heart ailment. Which makes it harder for me to understand the way he flicked out. One doesn't have to be sick to die. One can just wear himself out and drop off That seems what happened to Dowdal. He had a number of responsibilities and was a perfectionist. What he did he allowed no flaws. In that he revealed the artist spirit in himself.

Almost all of the projects now going in NNPA had a touch of Dowdal's efforts. National Negro Newspaper Week was promoted just about single-handed by him. As the board of directors worked trying to improve the project at the NNPA workshop held the past winter at Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., Dowdal appeared unhappy over the kind of support he was receiving. Many were willing to offer words who shunned work.

NNPA memorial services held for him Friday by the convention delegates was an impressive event. His close friends who were on program flushed out their hearts about him. The expressions carried with them something moving and touching. The speakers did not have time to prepare their tributes, as such. They had to let roll out what was in their souls. "Dowdal was the kingpin and very strength of that organization)Kansas City Call),' asserted Tom Young of the Norfolk Journal and Guide.

Thurgood Marshall saw him as a person "who wanted to be with people and wanted to do something for them". He said Dowdal "always came through when called on". Bill Walker of the Cleveland Call Post saw him as "one of the architects of NNPA.'

THE TIP OFF

World P. 6

Wed. 1-2-57

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Birm, Ala.

Molton H. Gray who slipped off life's scene Dec. 24, left behind him a colorful career. Perhaps no other member of the Negro group in Birmingham has ever engaged in as many different businesses as he did.

I used to kid Molton Gray about being Birmingham's most successful unsuccessful business man. Of course this was not entirely true. Because on the other hand it seemed that when he made a success he pioneered into another.

Then too I used also say that Molton Gray has never won a fight and never left one. But this was sheer kidding. This was said to point up the ruggedness and tenacity of the fighting spirit in him.

I really liked and admired Molton Gray. He was one of the few men I knew who could be trusted behind closed doors. Always he was in there punching for the things he believed.

He told me of returning from World War I when Birmingham had a parade which did not provide the recognition of the Negro soldiers which they were entitled to Negro leaders staged their own parade. For a long time Mr. Gray was addressed by his friends and admirers as Lt. Gray.

As a commissioned officer he used his rank to help elevate the Negro group and widen respect for them. He led the fight which resulted in the all-Negro tenth district of the American Legion. Of Course this was a compromise and in some respects contains restrictions unpracticed when there was but one Negro post of the American Legion in Alabama.

At one time there was only the Britton McKenzie Post No. 150 at Tuskegee, Ala., to which Negro veterans could belong. It had units in Birmingham and other cities. Now there are over 35 Negro Legion posts in Alabama with approximately six in Jefferson County.

When the teacher salary case was launched in Birmingham Mr. Gray was the first non-teacher to make a contribution to the legal defense fund. He once told me that in his younger days he had taught manual training in the local public school system. He had been a carpenter, I think, he told me.

He was one of the first to call attention to the unused space in Masonic Temple Building which he thought could be put to earning. Hence he set up a water melon garden in the basement of the building. At one time he was co-owner of the Birmingham Black Barons. He entered the chicken farm business, raised hogs, and ended up as a license real estate broker and developer.

Few men knew the theater business better than Molton Gray For him to tell his experience here and in Montgomery would be to relate the cruel disadvantages of the color line. Pity he never got around to writing the story of his life.

Molton Gray had dreamed of a huge sub-division with a baseball park, golf course, and recreational area. When he undertook the Carlo project, many merely shrugged their shoulders. He sought assistance, but few could visualize what he had in mind. He struggled and suffered, and eventually succeeded in at least establishing the subdivision.

Seated in a downtown cafe a few months ago, he told me that "I don't owe a nickle" on his Carlo development. He seemed so happy that at last he had built an income upon which he could live comfortably.

There are three events involving Molton Gray which I should always like to remember. He had asked me to go along to a meeting where a plea for Negro auxiliary police was to be made. He had organized a committee to make the appeal. But at the meeting some of the other members of the delegation took cold feet.

Mr. Gray argued vigorously and brilliantly for Negro auxiliary police. Unlike other Southern cities, Birmingham balked.

He had worked to help eliminate placing members of the Negro groups on the tail-end of the Armstice Day parade. At a meeting with the parade committee on this situation, again Molton Gray stood up and fought. He was joined by one of his lifelong friends whose support helped to change things.

When it seemed the American Legion might not expand membership opportunities for Negro veterans, Mr. Gray set up a chapter of the National Council of Negro War Veterans. Coming out of World War II I enlisted in the council and later joined the American Legion.

THE TIP OFF

Daily Worlds

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Atlanta, Ga.

GADSDEN, Ala. (SNS) — The state's fourth largest city is the pivot of the eight-county Fifth Congressional District.

P. 6

Of the seven counties answering questionnaires in a voter-registration survey, all said there were Negro voters listed, ranging from 2 in Marshall County to 1,449 in Etowah County, of which Gadsden is the county seat. Dekalb which has only 438 Negro persons of voting age apparently failed to respond to the inquiry.

Wed. 1-9-57

In the Fifth District are 51,042 Negro persons of voting age with only 7,696 listed on the voting roster. The total number of qualified voters is 61,500. In other words, only 15 per cent of the potential Negro voters are on the list of qualified voters.

As in some other Alabama cities, Gadsden has locally-based civic organizations. One of the most active is the Civic Improvement League of which F. D. Varner is the president. It held a three-feature program in the Community Center which was dedicated to the 30-odd Negro pastors in Etowah County. H. O. Walker was the feature speaker. Wayman Johnson discussed the book, "What the Constitution Says Today" and the "Observation Committee" presented a current events panel. The committee is composed of women.

Gadsden is one of the strongholds of industrial unionism in Alabama. Yet Gadsden ranks along with Bessemer and Birmingham in the tanglement of rough Jim Crow laws. At least a group of scholars made a survey of Alabama segregation laws about three years ago and the study made such an ugly revealing.

Gadsden, Alabama City and Attalla make up the Tri-Cities of this northeast corner of the state. The Gadsden Call-Post, a weekly published by K. J. Sullivan serves this area. One of the first NAACP youth councils set up in Alabama was organized in this area. However the NAACP has been made inactive in Alabama by a court injunction.

Nevertheless, the civic fraternal, club and church-related organizations are taking up the freedom fight. Many of them have larger active workers and more money than the NAACP ever had to work with.

Certainly, these new and old organizations have brought to the front leaders more publicized, better known, more creative than most of the old-line NAACP leaders. Take for instance Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. of the Montgomery Improvement League; the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights in Birmingham and W. B. Shealy, president of the newly-formed Tuscaloosa County Fellowship Association.

None of these new leaders had been associated with the front-line NAACP leadership in Alabama. They have new approaches to civil rights to add to the tested techniques and proven tools used in the struggle for clean rights. Which means there is always a ram-in-the-bush leadership to take up the fight for change and liberty. This new man leading is God's man.

It seems to me that these new and old organizations which are battling on freedom's front could band themselves together into something like a Federation of Alabama Civil Rights Organization. This would give them an opportunity to swap ideas, exchange plans and team up on the hard-core problems of vital change.

Church leaders long have been in the middle of the fight for the Negro group's freedom. In the book "Story of the Negro" by Arna Bontempts (Alfred A. Knopf. 1955), one finds this (p. 120):

"Among these were strong and influential preachers like Lemuel Haynes and Samuel Ringgold Ward, who pastored white churches in New England and New York and others such as Richard Allen, William Paul Quinn, Lott Cary, John Gloucester and John Chavis, all honored by their respective denominations for their work in establishment of churches among Negroes. After Nat Turner's attempted rebellion, the slave states wondered whether or not it was safe to teach religion to Negroes, and some of them passed laws silencing Negro preachers and forbidding or restricting church attendance, but this only added to the power of church leaders in the free states."

One has to understand American history and the history of the Negro church to place Dr. King, the Rev. Shuttlesworth and the Rev. Shealy in cosmic prospective.

There is the attempt to scare and divide. Look at the hate leaflets circulated in Montgomery against Rev. King. Observe the columnar effort of a newspaper writer in Birmingham to try to discredit the Rev. Shuttlesworth. Note some of the articles which were obviously planted in The Baptist Leader.

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

For the past three years, the five-year old YMDCA (Young Men for Democracy and Civic Action), has presented awards to outstanding Fairfield citizens at its Watch Night Banquet.

The 1956 awards, made at the Graystone Club Monday night, Dec. 31, saw Charlie Peterson honored as the "Citizen of the year" and Atty. Demetrius C. Newton cited as the "Man of the Year."

Mr. Peterson, vice-president of the Fairfield Branch of the Jefferson County Democratic Association and assistant director of the Ninth Congressional District affiliate of the Alabama State Co-ordinating Association for Registration and Voting was selected because of his outstanding work in the field of voter- registration promotion. He was nominated by the Fairfield Voters League.

Runner-up for the citizen citation was Mrs. Alease Richards, who was nominated by the Fairfield Civic League. Her nomination was based upon her services in the field of political suffrage. She has worked with church women, club groups, and in other ways helping to enlarge the electorate. None of the three winners has been a woman.

Although Mr. Pterson has worked enedgetically in the field of expanding suffrage since 1937, this was the first time any organizational recognition of this time has come to him. As one admirer said upon greeting him, "as much work as you have done in encouraging and helping others become voters, I thought it was about time somebody giving you some honors." That was perhaps the best estimate of the value placed upon Mr. Peterson's services in the community.

It is significant that the award was made for activity in the field of build-the-ballot service. For it is widely recognized now that the ballot is one's best self-defense weapon in a democracy. Belatedly there seems to be a sharpened awareness of the need for broadening the base of electoral suffrage in this country. Especially is that true in the South where the ballot is restricted by various devices. The ballot is the symbol of democracy functioning. . . . . .

Also the award to Atty. Newton, made to him as a member of YMDCA, conceivably was for outstanding leadership in the field of political action. He is president of the Fairfield Voters League, an organization which has worked unceasingly to improve and enlarge the electorate. Mr. Newton was one of two Negro candidates in the 1956 race for a spot on the Fairfield City Council. He and the other minority candidate, Prof. Vernard F. Thomas, YMDCA president, made it to the run-off. Their candidates stimulated voter-registration, served as a political education stimulant, and smoked out organized labor.

As result of Atty. Newton and Prof. Thomas being in the race, more interest than ever before was aroused in the electorate. A record number of voters turned out at the polls, and even a poison letter was circulated in an effort to turn voters against them on the basis of hate, fear, and selfshness. In stopping the two run-off challengers, Fairfield elected a mayor who was forced to run as an independent because he bucked the Democratic machine and voted for Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Previously, Tillie Smith (1954) and Dr. G. P. Parham (1955), were selected by YMDCA has "Fairfield Citizens of the Year." Dr. Parham was present at the supper award, and spoke. He praised the work of the sponsoring organization.

In 1955, the organization added the "Man of the Year" citation which was to be presented to the YMDCA member who was voted by the organization as its best contributor during the year to the enrichment and utility of democracy. Mr. Thomas won the first award.

Atty. Newton who served as toastmaster, announced that in 1957 YMDCA will make awards in several fields. He noted the remarkable progress made by the group in business, for instance. He could have extended his observation to home improvement, leadership fervent, and cultural achievement.

In addition to Prof. Thomas and Atty. Newton, the 17- member club includes, William Harvey Johnson, principal of Spaulding School; L. G. Murray, W. C. Presley, James Hicks, Frederick Cox, Ivey Jones, A. J. Jones Willie Moore, John Tarver, Ellis Blair, George Moore, Wilbert Tanksley, Jerry Coleman, Bryan Abrams and Edward L. McClure.

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

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THE TIP OFF

Herald p. 6

Wed. 4-24-57

By EMORY O. JACKSON

SYLACAUGA, Ala. — (SNS) — East Highland High School, located in this textile mill city, held its seventh annual Career Day on April 16.

Birm, Ala.

How does such a promotion look?

Locally looking at it a visitor becomes disturbed. How do those who live in Sylacauga make a living and what opportunity is there for a Negro person of talent, of skill, of training, of ambition to sell his services at the various occupational levels, to be upgraded, and to reach the top?

Career Day at this school did not bring in the job providers who run the mills, build the payrolls and influence the city's development. Sylacauga in this respect is hardly any different from the average Southern, or maybe, American city. That is not the fault of the school. It's the fault of society a certain kind of two-standard society.

On a whole the consultants were better, broader, and with an enlarged perspective of the basic requirements for these outside-teachers-for-a-day. Those who came from colleges and sandwiched student recruitment in with their services displayed marvelous improvements in their approaches, their recruitment tools and literature. They worked with a sincerity and concern that was so evident that it gripped those of us who watched them perform.

Students from other friendly schools in this area participated in the Career Day event.

I had bagged up three booklets which seemed at the time of my reading them might have come in handy. One is the "National Stay-in-School Handbook for Communities" published by the U. S. Department of Labor, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and Office of Education. It is available at the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Division, Comer Building Birmingham, Ala. The other mentioned agencies are distributing it too.

The second is "Liberal Education in an Industrial Society" by David A. Shepard, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 248. It can be purchased for 25 cents from Public Affairs Pamphlets, 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

And the third is "What Every Writer Should Know About Publishing His Own Book" by Edward Uhland, president of Exposition Press, Inc. 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. It sells for 25 cents.

"Stay-in-School" observes:

"Increasingly industry and business are demanding a high school diploma of applicants for jobs..... The door to advancement and further training is likely to be closed to those who fail to complete high school.... From every view point-that of industry, national security, society and individual opportunity - education for all means a better future for America".

In some of the student groups I visited I pounded the question of what jobs the students had worked or tried as a matter of career exploration. "Stay-in-School" has something interesting to say on that angle.

It suggests: "Search out the hidden talents in your own town. Negro students discovered by the Southern Project Talent Search and awarded scholarships are fulfilling or exceeding the promise they showed as high school students."

Too often the Negro student is picked over, looked over and run over. Career Day such as held at East Highland School is helping to call attention to worthy Negro boys and girls. It is stimulating these students to achieve, to compete and to seek the better things in an up-to-date democracy.

"Liberal Education in an Industrial Society", points out: "The growing complexity of manufacturing processes, techniques and new products, made it impossible to relay solely on employees whose training had been limited to the plant".

" Human problems - The problems in understanding the desires and motives of individuals, and groups of individuals ..... " (have become a vital concern of inustry). They are problems that call for philosophical and diplomatic skills, for skills in grasping and communicating idea. Above all they are problems that call for perspective - the ability to relate what is happening today to a historical pattern and to shape the things to come."

"While industry in general will continue to rely for its technical progress on men trained in engineering physics, chemistry, and the allied sciences,, it will also come to rely increasingly on men with a background in the humanities to help it deal with its human problems."

Some students are interested in literary or writing careers. The campus publication, the church sheet and the shop journals are excellent exploratory areas for finding out whether one has the talent for writing and the ability to feed himself at it. Some of those who are making a living at writing have often first written for the love of writing. Writing is a wide, open rugged field. It defies every formula in picking those on which to bestow its biddings blessings, and butter, it seems to me.

Career Day to me meant simply that at East Highland High School there were school, a community, and civic leaders who are interested in their young people making good, being good, becoming citizens of excellence, and living at their highest usefulness.

Good character and a good career should go hand in hand, it seems to me.

The Tip Off

Herald Sat. 4-27-57

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Let's start with the purported constitution of the Jefferson County (Education) Association before pointing out apparent irregularities, improper activities, and seemingly violations of the common code of electoral operations in the activities surrounding the recent JCEA election of officers, the latter which should be voided, it seems to me.

Article IV on "Manner of Election" says: "Section 1 — Each elective officer shall be elected by nomination. The voting must be by written ballot unless otherwise specified by this association. The chairman of the election must be at the time chosen by the association.

Emory Jackson

All of the documentary information seems to point to a horrible innovation of mass nominations of candidates. — There is no discoverable basis for use of any such system. Under it candidates were named for more than one position which made for confusion and provided evidence that the system was bad.

There was no "written ballot" which listed the name of the candidates for office. But there was an election returns sheet which was disowned as such but exists as no less. Documentary evidence of this kind cannot be explained off.

Birm, Ala. P. 8

When is a person nominated, and how? The nomination ballot should be checked, and the system opened up to sharp inspection. For there are shocking reports being whipped around about this phase of the electoral process.

Article VI (qualification of Officers) says: "No person is eligible for president and treasurer (of the JCEA) unless he has served in the Jefferson County System for a period of five years. All other officers must have served three years."

This constitutional requirement was apparently disregarded. Which spotlights the defects in the mass nomination system used to get candidates.

Some of those listed as candidates have said that they were not consulted and others said their names were placed in the candidate listings over their expressed objections. Still others have indicated that they had no interest in holding an office in the association but found their names listed.

Although the "Tabulation of First Ballot" report was daringly repudiated as not being what it said, an official election count, the documentary evidence stands its grounds. How do you get those figures on the "Tabulation of First Ballot?" If this were a "nomination list" as later claimed, why was it necessary to show how many times a candidate had been nominated to place his name on the ballot? Under such a system there is no difference in a nomination and in an election. This obviously violates and offends all of the codes of election, common and established.

For president on the "Tabulation of First Ballot" sheet there were 16 candidates. There was a column of figures with the caption "Votes Cast." This did not say nomination as the revised interpretation explains. In the "Votes Cast" column is also the indication "153 (X) Elected."

Assuming that the revised interpretation is true, why would the committee distribute a report of this kind? If this had not been intended as an election report, why wasn't it destroyed and the proper report worked out?

This brings the discussion to an undistributed report which ought to be explained. Keep in mind that the Jefferson County Education Association met Saturday, April 20 at Parker High School and held its election.

Here is the text of a purported copy of an undistributed report; "Jefferson County Education Association, Birmingham, Alabama, April 19, 1957."

"Dear Co-Workers: The tabulation of the first ballot for the election of officers for this association was held on April 11, 1957, at Smith-Gaston Chapel A."

"Due to the fact that some of the persons nominated did not receive a majority of plurality vote, it became necessary to prepare a second run-off for two positions."

"Very truly, Election Committee; Mrs. Mary E. Stith Nation, chairman, Mrs. Narvella Hall, Mr. B. M. Montgomery, Mrs. Catherine L. Cunningham, Mrs. Roslyn C. Ware, secretary and Mr. John McCain."

"DIRECTIONS: Place 'X' in front of the candidate of your choice. 1st vice president (vote for one) Mr. William Jackson, Mr. Robert Biddings, Jr."

"Executive board member (vote for two) Mr. C. L. Reeves, Mr. Frank Saunders, Mr. Leon Kennedy, Mr. Bishop M. Montgomery."

At least two groups reportedly had no opportunity to cast their ballot in the April 20 election. They were the guidance group and the music group. This was explained away. Yet it serves to cast light on the defects in the election machinery and operations, it seems to me.

THE TIP OFF

Daily World
Wed 5-1-57
Atlanta Ga.

By EMORY O. JACKSON

FORT VALLEY, Ga. — (SNS) — Peach County is to Georgia what a a title role is to a play.

For Georgia, one of the mother states, likes to use peach as its trade mark. Yet outside of Georgia one often links prejudice with the name of this state.

Riding over the bumpy roads of Georgia, gazing at its orchards, puzzling over its record, and watching its farm folk, one searches for an understanding. What about man's mistreatment of man?

Certainly one can't learn much riding through the peachy regions of Georgia. But for one who spent an early childhood in this state and listened about Andersonville from the lips of relative who were born in slavery and who lived in an emancipated day, if not freedom, makes a difference.

After many years I am making a return visit to what is now Fort Valley State College. New buildings have pushed up all over the campus. Changes strike you.

It was here in the early thirties that a teacher summed up for me what he felt were the basic aspirations of the yesteryear Negro group. He said that they wanted to vote, to get an education and to own something. Many Negro families had large land holdings here in Georgia.

What could be said are the basic goals of today's Negro group?

While trying to prepare this effort a release came over the desk which presents high points made in a speech by William R. Hudgins, of New York, banking executive. He is critical of the Negro colleges for "turning our preachers, teachers, social workers and 'liberal arts loafers.' He argues that the liberal arts (Negro) colleges offer inadequate incentive to young people who prefer careers in business.

Hudgins argues that in the liberal arts colleges "not a mumbling word is being said about accounting and budget control as tools of management; not the slightest gaze is being bent toward the jungle of finance and investment; nor is there even a whisper about the vast area of marketing, or the science of sound personnel management."

Where should the blame be placed?

Until a way is opened for the Negro student to have an opportunity to study business and other professions and trades on the same basis as all others he will never receive the training that will fit him equally with other students. The blame lies in the system of compulsory segregation, it seems to me.

So the Negro-directed liberal arts college becomes the whipping boy for the failures of society to cleanse itself of all demeaning discriminations.

How many Negro-owned and Negro-managed businesses really want to expand ,modernize and improve? But the liberal arts college is blamed.

It is a mean way of life that set a penalty on talent instead of a premium. In a segregated society a Negro person of skill and brains often finds a band placed on his effort instead of a prize. It is a heart-breaking paradox to be encouraged to get training and then finds that racial conditions will not allow the use of that training in my Georgia and in my South.

THE TIP OFF

World 7-6
Wed 5-1-57
Birm, Ala.

By EMORY O. JACKSON

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THE TIP OFF

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
P. m. 4-5-57

By EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala. —(SNS)— A re-check of the ASTA constitution against the proposed amendments reveal that the status of representation by affiliated organizations on the executive committee would not be disturbed by the suggested constitutional changes.

Section 2-c of Article 5 of the constitution of the Alabama State Teachers Association says the committee on nominations shall receive, "Through the respective affiliated organizations, one nomination each as organizational-representative on the Executive Committee."

The proposed changes presented by the "Report of Committee on Resolutions and Legislation" recommended the following amendments to the constitution be considered at the 1958 ASTA convention:

Emory Jackson

"(a) That Article IV be revised to read 'that the Executive Committee will include the officers the immediate past-president and three members- at- large.. with the immediate past president serving for a one year non-renewable term immediately following his term as president."

Presently Section I of Article IV reads: "Officers—president, general vice-president, organizational or district vice-presidents as may be designated, executive secretary, research secretary, treasurer, and executive committee (the officers and three members-at-large.)"

While there is no language in Article IV to suggest "affiliated" representatives as members of the executive committee under Article V dealing with the election officers the committee on nominations and elections receives "one nomination each as organizational-representative on the Executive Committee."

Just what is the difference between a "member-at-large" on the executive committee and an "organizational - representative" on the executive committee. This is what confused me and still leaves me without a full understanding.

On re-reading the proposed amendments I come to the opinion that in the event the revisions are approved that would not upset the membership of representatives of affiliated ASTA organizations on the association's executive committee. Likely this will be clarified in the discussions and debates on the advocated modifications.

At the 1957 ASTA convention there were 17 departmental meetings. Some of the departments apparently have not yet received affiliated status. The official program listed 10 officers of affiliated ASTA organizations. The official program of The Alabama Vocational Teachers Association lists C. A. Bronson as "ASTA representative" and T. A. Lawson as president. Mr. Bronson's position with AVTA is not carried along with his name in the ASTA official program as is the case of the other nine affiliated executive committee "organizational-representatives."

Each affiliated organization determines which of its members will serve on the ASTA executive committee.

Some ASTA delegates voiced fears that the proposed revision relative to the executive committee would remove the representatives of the affiliated organizations from this committee. Based upon the fears and an inadequate reading of the section under discussion this pillar raised the question of subjecting the issue to searching debate.

The officers of the ASTA are trying to shape it into a modern organization which can perform on a first-rate, up-to-date, progressive basis for the teachers. Membership dues have been raised and a new program, fresh approaches and expanded services envisioned. To do all of this the ASTA leadership will need support, understanding and encouragement.

It is with this in view that an effort was made to drag some of the fears out into the open.

Sidelight shorts: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., attended the Thursday night ASTA convention session at which Dr. James A. Colston, Knoxville College, president, was the guest speaker....Alabama A. and M. College's exhibit room received glowing mention from delegates. At no session did delegates and visitors completely fill the vast Auditorium-Arena where the general sessions were held.....Delegates were not seated at the general sessions by districts.

Register To Vote

THE TIP OFF

Daily World Sat. 2-2-57

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Atlanta, Ga.

MONTEVALLA, Ala. —(SNS) — This center-of-the-state college town in 148-year old Shelby County also has a training school.

New people have migrated from the coal-mining villages to work in the new plants which have located here.

On Sunday, Jan. 28 civic workers interested in vitalized citizenship came from various sections of the eight-county Sixth Congressional District to a meeting held at 57-year-old Shiloh Baptist Church, pastored by the Rev. E. B. Paschal. The minister is also a divinity student and football coach at Morehouse College, where he starred as a football player and is a graduate.

Prof. Henry J. William, an instructor at A. H. Parker High School in Birmingham, delivered the feature message. His speech illuminated citizenship facts selected from history and current events. President of the Birmingham Negro Teachers Association, Mr. Williams formerly chaired the vote commission of the Alabama State Teachers Association. The ASTA vote stimulation program was allowed to wither away the past association year. Likely the delegates will hold the ASTA leadership accountable for failure to get behind a vigorous voter-registration campaign.

Shelby County has an estimated population of 30,608 of which 6,495 are members of the Negro group. There is a total of 16,920 persons of voting age of which 3,362 are Negro persons. There are approximately 7,349 white voters and 351 Negro voters. Less than 10 percent of the Shelby Negro persons of voting age have their names on the poll list.

Counties making up the Sixth District are Bibb, Chilton, Greene, Hale, Perry, Shelby, Sumter and Tuscaloosa. In this district there are approximately, 50,940 Negro persons of voting age but only an estimated 7,696 Negro voters. There represents one of the scandals of democracy.

Look at a few figures from some of the other counties. Hale has only 126 Negro voters of 7,036 Negro persons of voting age. There are 3,474 white voters. Hale was one of the early WCC counties Horrible reports have come out of Hale which indicate suppression, intimidation and political brutality.

Green has 165 Negro voters of 6,624 Negro persons of voting age. The voucher system, restrictive practices, terrorism and other devious devices reportedly are being used to keep low the voter-registration figures among the Negro group.

Perry has an estimated 300 Negro voters of 6,234 Negro persons 21 years and over. There are approximately 7,400 white voters. Sumter has about 250 Negro voters of approximately 8,594 Negro persons of voting age. In contrast, there are an estimated 2,750 white voters.

Bad as some of these figures look, they tell an encouraging story. A start has been made toward the ballot box. In many instances the effort was made in spite of obstacles, apathy and hardships.

Some of the rural leaders have performed ably in building interest in stronger citizenship. They still face problems, barriers, and in some instances hostile opposition. Yet a few of them leak through the rigid screening system. Most time it is more of a suffrage stripping process than a voter screening service.

Prof. R. D. Dubose has served as the guiding light of this citizenship enlightenment program. The large attendance from the Shelby County area was a tribute to the effective job he has done. The better citizenship leaders displayed a freshness of spirit, a contagious enthusiasm and a creative understanding which communicated inspiration.

What to do about voter-registration apathy, political indifference and leadership inertia were among other problems posed. In answer to one of the questions, the Rev. Kidd, pastor in Vincent, Ala., declared that "if you are eligible to vote and do not vote, you are cutting your own throat." The Rev. Paschall suggested that we'll have to conquer this "monster of fear."

Ocie Hamilton, of Tuscaloosa, who is going to serve as temporary chairman of the Sixth District group, was disturbed over the lack of interest showing by war veterans in voter-registration. Mrs. Susie Peterson, a social club leader in Centreville, related how voter-registration interest is being ignited among women.

The rural leaders are making a substantial contribution to democracy by insisting on expanded voting opportunities. All sorts of roadblocks are thrown in their way but somehow they manage to make progress, though slow.

THE TIP OFF

World P.8 Sat. 2-2-57

By EMORY O. JACKSON

B'ham, Ala.

MONTEVALLA, Ala. —(SNS) — This center-of-the-state college town in 148-year old Shelby County also has a training school.

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THE TIP OFF

World P6

Wed. 1-30-57

By EMORY O. JACKSON

B'ham, Ala.

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Birmingham's new order leadership is under appraisal from both the inside of the city and outside the state.

A visiting investigator who represents a potent segment of the group's followship was in the city last week to make an on-the-scene size-up of the Birmingham leadership. Some leaders returning from visits to the Southwest, the Midwest and the East bring back reports of the same examining interest.

Reasons for this new concern for local leadership seems to stem from the accepted pattern of new order leadership as represented by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., nonviolence and protest leader of Montgomery, Alabama; the vacuum left when the NAACP was ordered out of business by the courts the fold up of the Jeffcho Coordinating Council's interracial committee because of the pressure and the new outbreak of hateful violence.

Frequently one hears the question asked: "Is there a coordinating leader in Birmingham who can bunch the various church, civic, business and unclassified leaders as Dr. King has done in Alabama's Capital City?"

Birmingham has had a depth rather than a dearth of leadership. Leadership was organized on a basis of division of work rather than an over-all operation with various departments, units and affiliates. Montgomery seems to have had a background of top-man leadership which more recently was blended into teamwork leadership. Birmingham had cooperative leadership which found cohesion on a limited, common, specified objective. When the purpose was achieved the leadership bloc dissolved.

At the height of the NAACP in Birmingham, there were the now inactive Greater-Birmingham Negro Business League, the Jefferson County Progressive Democratic Council, the Alabama State Federation of Civic Leagues, informal interracial committees, the Emancipation Association of Birmingham and Vicinity and the Committee on Voter Registration, the Birmingham Council of Negro Women, the Birmingham-Jefferson County Housewives League, the Abraham Lincoln Republican Club, and other organizations. As can be observed, these groups represented a division of service. Almost everyone of them had in its scope of activity a feature of the civil rights struggle.

For a long time the Interdenominational Ministerial Association served to bring the pastors of the various denominations together under one leadership roof. The short-lived Birmingham Ministerial Association sprung up when the campaign for Negro policemen seemed to be losing vigorous advocacy, except the efforts of the Rev. George Rudolph. More recently the Jefferson County Betterment Association headed by the Rev. E. W. Williams, pastor of First Baptist Church, Fairfield and the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, piloted by the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, pastor of Bethel Baptist Church (North).

With the NAACP inactive in Alabama, there have been those who wanted to see a localized NAACP, or NAACP substitute, developed. First the NAACP cannot be duplicated or substituted. Secondly, the NAACP, to cope with the new problems of the violent South, would need to revamp its program. This need for a revised program has long been obvious to some of the new thinkers in the South. Both the Betterment Association and the Movement had been conceived before the NAACP ran into court difficulties in Alabama. Their programs encompassed areas of service not entered by the NAACP. Many of the followers in the Movement seem to be newcomers to the civil rights struggle. The Movement has been able to recruit workers the NAACP never reached or touched, it seems to me.

One local appraiser of Birmingham's now-on-the-scene top leaders of the two newest civil rights-type organizations says one is too hot and the other is too cold. Leadership is not limited to heads of organization although it must be measured by the power, influence and prestige of organizations, it seems to me. Each organization's head is the sum of the total leadership in this organization.

One thing, the Movement seems to have alert, aggressive articulate leadership of the Betterment Association has yet to make itself felt, or fear[d] or formidable. Leaders of action will be followed and loved while the inactive leaders will be ignored and deserted, it seems to me. Leadership knows no color line, only the obstacle line. Whether dedicated or dramatic leadership, the road is not easy. The way of the fighters for freedom has always been hard, fraught by criticism, and nagged by misunderstanding.

THE TIP OFF

Daily World

31a

Wed. 2-13-57

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Atlanta Ga.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — (SNS) — A self-look at local-level leadership is being called for by those who seek to speed up freedom's rough and rugged journey. P6

Is the division-of-service leadership any longer effective? Can teamwork leadership that covers the whole gamut of the freedom problem be woven together? What leader has the following, the coordinating talents, the national prestige, the shrewdness of action, and the smoothness of operation to fill the bill of the over-all new-order leader?

A visiting leadership talent scout posed a number of questions here recently. He told a small gathering of church and civic leaders that outside friends of the freedom struggle were mumblingly worried over the Birmingham leadership as dramatized and publicized over various media. He spoke of an "undertone" of concern and felt that the time has come when the leaders "begin to study (themselves)" to discover their limitations abilities and strengths. "Destiny", this visitor said, "has a way of picking out men to lead."

Emory Jackson

He says a need for the group's new-order leader having a dedicated interest in the Negro segment, right and God." He pointed out that ministers of varying denominations should be able to overlook religious affiliation in working in the field of brotherhood, goodwill and functioning democracy. "There is room to help the race but there is no room to help the denomination" in this new kind of leadership which the freedom struggle demands, the visitor said.

"Any fool can throw a bomb", the visitor declared. He discussed the perils of leadership in the South today where irresponsible, irrational and intolerant men are on the loose. The new-order leadership must know how to plan, develop strategy, test ideas and inspire followship.

Church leaders of the varying faiths have diversified gifts, skills and experiences which can be blended into usefulness. Those of X denomination have been brought up in a tradition of freedom, independence and competition. Others in Z denomination are trained in system and discipline. Pastors in X denomination are more stabilized and have more security. In Z denomination they can be shifted around. In Y denomination they are trained in administration, deep thinking, maneuvering.

All of the strengths and abilities of the leaders of the varying church groups need to be forged, utilized and mobilized in building the new order of justice, freedom and first-class citizenship.

It should be recognized that there are those who seem to be interested in a pattern of new leadership tailored to the personality, philosophy, and speechmanship of 28-year-old Dr. King. But can you really pour leadership into molds, cut it to pattern, establish a norm, or a model? As long as there is an America which believes in essential freedom there will be the non-conformist, the risk-taking, the daring and spectacular leader.

Nor is there any single approach to the problems which leadership is confronted in the South, in Birmingham, or a given community. A solid leadership is hardly any more possible than a solid South. There is a place for experimental, exploring (not explosive), crusading leadership in this city and others like it. But violent leadership is anarchy's leadership. Hate leadership is destructive leadership. Prejudiced leadership is ignorant and dangerous leadership.

However the weighing and rating of leadership is being done within the group. What seems overlooked is that Birmingham has always had diversified leadership. Emphasis today is being placed on a dedicated, spiritual, eyes-on-the-goal leadership which will be interested in al lof the group all of the time.

It seems that the day of the sheltered, dictated, or designated leaders is over. The rise of church leaders who draw their support from their congregations doomed the hand-picked leaders who owed their positions to those who sought to hold the group down and to freeze them to a lower status.

The various leaders seem to be together on the goal of immediate first-class citizenship for the members of the group.

31a 1957

THE TIP OFF

World P.8

31a

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Sat. 1-19-57

Birm, Ala.

He came bearing information.

It was sprayed over the small gathering like ideas scattered over a class in thinking. Raymond B. Floyd of Xavier University, New Orleans, La., revealed to the luncheon session of college representatives and guests attending the Parker High School "Go To College Day" program of an important leadership departure in the Crescent City.

The Mardi Gras parade is going to be scrapped this year and the money saved by junking it turned over to the NAACP. For a number of years the parade because of its jungle angle and outlandish features, had come under critical fire. The parade gave undue emphasis to frolic and contributed little, if anything to civic dignity and useful freedom.

While some others directed well deserved praise to the Parker administration and its fine student body, Mr. Floyd directed his remarks in still another ticklish area. He seemed troubled over his observation that too many college students do not seem to know what 's going on around them. Indirectly, he saddled the blame on the leaders, teachers, and parents of these students.

As an example, he told of his conversation with some New Orleans students with reference to a speaking engagement Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., protest and nonviolence leader of Montgomery, Ala., had in New Orleans. Although Dr. King's name has been in the news, on TV and radio, and other media places, the question was honestly asked, "Who is this Dr. King.?

Mr. Floyd saw in the revamped Mardi Gras program a triumph for the new-order leadership of which he delightfully identified himself. He did this by asserting how the custom-bound leadership had clung to the parade despite the arguments advanced for revising it. But this does not mean that the elegant social activities connected with the Winter Frolic Festival will be abandoned.

On the observation about college students seeming to be less sharp on trends, serious movements, and historic controversies than he seemed to have thought they should be, Mr. Floyd could have extended the blame, partly, to the segregated system which stifles, robs, and denies. A Negro student in the South is shut off from the best libraries, provided inferior facilities, and often denied admissions to lectures where scholars do not have the time to make double appearances.

Still this does not entirely excuse one who is supposed to be in college searching for the truth, seeking ideas and engaged in the never-ending business of learning. But the college set has the capacity to learn. Check them on bogey or rock-N-roll.. Many of them can argue stoutly over brand names of whiskey.

All of this, Mr. Floyd seems to think, could be changed should teachers try to alert students on what is going on around them. That brings up something else. Some teachers of my acquaintance seem to be afraid to be associated with knowing what is going on.

And the talk went on. C. E. (Pop) Warner, representing Morehouse College, was enchanted by the Parker singing. Left to him, he said, he would try to recruit the whole singing group. (But, they may not all have been seniors). He was fascinated by what he described as the "cooperative spirit of these schools (Parker, Ullman, Western-Olin). These three schools banded together in sponsoring their go-to-college project.

Of course when guests are eating a nice meal, they can say the sweetest things. That is what made what Mr. Floyd had to say stand out above all of the other chewtime chapter. What he said was different, if not entirely dsturbing

It was not only in the merging of the go-to-college program that a new trend was indicated. Provisions were made for those who do not plan to attend college. Assistance was offered to those who look forward immediately to becoming job-fillers and homemakers.

NEGRO (EMORY O. JACKSON)

The Tip Off

World 31a Sat. 1-26-57 P.8

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

SYLACAUGA, Ala. — (SNS) — Political suffrage patterns in the eight county Fourth Congressional District reflect similarities to those in the other districts.

Birm, Ala.

This textile mill city of Indian origin has a population of approximately 13,000 residents of which about 26 percent is listed as non-white.

Last Sunday, a group of civic leaders from over Talladega County assembled here and formed a countywide organization. The Rev. J. M. Ridgeway, pastor of St. Thomas Methodist Church, was elected president. He has worked in this city for about 21 years and his name is supposed to carry weight.

Sylacauga has a citywide civic organization of which D. C. Clark is the president. A meeting is scheduled for Monday night, Jan. 28 at Shiloh Baptist Church here.

Three visiting speakers from Birmingham came here for the countywide gathering. Cornelius Maiden, national organizer for the International Chemical Workers Union (AFL-CIO), Atty. H. L. Pearson, who was scheduled to enroll in the graduate school of City College, N. Y., this week and W. C. Patton, sparkplug of the Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting.

The trio of speakers stressed the ballot as the tool for building richer citizenship, broader community understanding and a stronger democracy. All of these seem to be laudable objectives which should be welcomed civic service. The ballot is part of the political sign language in a democracy.

Counties making up the Fourth Congressional District are Autauga, Calhoun, Clay, Coosa, Dallas, Elmore, St. Clair and Talladega. A large segment of the population in at least two of the counties experience difficulties seeking to get their names on the voting rolls. They seek help and ways to unblock the pathway to the ballot box.

In Talladega County there is a raucous voice sounding hate messages designed to confuse, frustrate and retard. This strident voice is directed at blocking the doorway to the ballot box. Which means it is sounding off against democracy of which the ballot box is the noblest symbol. The road blocker of the ballot box is actually waging a campaign against progress, friendly relations and enlightened development, it seems to me.

P. L. Lindsey, president of the Dallas County Civic League, announced recently that plans had been formulated to take steps in seeking to unthaw the large number of applications allegedly made by members of the Negro group to the Dallas County Board of Registrars. It was in Dallas County where the first White Citizens Council in Alabama was organized. One of the basic objectives of the WCC is to keep the electorate small and brainwashed.

One can use three aspects of political suffrage to pile up evidence of similarities. Size of the group's vote in any particular instance is a treacherous yardstick. The group's voting strength is a better index. Size by itself does not determine strength. Strength is the relationship the group's vote has to the total vote in a given situation.

The group's vote potential is reflected in the percentage of those of the group of voting age and the number who are actual voters. This is an illusive spotlight. For it tends to ignore the spread of political power over the concentration of votes which may not have a wide range of striking power.

The third aspect is the polling power of the vote. Unless those qualified to vote have a high poll appearance that shaves off the strength of that group's vote.

In the Fourth Congressional District there is a total of an estimated 116,000 voters. Of these, an estimated 3,733 are Negro voters. Negro voting strength is about 3 percent of the total. Meantime about 15 percent of the Negro vote potential is on the poll list. Figures by which the group's turn out at the polls might be computed were not available.

The newly organized countywide civic group is scheduled to meet again at 3 p. m., Sunday, March 31 at Kingdom Baptist Church in Alpine, Ala.

THE TIP OFF

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Fri. 1-25-57

SYLACAUGA, Ala. — (SNS) — Political suffrage patterns in the eight county Fourth Congressional District reflect similarities to those in the other districts.

P. 4

This textile mill city of Indian origin has a population of approximately 13,000 residents of which about 26 percent is listed as non-white.

Last Sunday, a group of civic leaders from over Talladega County assembled here and formed a countywide organization. The Rev. J. M. Ridgeway, pastor of St. Thomas Methodist Church, was elected president. He has worked in this city for about 21 years and his name is supposed to carry weight.

Sylacauga has a citywide civic organization of which D. C. Clark is the president. A meeting is scheduled for Monday night, Jan. 28 at Shiloh Baptist Church here.

Three visiting speakers from Birmingham came here for the countywide gathering. Cornelius Maiden, national organizer for the International Chemical Workers Union (AFL-CIO), Atty. H. L. Pearson, who was scheduled to enroll in the graduate school of City College, N. Y., this week and W. C. Patton, sparkplug of the Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting.

The trio of speakers stressed the ballot as the tool for building richer citizenship, broader community understanding and a stronger democracy. All of these seem to be laudable objectives which should be welcomed civic service. The ballot is part of the political sign language in a democracy.

Counties making up the Fourth Congressional District are Autauga,

Calhoun, Clay, Coosa, Dallas, Elmore, St. Clair and Talladega. A large segment of the population in at least two of the counties experience difficulties seeking to get their names on the voting rolls. They seek help and ways to unblock the pathway to the ballot box.

In Talladega County there is a raucous voice sounding hate messages designed to confuse, frustrate and retard. This strident voice is directed at blocking the doorway to the ballot box. Which means it is sounding off against democracy of which the ballot box is the noblest symbol. The mad blocker of the ballot box is actually waging a campaign against progress, friendly relations and enlightened development, it seems to me.

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THE TIP OFF

Wed. P. 6

31

By EMORY O. JACKSON

FISK UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE, Tenn. — (SNS) — My eyes were fastened on him.

Arna Bontempt, the author-librarian, was standing there at the head table in Jubilee Inn, waiting to be seated at the banquet session of the NNPA workshop, which was featuring him. No one pointed him out to me and the pictures I had seen of him were of no help. But that had to be the poet-author. All of his movements seemed to reflect the creative arts. Refined, elegant, pleasant, and graceful of manners, this was the man who had to be Arna Bontempt.

Emory O. Jackson

When I was in college trying to plough through a course labeled 'Negro Literature,' I swept through Bontempt's novel, "One Way to Heaven" in almost one sitting. The book fascinated me. Last Labor Day I ran through his "Story of the Negro" and hauled it around the coffee spot and read passages from it to the sandwich set. Now I was to hear Bontempt speak.

His speech was a new approach to understanding the Negro Press. His was a type of literary tauting which works one up to a pitch of breaking into a library to read. Yet Bontempt would not taunt. he merely made it tempting. He checked off the "four falschoods." He debunked them with artistic and historical skill.

Wed. 1-23-57

Frederick Douglass ..... W. E. B. DuBois ..... T. Thomas Fortune ..... William Monroe Trotter ..... Could these be "Forgotten Men of the Negro Press?" After the speech, W. Beverly Carter, publisher of The Pittsburgh Courier, chuckled 'this T. Thomas Fortune was a character. He was one of the old-style journalist. You could have learned much working under him as I did."

B'ham, Ala.

Bontempt had worked on my memory. Surely I had read about the controversy between Monroe Trotter and Booker T. Washington. In 1950 while attending an NAACP meeting in Boston, Mass., I strolled the chilly streets and stumbled on the office of the Boston Guardian, operated by the sister of Monroe Trotter. Far into the night we sat over an oil stove in that dingy office and she told me interesting things about "my brother." The Guardian was Trotter's paper, now in tabloid size. Without fire, and lacking in fury, it was just another weekly. Trotter apparently left no disciples.

Fisk has a number of outstanding scholars. A university must have them. Today it is the showpiece of Negro scholarship. Housed at this university is some of America's finest research in race relations. Its late president, Dr. Charles S. Johnson was one of the scholars in the finest sense of the word. He was a scholar's scholar.

Just before Bontempts spoke, I had been given a shock. Dean George M. Redd, in his greetings had purposedly, and with full public relations intent, put in a plug for Fisk. He related that Fisk had been advised to apply for unconditional membership in the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Fisk was one of the five predominantly Negro colleges apparently cleared with about 26 others placed on the probationary list. Others did not measure up at all.

It came back to me that earlier in the day, William J. Trent, executive director of the United Negro College Fund, of New York City, had told a panel that "Fisk is one of our show places." He asserted that we need all of our measure-up-to-standards institutions. Some 31 private colleges make up the United Negro College fund.

Now for a few sidelights. The 500 Fisk students were engaged in semester examinations. The first two days of our stay on the campus the temperature was low. Until the weather broke, I thought it was the examinations that were keeping most of the students out of sight. Warmer weather brought them away from books ..... Miss Patricia Ard of Fairfield came to chapel to hear Thurgood Marshall speak, where she spotted me. She is a senior majoring in music, she told me. I believe the other young lady who asked me about the Birmingham bombings when I came out of Jubilee Inn, identified herself as Miss Eloise Eaton. Arriving in Nashville around three A. M. January 17, a chap recognized me as I trudged out of Shrimp Grill and asked me, "Aren't you editor of the Birmingham World?"

"What's those cats doing in Birmingham? What are y'all doing about those bombings? Are you riding the buses?"

The Tip Off

Wednesday P. 6

B'ham, Ala.

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

A self-look at local-level leadership is being called for by those who seek to speed up freedom's rough and rugged journey.

Wed. 1-23-57

Is the division-of-service leadership any longer effective? Can teamwork leadership that covers the whole gamut of the freedom problem be woven together? What leader has the following, the coordinating talents, the national prestige, the shrewdness of action, and the smoothness of operation to fill the bill of the over-all new-order leader?

Emory Jackson

A visiting leadership talent scout posed a number of questions here recently. He told a small gathering of church and civic leaders that outside friends of the freedom struggle were mumblingly worried over the Birmingham leadership as dramatized and publicized over various media. He spoke of an "undertone" of concern and felt that the time has come when the leaders "begin to study (themselves)" to discover their limitations abilities and strengths. "Destiny", this visitor said, "has a way of picking out men to lead."

He says a need for the group's new-order leader having a dedicated interest in the Negro segment, right and God." He pointed out that ministers of varying denominations should be able to overlook religious affiliation in working in the field of brotherhood, goodwill and functioning democracy. "There is room to help the race but there is no room to help the denomination" in this new kind of leadership which the freedom struggle demands, the visitor said.

"Any fool can throw a bomb", the visitor declared. He discussed the perils of leadership in the South today where irresponsible, irrational and intolerant men are on the loose. The new-order leadership must know how to plan, develop strategy, test ideas and inspire followship.

Church leaders of the varying faiths have diversified gifts, skills and experiences which can be blended into usefulness. Those of X denomination have been brought up in a tradition of freedom, independence and competition. Others in Z denomination are trained in system and discipline. Pastors in X denomination are more stabilized and have more security. In Z denomination they can be shifted around. In Y denomination they are trained in administration, deep thinking, maneuvering.

All of the strengths and abilities of the leaders of the varying church groups need to be forged, utilized and mobilized in building the new order of justice, freedom and first-class citizenship.

It should be recognized that there are those who seem to be interested in a pattern of new leadership tailored to the personality, philosophy, and speechmanship of 28-year-old Dr. King. But can you really pour leadership into molds, cut it to pattern, establish a norm, or a model? As long as there is an America which believes in essential freedom there will be the non-conformist, the risk-taking, the daring and spectacular leader.

Nor is there any single approach to the problems which leadership is confronted in the South, in Birmingham, or a given community. A solid leadership is hardly any more possible than a solid South. There is a place for experimental, exploring (not explosive), crusading leadership in this city and others like it. But violent leadership is anarchy's leadership. Hate leadership is destructive leadership. Prejudiced leadership is ignorant and dangerous leadership.

However the weighing and rating of leadership is being done within the group. What seems overlooked is that Birmingham has always had diversified leadership. Emphasis today is being placed on a dedicated, spiritual, eyes-on-the-goal leadership which will be interested in al lof the group all of the time.

It seems that the day of the sheltered, dictated, or designated leaders is over. The rise of church leaders who draw their support from their congregations doomed the hand-picked leaders who owed their positions to those who sought to hold the group down and to freeze them to a lower status.

The various leaders seem to be together on the goal of immediate first-class citizenship for the members of the group.

31a 1957

The Tip Off

World Birm, Ala.

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Wed. 3-6-57

It's the testifying season in the United States Congress.

One witness, Alabama State Senator Sam M. Englehardt, Jr., of Shorter, Ala., rich planter and executive secretary of the Alabama Association of (White) Citizens Councils, testifying before the Senate Judiciary Committee, is quoted in a by-line story of Gene Wortsman, Washington correspondent for The Birmingham Post Herald as saying, in part:

"The (Macon County) board (of registrars) is operating, said Englehardt."

"Grady Rodgers of Tuskegee and Herman Bently of Notasulga are serving as registrars, he (Englehardt) declared."

The story appeared in the Feb. 28 issue of the Post Herald and was datelined Feb 27 from the Nation's Capital City

Emory Jackson

Worthsman's story also said: "Englehardt said that imported Negro "goon squads" move in and out of Alabama Negro communities to keep the Negroes intimidated."

In the early days of the Montgomery bus protest a city official suggested that "goon squads" were hindering prospective bus riders from using the trolleys, frightening and intimidating them. But none of the alleged "gooners" were ever identified or arrested. But chief city officials in Montgomery are WCC-ers and "goon" seems to be part of the vocabulary of some council bigwigs.

Mr. Englehardt is a legal resident of Macon County and a part of its power structure. It certainly would be presumed that he has information lines which extend widely, variously, and reliably. WCC-ers delight in trying to convey the impression of respectability, of truthfulness, of honesty.

Yet, according to the Wortsman story he testified that a "Herman Bently" is "serving" on the Macon County Board of Registrars. Yet The Montgomery Advertiser in its issue of either Dec. 4 or 5, 1956 carried this story, where reads, in part:

"Notasulga, Ala. Dec. 4 — W. Herman Bentley, 62, farmer-insurance executive and prominent civic leader in this area died at his home here today."

"He was a member of the Macon County Board of Registrars, a Mason, a Woodman of the World and a member of the Antioch Methodist Church."

In a report on political action in Macon County, carried in the printed Annual Report of the Tuskegee Civic Association, dated Dec. 9, 1956, said, in part: "During the year, the committee observed some significant occurrences. Among these were the following: (1) no functioning board of registrars since January 16, (2) the appointment in September of only one person to serve on the board on which the only other member was ill." That report was signed by Prof. C. G. Gomillion, chairman of the political action committee and president of The Tuskegee Civic Association.

In that same report, William P. Mitchell, chairman of the TCA's voter franchise committee pointed out: "It should be noted, that this committee has on file copies of letters of no less than eight local citizens who asked the governor and his associates to appoint them to membership on this three-member board of registrars."

It had been heard that so much hostile pressure was being exerted on the white community that it was difficult to get any of them to serve on the voter-qualifying board. It should be kept in mind that part of the ideology of the White Citizens Council is to suppress, eliminate, and restrict voting by members of the Negro group.

The Mitchell report observes: "While the personnel of the Macon County Board of Registrars has changed, it has not had over two members for 30 months. Indeed, it had only one member from January 16 to September 20 (eight months), at which time Grady Rogers, who was removed November, 1955, was reappointed to membership on the board."

This report asserted that registration officials during 1956 "took applications only two days" and during this time "issued 28 certificates" from among "a total of 52" Negro applicants. Macon has 14, 526 Negro persons of voting age and approximately 700 actual voters.

— Register To Vote —

NEGRO (EMORY O. JACKSON)

The Tip Off

World Birm, Ala.

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Wed. 3-6-57

On February 27, the daily press carried a signed story based upon statements made by Milton Rosen, commissioner of public utilities in St. Paul, Minn. in which he is quoted as saying that "the Negro's status in the South is much better than the impression Northern people have gained."

It would seem that Mr. Rosen has incomplete information on the status of the Negro group. He seems to have limited himself to a guided trip made by those in Birmingham who showed him only what they wanted him to see. He apparently restricted his observations to Birmingham and generalized about the whole South.

A visitor to a city seeking business would be expected to say kind things about that city. Obviously Mr. Rosen knew little about the Negro group and less about the South. One visit is hardly enough for one unfamiliar with Southern customs, discriminatory practices, and humiliating treatment growing out of bitter racial segregation to understand.

Had Mr. Rosen visited City Hall, and observed closely, he would have seen those irritating signs over toilet doors and drinking fountains. If he were a Negro arriving by plane in Birmingham he would find that he could not ride the limousine to town like other plane passengers, be served in the Airport cafe or counter.

He certainly did not see the complete picture because he limited his observations to "the Negro schools, golf courses, swimming pools and other public utilities". All of these are segregated facilities and are thus both undesirable and unequal facilities.

While Mr. Rosen was in the city he apparently failed to avail himself of the opportunity to talk with any authentic Negro leaders. This by itself weakens the position of the St. Paul commissioner and shows that he received a one-sided picture. For Birmingham is said to have the toughest segregation laws in the South. It might be suggested that he write City Hall in Birmingham and request a copy of its racial ordinances.

This comment is restricted to Birmingham because what Mr. Rosen had to say seemed to have been presented in such a setting despite his extension of his remarks to say "misinformation. . . regarding the South."

An interracial committee working within the framework of the traditional pattern of the South was disbanded in Birmingham. Voters have restored a law which banned interracial sports. The State Legislature has passed a set of new laws tightening segregation. A mob drove Mrs. Autherine Lucy Foster from the campus of the University of Alabama. Churches and homes of Negro persons were bombed in Montgomery. Birmingham has its unsolved racial bombing going back to 1947. Last Christmas night the home of a Baptist minister was bombed. Robed members of the KKK attended churches, crosses are burned, and there are beatings.

What is this "lot of misinformation" which Mr. Rosen discovers about the South? Schools generally operated for the Negro group are inferior to those provided the white group. In Birmingham the Negro group has nothing like Ramsey Tech. Even had they such a school, this would not square with the revised yardstick of progress. Negro persons are not members of the Birmingham police force, of the National Guard, the Highway Patrol, the state militia, and generally, the sheriff's staff of deputies.

What did Mr. Rosen expect to find in the South? His interview did not shed any specific light on this point. Housing officials have used blighted area figures many times in arguing the need for better housing. The Negro group is fenced in with little opportunity to expand. A College Hill group recently organized with the announcement purpose to block the residential expansion of Negro families. No where, except in voting, are the injustices against the Negro group more pronounced than in housing. Birmingham still has its shacks and the Negro group is bearing the brunt of sacrifice resulting from the relocation or redevelopment projects.

The whole Negro group is victimized by the South's racial segregation, discriminatory economic opportunity, restricted political action, and crushing of the spirit. One has to live with segregation to know its injustices. Where is the "misinformation" about this?

THE TIP OFF

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Wed. 3-6-57

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — (SNS) —

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— Register To Vote —

The Tip Off

World P.6

Wed. 3-20-57

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

It was the occasion and setting in which Dr. E. Paul Jones, director of the Division of Negro Education, Jefferson County Schools, used those figures that give them value in this discussion.

He was one of the greeting speakers at the March 9th Wenonah Conference on In-Service Education. So he utilized the opportunity to point up the professional status of the Jeffcho teachers.

Of an instructional personnel of 462 (42, principals, 409 teachers, 11 registrars), there are 89 with master's degrees and 340 with bachelor degrees in the Jeffco Public Schools Dr. Jones said pridefully. He added that six of the seven county high schools were on the approved list of the Southern Association of Secondary Schools. (He allowed something by not using the word accredited). He noted the fact, with a frankness that was emphatic, that all of the county schools did not look as good as Wenonah High School, the conference host. He mentioned that there were 35 elementary schools. There was nothing said by him on how the elementary schools stood in regard to regional rating.

Emory Jackson

Since this was a conference on "in-service education" and the ballot is one of the best tools of the educated man, was it to find a place here? I kept itching for some one to count the number of voter-registration certificates among teachers the same as had been done with the degrees. Almost every one of the cardinal principles of education is touched in these educational work shops, conferences, seminars, and conventions, except voting citizenship. No space is given for it even in "The Asta," organ of the Alabama State Teachers Association. Voter-registration is not worked into the ASTA convention program. Students are often the faded reflections of their teachers.

The voter-registration certificate should be made the companion of the teaching certificate, it seems to me.

What points are you driving? The registration certificate is a type of character and citizenship reference. Without the ballot one is without primary evidence of his interest in either children or the community. Democracy can nurse from the ballot like a baby does from a milk bottle. No good mother would pass up the opportunity to feed her child Some one has described the Negro group in the South as political orphans.

Since the ASTA allowed its vote commission to fall into inactivity, there has developed a lag in voter-registration among the various ASTA units, it appears. Take the Jefferson County Educational Association, which was one of the early leaders in help-the-teachers-register activities. Little is heard from that group now days. The present ASTA administration has on its record the blemish of a non-appointed, non-functioning vote commission.

Next year the ASTA is due to celebrate its 75th anniversary. Will the ASTA history currently being prepared carry a chapter, or footnote, or anything on the fact that the 1956-57 administration allowed the voter-registration program to waste away? The inactivity of the ASTA is the blood of the un-enfranchised on the hands of the present administration, it seems to me.

While the ASTA's vote commission remains demobilized John Temple Graves, erudite columnist of The Birmingham Post-Herald, continues to campaign for a re-tighten voter-qualification law to keep the plain people, Negro and white, off the poll rolls.

Columnist Graves wrote this March 15:

"Agreeing with this column (and with Frank Samford) that the prospect of greatly increased Negro voting calls for instant attention by Southern legislatures to strict qualifications, Editor Tom Waring of The Charleston News and Courier agrees, too, that the qualifications must be fair, that many white citizens will have to be disqualified with the colored, and that God in His mysterious way may thus give the South an electorate not merely of white supremacy "but of human supremacy, one with the mental and moral excellences which must come to democracy everywhere if it is not to die on its lowest common denominator." "We believe," says Editor Waring, "that South Carolina is capable of administering a test fairly and decently."

"I believe it of Alabama."

Some of the tight-vote advocates are using the fear argument to freeze the Negro group into its political helplessness while the ASTA leadership puts its own voter-registration assistance committee on the sidelines. The White Citizens Councils are trying to use prejudice to halt even the trickle of voter-registration among needy groups while the ASTA is setting up a teacher of the year project.

Suppose the one selected as the "ASTA "teacher of the year" turns out to be a non-voter.

THE TIP OFF

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31a 1957

THE TIP OFF

Daily World

Wed 4-10-57

By EMORY O. JACKSON

TOLEDO, Ohio — (SNS) — Travel outside of the South and you find an interest in the freedom story. Atlanta, Ga.

When some white Southern leaders complain that reports made about freedom relations in Dixie are distorted, incomplete, and dishonest, they may have contributed to it. P.6

One of the new propaganda lines

one runs into is that race relations have worsened, the Negro group setback, and that white friends sinking away from the colored man since the 1954 United State Supreme Court school ruling.

Southern Negro witnesses before a Senate Judiciary Committee hearing testified to some of the the long standing injusticse. Vote denials based upon race began about 1890 in Mississippi and spreaded to other Southern states. Never has there been educational equality under the separate but equal doctrine. No real friendship is built out of segregation. Friendship is a pro duct of finer stuff than racial bigotry.

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A small group of us sat in a suite at Commodore Perry Hotel here and traded experience, kicked around ideas, floated back memories and built dreams of a better America, an improving South. No one can sell me on anything but a South developing toward a wider and sweeter freedom.

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Most of the gatherers wanted me to discuss the events surrounding the enrollment of Mrs. Autherine Lucy Foster at the University of Alabama, "Why aren't any Negro students at the University of Alabama, now"? I was asked. What could not be understood is that with Mrs. Foster widening the admission opportunity why Negro students were not taking advantage of it? Or course I could not answer that question. It is one of the awful observations that a visitor from Alabama has to face.

Two students who are completing their high school work - one a boy and the other a girl - inquired about the colleges in the South The girl said she believes she could get the kind of education she wanted in the South. The boy had visited a Southern spot where there was a college but was unimpressed. Yet h estill prefers a Southern college.

A young lady from Sunflower County smiled off any conversation about her hometown in contrast with Toledo, where one can vote without handicapping difficulties.

Clue to why some ambitious youth look to the South for education can be seen in these observations. Transplanted Southerners trained in Dixie colleges are playing a significant leadership role in Toledo life. Today many of the names-on-every -lip leaders are in the South, products of Southern colleges. Those Toledoians trained in Southern colleges boasts about it passionately.

NEGRO (EMORY O. JACKSON)

Negro leaders in the South are trying to erase the stigma of segregation. This fact runs counter to what some Southern propagandists are trying to sell up North. White Citizen Council leaders contend (some of them) that they know the Negro and the best way to handle him. That way is to segregate him. Does that mean that without segregation the Negro group can't be handled?

..Ee.... -.-r..p.... ....

Segregation is the South's way of shackling the Negro. It isn't a method of helping anybody.

THE TIP OFF

World P.6

Wed. 4-10-57

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Birm, Ala.

TOLEDO, Ohio — (SNS) — Travel outside of the South and you find an interest in the freedom story. 31a

When some white Southern leaders complain that reports made about freedom relations in Dixie are distorted, incomplete, and dishonest, they may have contributed to it.

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The Tip Off

Wanted P. 8
B'ham, Ala.

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

What is the most sensible way for the South's resisting states to meet the school desegregation issue?

Alfred Friendly, managing editor of The Washington Post and Times Herald, in the final of a series of articles on the South and desegregation, has this to say, in part:

"When, under court order some beginning is made in the Deep South toward school desegregation in the next few years as is inevitable, there will be the threat or the actuality of violence."

Sat. 4-13-57

The key question will be the reaction of "the best people" in each town, the good citizens who, though not themselves the political officeholders, nevertheless hold the ultimate power and responsibility in each community. They oppose integration for their time and age but their instinct and their interest is in law and order."

"They feel deeply and sincerely that desegregation is wrong for their town. Accordingly, will they look the other way while the riff - raff, who are willing if not eager to use violence to attempt to stop integration by violent acts? Or will they say that much as they oppose integration, they hate law violation and breach of the peace worse, and therefore try to stop it?

E. O. Jackson

Will they feel that if the rowdies stop desegregation by violent methods, there own position and authority will be threatened? And if they do try to maintain law and order and abide by rulings stemming from the Supreme Court's desegregation decision, will they be strong enough to win, and to carry the community with them?"

In a remarkable essay, published in The Yale Review and reprinted by The Montgomery Advertiser, Prof. Iredell Jenkins, discusses the situation at the University of Alabama.

He examines one facet of that problem, "the moral and practical dilemma of professors who experience a conflict between their personal principles and the purposes of the universities and communities of which they are members."

His philosophy is this: **"I think the present treatment of the Negro throughout the country (though most conspicuously because more openly in the South) is clearly unjust.**

I recognize that change can come only gradually and hesitantly, but I feel that the only sane course for the future is to make real the paper promises of equal opportunity, especially in education.

I am convinced that the universities of the South should play a constructive role in this undertaking and should on their own initiative begin to open their academic communities to qualified Negroes who want and need the training that can be obtained within these communities."

But the obstacle is this: "The most vocal segments of the public, and of the various state legislatures, are vehemently opposed to integration in any way, on any terms at any level; this is quite certainly true of the majority of the citizens of the several states. And it must be remembered that a state university is immediately dependent upon the active goodwill of its legislature; and more remotely though quite really, upon the support of the people at large."

He points out that "several Southern state universities share the common opinion: they sincerely think that integration is morally and socially wrong and that segregation is for the real best interest of all concerned."

He observes: "On the other hand, these officers acknowledged the sovereignty of the national law, submitted to it, and admitted several Negro students. They did not approve of integration, but, they acceded to it."

In a situation like this what is the most helpful role to play by a professor who believes in integration and who works in a university which is strapped with segregation?

He may resign quietly or issue a ripping statement. "Those adopting it serves at least two good purposes. First, they assure the world at large there is solid opposition on the faculties to the official policy of segregation, that there are many professors who are dedicated to the cause of progress and equality in race relations."

"Second, those who resign serve notice on state and university authorities, and on the people at large, that a substantial body of the academic profession places freedom in all of its forms almost first among the virtues, and rejects both the policy of enforced segregation and the practice of absentee management."

And there is another way: Stay, stand up and fight. "The place to fight for a principle is where it is living issue, not where it is an accomplished fact ,and still less where it has become a mere object of sanctimonious self-congratulation."

There is a third solution, ignore the problem. Fourthly, the professor may protest.

Weaknesses and dangers are found in all of these solutions.

The value of Professor Jenkins' essay lies in getting the school integration issue sanely, facually, and soundly discussed. Discussion can kill segregation which lives on thought control, fear and darkness. thought control, fear and dargness.

cutive secretary and James Hall, student leader, Central High School.

Officers of the Parker Student Council in addition to Mr. Green, president, are George Cook, vice-president; Miss Mary A. Taylor, secretary; Miss Betty Hardin, assistant secretary; Clyde Montgomery, treasurer; Arthur Grant, parliamentarian, Milton Adams, sergeant-at-arms and Mrs. Dessie Harris Ray, teacher-sponsor.

Loads of gala entertainment await the Alabama State Association Student Council Group. Students of Parker High. Rudean Pugh and Charles Hawkins will reign over the Welcome Ball and all other activities of the State Meet. The Welcome Ball will be held in the Parker High School Gym, Friday evening, April 12. A Coffee Hour is scheduled earlier on the same date.

Saturday, April 13, activities includes: A Tour of the Vulcan Trail; An Exhibit of all Student Activities at Parker High School and a Relaxing Coke Hour.

THE TIP OFF

Wanted P. 8
B'ham, Ala.

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Wed. 4-17-57

An observer at a Math and Science Day program such as was held for the third annual time at Wenonah High School, April 11, finds himself in a tougher spot than speaker, presider, panelist, consultant or remarkist.

Participants on such programs and the sponsors of them together with the non-present audience are often anxious to get the reactions of the candid, if not competent, observer. Usually such an assignment is a dreaded task because math and science are often pictured as subjects in the feared fields of learning.

Emory O. Jackson

The Math and Science Day event reflected sound planning, hard work, and rugged imagination. The student projects that were exhibited indicated creative ability, training and direction. The visiting students seemed to have been fired up by what they saw and marveled at the talent of students like themselves which had been turned loose to create, to discover, to manipulate and to construct.

One visiting teacher told me that he had attended the two previous math and science day events here which each time produce two or more ideas which he was able to use in his teaching program. Another teacher told me of a similar promotion which he has at the school where he works.

Those are observations on the encouraging side, the bright side, the actual side, from the standpoint of the event. But those observations were not the questions which riddled my mind and disturbed me as I sat in the conference. Most of those things did not come up in the conference, which was not organized for such questions which beat through me as I sat there uncomfortable.

Prof. James A. Sutton of Miles College in his conference contribution described mathematics as "the queen and servant of the sciences." It pained through me that I had bounced through the Birmingham public schools, routed myself off to college, only to find that in the field of mathematics which I was interested, little opportunity had been provided to me. Mathematics in Alabama high schools is elective and the students are blamed for not being interested in a subject that is rated significant but not enough to be required.

In Birmingham a Negro student interested in the sciences and the field of mathematics is barred because of his color from enrolling at Ramsay Tech where he can build the proper foundation for both. It is not the Negro student but racial segregation which is to be blamed for a number of the shortcomings assigned to the Negro person because of race.

Dr. Carol W. Hayes, director of Negro schools, Birmingham Public Schools, listed as a consultant but appearing at his own insistence for remarks, raised the question, "Is our doing equal to our saying?"

Four conference speakers had discussed various angles of the theme, "Meeting Increasing Needs for Science and Mathematics." Drawbacks such as student indifference, fear, inability of instructors to make their math classes come alive, and the scarcity of math teachers came up. But why should one who plans to become a teacher prepare for math, which is selective, over the social sciences which are required?

Negro students coming out of inferior schools are not always as prepared to enter math and science fields in college. With the tendency to employ more and more teachers who are graduates of colleges which draw on these students from the inferior schools there will continue to be this gap, it seems to me. Too many Negro high schools lack both the equipment, the courses and the staff to provide first-class training in either the hard sciences or rigid mathematics.

Another consultant raised the two-fold question of why so many Negro students prepare for teaching and in their teaching preparation skip over math. Herbert Hill, labor secretary of the NAACP has made a survey which shows that new industries moving to the South are not employing Negro workers. An article by Nick Aaron Ford in the April 15 issue of The New Republic, entitled "The Negro Teacher, will help answer further that question.

Teaching represents the highest white-collar profession open to the Negro group. If there were no color line the surplus of Negro teachers could be absorbed in the South and elsewhere. For the shortage of white teachers and the surplus are Negro teachers are but evidence of the failure of democracy to work as it should. The shortage of white teachers also reflect that in the "assortment of occupations" the Negro surplus teachers cannot pour themselves because of racial bars.

Peaceful Racial 'Revolution' Their Goal

Herald P.29-a
Phila. Pa. 9-9-57

BY DAVID KRASLOW
Of Our Washington Bureau

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—People of good will came here from all parts of the country Sunday to take a two-weeks course in how to achieve revolution peacefully.

KRASLOW

They are here to participate in 14th annual Institute of Race Relations, one of the nation's oldest training grounds for community leaders concerned with racial problems.

The Supreme Court — in its desegregation decisions — ordered a social revolution. But the court didn't come up with a formula which would cure the disease without injuring the patients.

This is the task to which the institute is dedicated. Great social change is never painless, but the institute seeks ways of eliminating as much pain as possible.

The institute itself is a classic example of good race relations.

It came into being after the wave of race riots in Detroit and other cities in the early 1940s and is housed on the campus of Fisk University, a leading Negro school.

It is co-sponsored by Fisk and the Congregational Christian Church, a predominantly white denominational group.

Its director is Dr. Herman H. Long, a Negro, but the staff is interracial.

The 130 participants in this year's program—opening Monday — are about equally divided between white and Negro.

They represent 30 states and a variety of church, labor, and social welfare groups.

About half of the whites are from the South.

Nashville provides an especially good setting for the institute this year.

The arrival in town of John Kasper, race-baiting boss of the militant Seaboard White Citizens Council, was reported prominently in the Sunday paper.

Kasper said he would not have come to Nashville if the pro-segregation Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government was "doing its job properly."

"There's no leadership here," Kasper wailed. "They've been avoiding the fight . . ."

The institute, in its literature on this year's program, also decries the lack of leadership.

There is "a continuing need," the institute says," . . . for leadership which can help preserve the integrity of law, substitute reason for hysteria, maintain communication between groups, and pursue the steady course of justice founded in religious conviction."

Kasper, however, was talking about leadership to plot the sabotoging of Nashville's plans to integrate its school system in September.

Nashville has adopted a moderate, gradual method of conforming with the Supreme Court's edict. Integration will be started at the first grade level this fall.

A special feature of the institute this year will be the presence of delegates from Puerto Rican, Mexican-American and Indian groups. Officials of nine Indian tribes in the southwest are attending.

A full schedule of speeches and seminars awaits the delegates following the keynote address by Long.

Tid-Bits From Washington

Call p. 18
Kansas City, Mo.

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

For the NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Why all the noise about the Jamestown Festival? 5-3-57

The bad manners of Gov. Thomas B. Stanley and other white Virginians in withdrawing invitations issued to a dinner for distinguished native Virginians are in line with the occasion they celebrate—the first permanent white settlement in America.

Jamestown is noted for one other thing. The first African slaves were landed there by the Dutch in 1619—12 years after the settlement began.

A lot may be said as to why colored persons should be guests at the dinner. If breeding is a factor, some of them qualify better than Gov. Stanley, Senator Harry F. Byrd, ex-Gov. John S. Battle, ex-Gov. William M. Tuck, or Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond.

What Is Social Equality

It's funny—hearing these men argue that white and colored children must be kept from going to school together—even if the public schools have to be abolished—and that the real aim of the NAACP is social equality.

What is more equal socially than intimate relations?

The genealogies of native Virginians abound with facts showing that present-day colored Americans born in Virginia can trace their ancestry back to George Washington, the Father of this country; Col. John Parke Curtis, one of the sons of Martha Washington, who bought the 1,100 acres of Arlington, and Washington's adopted son, George Washington Parke Custis, who inherited Arlington and built the present house.

Another famous Virginian who sired colored children by slave mothers was Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence.

What colored Virginians should do is celebrate the 100th anniversary of the birth of Booker T. Washington. He not only distinguished himself as an educator, but he was a product of social equality in Virginia.

Dr. Washington's mother was Jane Burroughs, the plantation cook. Her husband was a slave named Washington Ferguson, who belonged to a neighboring family. Of her three children, only the infant daughter was his child. Booker's older brother, John, was a mulatto. Who his father was Booker never learned.

Knew Little Of Father

In his autobiograghy, "Up from Slavery," Dr. Washington wrote:

"Of my father I know even less than of my mother. I do not even know his name. I have heard reports to the effect that he was a white man who lived on one of the nearby plantations.

"Whoever he was, I never heard of his taking the least interest in me or providing in any way for my rearing."

How can Republicans make political hay out of the Democrats having Senator James O. Eastland, Dixiecrat, of Mississippi, as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, while I. Lee Potter, chairman of the lily-white Republican party in Virginia, is the head of the patronage division in the Republican National Committee headquarters?

Potter currently is weighing the availability of candidates for a Federal judgeship in the northern district of Mississippi. Judge Allen Cox, who was appointed by President Calvin Coolidge, is retiring.

Will Ignore Howard

If Potter follows his practice, he will ignore Perry W. Howard, Republican National Committeeman for Mississippi, and take the recommendation of E. O. Spencer, whom the lily-white faction of Mississippi Republicans put up for National Committee.

The Republican national convention, in San Francisco, seated the black-and-tan delegation, headed by Howard, but Leonard Hall, the former Republican national chairman, recognized the lily-white group, the chairman of which is Wirt Yeager.

Spencer owns and operates the Walthall hotel in Jackson, Miss., and, by his own admission, rents space to the White Citizens Council for headquarters.

May the Lord have mercy on colored persons who have to get their rights adjudicated by a federal judge recommended by Spencer and okayed by Potter!

Judge Charles Evans Whitaker of the United States Supreme Court, a Missourian, Wednesday swore in Scovel Richardson, a fellow Missourian, as judge of the United States Customs Court. Judge Richardson joins on that bench Judge Irvin C. Mollison and makes the fourth colored Federal judge currently serving. The other two are Judges William H. Hastie of the United States Third Circuit Court of Appeals at Philadelphia and Judge Herman E. Moore of the United States Distrit Court for the Virgin Islands.

Mrs. Ruby M. Kendrick, public relations director of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, has been reappointed by the State Department to the United States National Commission for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (NESCO).

Although their Easter dawn dance was scheduled for the next night, Washington Alumni Kappas stayed up late Saturday night at their regular monthly meeting, discussing a scholarship program tour of eight African countries by Vice President Nixon.

Hosts for the Saturday night meeting were James Carter, Jr., Robert L. Evans, Raymond Jones, George Patterson, John W. Rout, Webster Sewell, Gerald Adams, Charles C. Coley, William S. Gary, Sebrone King, John R. Pinkett, Sr., Herbert Scurlock, Fred A. Smith, George Felton.

Lynn O. Coombs, George N. Hilburn, George B. Parks, Frank Reeves, Bernard Sewell, Herman Tyrance, Leroy X. Woodson, and William E. House. Julian R. Dugas, the polemarch, presided.

"Go South to Sorrow," published by Random House on April 17, reveals the findings of Carl Rowan, the author, of what is happening in the South since the 1954 Supreme Court declaration that "in the field of public education the doctrine of separate but equal has no place."

He places the bulk of the blame for racial tension on men "'who seek refuge in 'moderation.'"

Most important of all, Rowan writes, "we have the vital question of whether a nation is to sit meekly by, hoping Father Time will rush in like the U. S. cavalry to rescue us, while a few ruthless men discredit the nation's judicial system, render meaningless its Constitution, trample roughshod over the basic liberties of the people."

In The Nation's Capital

Call p. 18
Kansas City, Mo.

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

For the NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Jim Crow states have had nearly three years in which to "make a prompt and reasonable start toward compliance" with the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, outlawing racial segregation in public schools. 5-3-57

Louis Lautier

These states were put on notice on that date that racial segregation in public education is unconstitutional and that all laws. Federal, state and local — requiring or permitting such segregation must yield to this principle.

Because of the wide applicability of the decision, the court heard further arguments on the questions of how and when its decision should be put into effect. Then, on May 31, 1955, the court remanded the Virginia, South Carolina and Kansas cases to lower Federal courts to fashion and effectuate such orders and decrees as are necessary to desegregate the public schools "with all deliberate speed."

No Action In Nine

The annual report of Attorney General Herbert Brownell for the fiscal year ended June 30 shows that no steps to desegregate the schools have been taken in nine of the 17 states which had compulsory Jim Crow school laws. These states are Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia and Tennessee (except in the federally supported Oak Ridge school).

As a matter of record, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Florida have officially adopted resolutions of "interposition," declaring that the state had the right to put its sovereignty between its citizens and the Federal Government to nullify the decision.

While litigation relating to enforcement of the decision is proceeding, it appears that it is time for the Executive and Legislative Branches of the Federal Government to lend aid to the Judicial Branch to compel compliance with the decision.

The 84th Congress extended the programs of financial assistance for school construction and for operation of schools in federally affected areas through fiscal year 1958.

May Get Assistance

Under this latest extension of the law, school districts may request assistance to help build additional classrooms needed to accommodate children whose presence in the district is due to federal activities.

The United States Office of Education estimates that the cost of this latest two-year extension of the school-construction program will amount to $144,300,000. The appropriation requested for fiscal year 1958 amounted to $41,800,000.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare appropriation bill for 1958, approved by the House, includes $41,700,000 for assistance for school construction—a reduction of $100,000 from the request and a reduction of $66,800,000 from the appropriation for the current fiscal year.

The HEW appropriation bill also includes $127,000,000 for payments to school districts to help meet current operating expenses in the fiscal year 1958. This is the amount requested and is $13,950,000 over the amount appropriated for the current fiscal year.

Some 3000 districts are expected to participate in the program of Federal assistance for operation of schools in federally affected areas. Payments to eligible districts will be based on the numbers of pupils in attendance in the current school year.

It is estimated that the participating districts will have in attendance some 1,125,000 pupils whose parents are in the military service or work for the Federal Government.

An additional 20,000 pupils will be in attendance at schools operated by the Federal Government on Federal installations where local educational agencies cannot accept responsibility for free public education.

Since the Supreme Court decision holding racially segregated public schools unconstitutional is the law of the land, it would appear that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which administers through the United States Office of Education, the programs of financial assistance for school construction and for operation of schools in federally affected areas, can legally deny funds to school districts which maintain Jim Crow schools.

If the Department of Health, Education and Welfare cannot do so, the Congress certain can end these programs as a waste of taxpayers' money.

Unless the Department or Congress acts, as Representative Frank T. Bow, Republican, of Ohio, pointed out, the program will continue "to grow as the Federal Government hires additional people or as federal employees continue to have children."

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Rep. Dawson Rushed To Naval Hospital

afro American

Rep. William L. Dawson, 71, (D., Ill.), is in the Naval Hospital at Bethesda (Maryland). Sat. 5-11-57

He was taken there April 29 after he became suddenly ill while presiding at a meeting of the House Government Operations Committee, of which he is chairman. Baltimore, Md.

While the meeting was going on, Mr. Dawson felt himself about to swoon. He kept his senses, adjourned the meeting, had members to talk with him to help him retain consciousness, then went to his Washington apartment.

Later, an ambulance was called and he was taken to the hospital. The hospital declined

to make any statement about his condition. The hospital's executive assistant for administration said Mr. Dawson's office would make any announcement about his condition.

* * *

GOV. WALTER GORDON of the Virgin Islands and Mrs. Gordon have been attending hearings on the operations of the Virgin Islands Government and the Government-owned Virgin Islands Corporation before a House Government Operations subcommittee, headed by Earl Chudoff, (D., Pa.).

Governor Gordon and Anthony Lausi, director of the office of Territories, Interior Department, testified Wednesday.

The Virgin Islands Corporation runs two loan programs. One is agricultural loans and the other is industrial and commercial loans.

Industrial and commercial loans include loans of $100,000 each to A. H. Rise Distillers and Carlton Estate, Inc., a hotel.

* * *

THE DISTILLERY was bought from the United States Government by Ralph and Isidor Paiewonsky when the Government went out of the rum business. Ralph Paiewonsky is the Democratic National Committeeman for the Virgin Islands.

The Virgin Isle Hotel made application a year ago for a loan of $240,000, and two other hotels on St. Croix discussed the possibility of getting loans from the Virgin Islands Corporation.

But these applications apparently were turned down because there was a question as to whether Congress intended loans of this type to be made.

The Carlton Estate Hotel opened on Dec. 15 and has prospered. The Bluebeard Hotel also has been doing fine and has even made advance payments on its loan. The Mountaintop Hotel, overlooking the Caribbean Sea, also is doing well. In fact, it has been a good tourist season.

Capital Spotlight

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

By Louis Lautier

Sat. 5-25-57

Report of Dawson's illness exaggerated

Reports about the illness of Representative William L. Dawson, Democrat, of Illinois, have been greatly exaggerated. Whatever the diagnosis shows, nobody except the Congressman and his doctors know.

One thing definite is — it was not a heart attack, nor has he been in a coma.

He is getting along fine. For a very active man confined to a hospital room he has been very well behaved. He is seeing nobody, on doctors' orders, except Mrs. Christine Davis, staff director of the House Government Operations Committee; Elmer W. Henderson, counsel for the subcommittee on Government reorganization reports; and Mrs. Norma Williams, his secretary.

HE SLEEPS whenever slumber comes down upon him. But he is restless and disagreeable. They say it is a good sign for an ill man to complain and be disagreeable. It's a sign that he is getting better.

One other thing — if anybody is getting any notions about taking over either his congressional seat or his political power, Mr. Dawson is not thinking of retiring voluntarily or of being defeated.

In the early days of his confinement, Mr. Dawson wanted another apartment where he would not have to walk up three flights of stairs. After arrangements had been made for another apartment, he reneged and said nobody was going to make an invalid of him.

Capital Spotlight

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

By Louis Lautier

Sat. 5-18-57

Dawson In Hospital Champing At Bit

Rep. William L. Dawson (D., Ill.) is figuratively champing at the bit.

Physically durable, Dawson has been a fighter all his life. It was probably because of his fighting spirit that his father, Levi Dawson, who ran a barbershop for whites in Albany, Ga., sent him to Fisk University.

As a lieutenant in the American Expeditionary Forces in France during World War I, Dawson not only fought the Germans, but also fought race prejudice to which his Company E of the 365th Infantry was subjected by white American officers.

* * *

HIS BIOGRAPHY doesn't tell it, but Dawson was wounded in the war and had to undergo an amputation.

Every now and then, the leg, where amputated, acts up. He has been in excruciating pain after long hours on the House floor fighting for civil rights—and would only go home when friends and employees insisted that he do so.

During Democratic national conventions, many a morning when Dawson got to bed it was time for him to get up again.

In all of these things he has driven himself relentlessly. Now he is forced by illness to be idle—and he's fretting.

* * *

AT THE Naval Hospital at Bethesda (Maryland), where he is recuperating, Dawson is doing nicely and is directing the activities of his office from his hospital room. He has his television set from his apartment for entertainment and to keep informed on the news of the day.

Mrs. Christine Davis, staff director of the House Government Operations Committee, o which he is chairman, and Elmer W. Henderson, a subcommittee counsel, visit him on alternate days to keep him from overtaxing himself.

But Dawson is anxious to get back to the political wars. He will be discharged from the hospital any day now.

* * *

PERRY W. HOWARD, Republican National Committeeman for Mississippi, was completely ignored in the selection of a postmaster for his home town, Jackson, Miss.

Intimates are chiding him. They say if the Democrats were in power, he would at least have been consulted.

Nominated to be postmaster at Jackson was Philip M. Catchings, to succeed A. C. Griffin, who is retiring.

Catchings got the job through E. O. Spencer, a Jackson hotel owner, who admits renting space in his hotel for meetings of the White Citizens Council, and Wirt Yerger. Spencer is the patronage boss for Mississippi, and Yerger is the chairman of the lily-white Republican faction in that state.

* * *

ORDINARILY, IN states where there are no Republican Senators and Congressmen, the Republican National Committeeman would handle patronage matters.

But Sherman Adams, the Assistant to the President; Attorney General Herbert Brownell and Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield reportedly made the decisions as to who would be the patronage bosses as between old line Republicans and Eisenhower Democrats in Southern states.

Reggie Townsend, the press secretary for President William V. S. Tubman of Liberia, has been visiting here. Recently he called on James C. Hagerty, the White House press secretary.

Hagerty was telling Townsend how he does his job and going over White House press releases. The buzzer in Hagerty's office sounded. Hagerty excused himself and went to see what President Eisenhower wanted.

* * *

WHEN HE returned, he told Townsend that Mr. Eisenhower wanted to see him. President Eisenhower greeted the Liberian secretary, talked with him briefly, and asked him to convey his good wishes to President Tubman.

Gwendolyn Fowler of Des Moines (Iowa), timed her return to the United States to coincide almost with the visit of President Ngo Dinh Diem of Viet-Nam, who came here at the invitation of President Eisenhower.

Miss Fowler served as an assistant program analyst with the International Cooperation Administration (Point 4) in Saigon, the capital of Viet-Nam. After her home leave ends, she will return as training officer, which is a promotion for her.

Archie Samuel Lang will be named secretary of the United States Embassy in Ghana.

* * *

MRS. EDITH MAI PADMORE, wife of George Padmore, the Liberian Ambassador, and Mrs. Margaretta Grigsby of the Liberian Embassy sponsored a tea at the Embassy Sunday afternoon on behalf of Beta Sigma Chapter of the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority. It was for the benefit of West African women students.

Incidentally, Ambassador Padmore gave a stag party for Richard Lee Jones, the American Ambassador to Liberia, on the eve of his return to his post at Monrovia. Mr. Jones has been in this country as an alternate delegate to the United Nations General Assembly.

Some complaints have been lodged with the United States Information Agency about Eugene Sawyer, the information officer in Accra, Ghana, but the wire service men who toured Africa with Vice President Nixon, praise him.

Ike to name rights unit at recess, says Haggerty

By LOUIS LAUTIER

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 5-25-57

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — President Eisenhower will make recess appointments to the Civil Rights Commission, created by the Civil Rights Act of 1957, James C. Hagerty, White House press secretary, said Tuesday.

Mr. Hagerty made his statement in reply to questions concerning a press release issued Monday by Rep. Kenneth B. Keating, of New York, ranking Republican member of the House Judiciary Committee.

Mr. Keating said President Eisenhower would be inviting trouble if he appointed the Civil Rights Commission now because civil rights opponents would use any work done by the Commission against the appointees when their names are submitted for confirmation.

ASKED WHETHER the President might delay the appointments until Congress convened in January, Mr. Hagerty replied that he had no reason to change what he had previously said—that the President will make recess appointments to the Commission.

Asked whether it could be assumed that the new Assistant Attorney General will also be a recess appointed, Mr. Hagerty said: "I have nothing definite on that."

The Civil Rights Act raised the civil rights section in the Justice Department to a divisional level to be headed by an assistant attorney general.

Wilkins made boo boo in backing civil rights

By LOUIS LAUTIER
(For NNPA News Service)

WASHINGTON

Although the fight for civil rights legislation in the 85th Congress is over, it is too early to assess the credit for passage of the puny bill or the blame for its emasculation in the Senate.

There appears to be, however, rather widespread agreement that Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, not only made a tactical blunder, but committed a fundamental error in signing two statements issued by the so-called "Leadership conference."

One of these statements, issued on Aug. 7, a few hours before the Senate passed the bill, 78 to 18, urged Senate supporters to vote for the measure after it had been stripped of Part 3, providing the enforcement of the 14th Amendment, and Part 5 had been added to require jury trials in all criminal contempt of court cases in Federal courts.

The other statement of Aug. 23, issued while House Republicans were holding out for a stronge bill than the Senate-approved measure, called upon Democratic and Republican supporters of civil rights to compromise their differences on jury trial amendment.

EVER SINCE its organization, the NAACP has fought for the full and immediate enjoyment by colored citizensof the rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

On that principle there never should be a compromise. Full enjoyment of every constitutional right may not be attained immediately, but no one purporting to speak for the NAACP should ever deviate from that ideal.

Generally, the Republican party should profit from the passage of the bill with individual Democrats in both the House and Senate sharing in it.

First, President Eisenhower recommended civil rights legislation in his State of the Union messages to both the 84th and 85th Congresses.

The Administration's proposals were submitted to the House and Senate by Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. on April 9, 1956.

* * *

THESE proposals passed the House on July 23, 1956, but died in the Senate Judiciary Committee where Dixiecrat Sens. James O. Eastland of Mississippi, committee chairman; Olin D. Johnson of South Carolina, John L. McClellan of Arkansas, and Price Daniels of Texas kept the bill bottled up.

The Administration's bill was designed to assist in the achievement of the goal of equality under law by strengthening the law - enforcement powers of the Federal Government in the entire area of civil rights.

It created a Civil Rights Commission in the executive branch of the Government to determine the extent to which deprivation of civil rights is being suffered.

It provided for an additional Assistant Attorney General in charge of a new Civil Rights Division in the Justice Department.

* * *

IT GAVE the Attorney General authority to bring civil suits to enjoin threatened violations of civil rights, including the right of a child to attend an unsegregated public school, and deprivations of the right to vote.

Bills similar to the 1956 measure were introduced in the 85th Congress. Rep. Emanuel Celler, (Dem, N.Y.) chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, sponsored the Administration bill. Rep. Kenneth B. Keating, also of New York, and ranking GOP member of the committee, assisted Mr. Celler in piloting the bill through the House.

In the Senate, the Administration bill was sponsored by Sens. Thomas C. Hennings (Dem., Mo.), chairman of the Judiciary Committee Constitutional Rights subcommittee, and Everett M. Dirksen, Republican, of New York.

* * *

SENATOR Hennings originally planned to report the bill from his subcommittee to the full committee without any hearings. The full Judiciary Committee had held lengthy hearings in 1956.

Besides, the other two subcommittee members — Sens. Joseph C. O'Mahoney, (Dem., Wyo.), and William Langer, (Rep., N.D.), along with Senator Hennings, were sponsoring civil rights bills much stronger than the Administration measure.

But Eastland decided otherwise. He enlarged the subcommittee by adding to it Sens. Sam J. Ervin, (Dem., N.C.), and Arthur V. Watkins, (Rep., Utah), Ervin insisted on hearings on the ground that he had not been a member of the Judiciary Committee in 1956.

During the exhaustive hearings the subcommittee held, Ervin developed his phony charges that the bill would permit the President to enforce civil rights in the South "at the point of a bayonet."

He added that it would deny the right to trial by jury to persons accused of contempt of court for failing or refusing to comply with a court order in a civil rights case.

* * *

WHEN THE BILL was finally reported to the Judiciary Committee, Eastland had a new gimmick.

Under the pretext of considering the bill, he would recognize one of his co-conspirators — Johnston, McClellan, or Ervin — to make a spurious motion and talk until noon when the committee could no longer sit because the Senate was in session.

While this burlesque was going on in the Senate Judiciary Committee, the House-approved bill reached the Senate. Sen. William F. Knowland of California, the Senate GOP leader, moved to bypass the Judiciary Committee and place the bill on the Senate calendar.

That was done over the opposition of Sens. Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, Senate Democratic leader, and 3 other Democrats.

Among them, such pseudo-liberals as Sens. Clinton P. Anderson of New Mexico, Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, Frank J. Lausche of Ohio, Warren Magnuson of Washington. Mike Mansfield of Montana, James E. Murray of Montana, John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts and O'Mahoney.

* * *

LIKEWISE, Johnson vigorously supported the motion of Sen. Wayne Morse, (Dem., Ore.), to refer the bill to the Judiciary Committee with instructions to report it back in seven days.

Again it was the fine hand of Senator Johnson that directed the strategy which resulted in Senate adoption of the jury trial amendment sponsored by Sens. O'Mahoney, Kefauver, and Frank Church, (Dem., Idaho), after he had rounded up the votes.

There were only nine Democratic Senators who met the acid test on civil rights, namely:

John A. Carroll of Colorado, Joseph S. Clark of Pennsylvania, Paul H. Douglas of Illinois, Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, Morse, Richard L. Neuberger of Oregon, and Stuart Symington of Missouri.

They should share in whatever political advantage that flows from passage of the bill.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Baptist Convention wheels are quiet

The time for the 77th session of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., is drawing near. It meets in Louisville Sept. 2-9. But the big convention wheels remain ominously quiet.

Dr. Joseph H. Jackson, pastor of Olivet Baptist Church in Chicago and president of the convention, has been talking about banning nuclear weapons testing and stockpiling, but has been silent about his intentions at the forthcoming convention.

He has said he is a servant of the convention and will abide by its wishes.

But the conflict continues between supporters and opponents of Dr. Jackson. The supporters of Dr. Jackson assert that the constitution of the National Baptist Convention contains no provision governing tenure.

* * *

HIS OPPONENTS maintain that a new constitution, adopted at the 1952 session in Chicago, provides:

"A president of the Convention shall not be eligible for reelection after he has served four consecutive terms until at least one year has elapsed."

Dr. Jackson's fourth year as president of the Convention expires at the next session which will be held in Louisville, Ky.

Opponents of Dr. Jackson deny that the tenure provision was an amendment to the constitution and, as such, was not validly adopted, or that, if validly adopted, it was subsequently repealed.

* * *

THE TWO FACTIONS agree on the facts as they appear in the minutes of the Convention from 1951 through 1953.

The Jackson supporters rely heavily on the minutes of the 1952 session which shows the adoption of the revised constitution on the third day of the convention.

The constitution, in effect at the time of the 1952 meeting, provided that no amendments shall be considered after the second day of the session.

The Jackson supporters also rely on the minutes of the 1955 session in Memphis, Tenn. Those minutes show that—

On Tuesday, Sept. 6, 1955, Dr. C. C. Coleman of Mississippi proposed a constitutional. He moved that article 4, section 2 be deleted. Article 4, section 2 provides that a president shall not be eligible for reelection after he has served four consecutive terms, until at least one year has elapsed

The Coleman motion was seconded by Dr. D. C. Washington of Alabama.

* * *

JUST BEFORE the vote was taken on the Coleman motion, Dr. Jackson said: "I do not wish to abridge your privilege in this act for it is your democratic right. The president, however, has a statement on the same matter. But he will accept your expression of it at this time."

After this statement the Board of Directors voted by a large majority to recommend to the parent body that tenure be removed from the constitution. The vote was recorded as being 37 to 11 in favor of recommending the removal of the tenure provision.

The 1955 minutes state that Dr. Gardner C. Taylor of New York "glowingly commended the president's address and moved that the address be adopted, including every recommendation. The motion received the support of a chorus of seconds. The motion carried unanimously."

* * *

THE NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, like the Elks, distributes its minutes until the next convention. In other words, the 1956 minutes of the Convention will not be distributed until the 1957 session in Louisville.

Therefore, the minutes of the 1956 session are not available as evidence of whether the committee appointed by Dr. Jackson at the 1955 session made a report at the 1956 session in Denver and, if so, what action the convention took on it.

But Dr. Marshall L. Shepard, of Philadelphia, who is prominently mentioned to succeed Dr. Jackson, says:

"According to the record, the only attempt to amend the constitution officially was in the last session of the convention at Denver when a report of the committee having been duly presented to the Executive Board was also presented to the convention for adoption.

"But despite the fact that the president threatened to resign unless this committee's report was adopted, the convention not only failed to adopt the report but unanimously voted to table the same."

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

House Dixiecrats Facing a Dilemma

Southern Senators, who voted against Senate passage of the weak Senate - amended voting rights bill, have been urging the delegations from their states in the House to accept the measure.

The problem of the House Dixiecrats is how to do what their Senators did — openly vote against the bill while privately accepting it as not hurting their states.

Bob Johnson, grand exalted ruler of the Elks, pulled the rug from under Hobson Reynolds, director of the Elks' civil liberties department.

Hobson was one of the 16 signers of the statement of Aug. 7, issued by the so-called "Leadership Conference," urging acceptance of the Senate bill.

JOHNSON NOT only sent wires to President Eisenhower and Rep. Joe Martin of Massachusetts, the House GOP leader, urging a Presidential veto of the Senate bill, but is reported to have told Hobson that he had no right to sign the statement on behalf of the Elks and that he, Reynolds, could not speak for either the Elks or their grand exalted ruler.

The American Civil Liberties Union statement of July 26, which reportedly prompted the "Leadership Conference" to issue its statement, declared that unnecessary injection of the jury trial amendment into the voting rights bill "will only hamper and delay the Department of Justice and the courts in carrying out their constitutional duty to protect voting rights of citizens."

This statement was signed by Jefferson B. Fordham, William C. Warren and Eugene V. Rostow, deans of the University of Pennsylvania, Columbia University and Yale Law Schools, respectively. George M. Johnson, dean of the Howard University Law School, also signed the statement.

LAW SCHOOL professors who signed it included James M. Nabrit, secretary of Howard University, professor of civil rights law in the law school, a member of the NAACP National Legal Committee, and counsel (with George E. C. Hayes, chairman of the District of Columbia Public Utilities Commission) for the colored children and their parents in the District of Columbia school segregation case, in which the Supreme Court ruled segregation in local public schools unconstitutional.

Attorneys who signed the statement included Sadie T. M. Alexander of Philadelphia, who was a member of President Truman's Civil Rights Committee; Theodore M. Berry, vice mayor of Cincinnati and a member of the NAACP Board of Directors, and Amos T. Hall, Tulsa, Okla.

Others were Oliver W. Hill, Richmond, Va., one of the lawyers in the Virginia school segregation case; Carl R. Johnson, Kansas City, Mo.; Sidney Jones, Chicago; Edward P. Lovett, Washington, D.C.; Loren Miller, Los Angeles; Bob Ming Jr., Chicago; T. Gillis Nutter, Charleston, W. Va.; Loring B. Moore, Chicago; Sidney R. Redmond, St. Louis; Frank D. Reeves, Washington, D.C.; Alex Tureaud, New Orleans, and Austin T. Walden, Atlanta, all members of the National Legal Committee of the NAACP.

* * *

THE REV. Marshall L. Shepard, pastor of Mt. Olivet Tabernacle Baptist Church, and councilman - at - large, Philadelphia, writes:

"Thank you so much for the considerations you have given our point of view on matters concerning the National Baptist Constitution.

"The convention in Louisville will definitely determine the future of the National Baptist Convention.

"If the delegates, who are standing for the constitution win and the integrity of the constitution is maintained, the future of the Convention will be bright and we shall never again have to go through this struggle.

* * *

"ON THE other hand, if the group that opposes the constitution wins out, we can only expect a future characterized by perjuries, disputing, vindictiveness that will seriously endanger the fellowship and peace of the Convention and definitely jeopardize the effectiveness of its work.

"It may even lead to law suits and far reaching strife, the end of which will be long delayed.

"So men and women of good will and clear heads are praying and planning, too, that the integrity of our constitution shall be maintained.

* * *

"I AM very keenly interested in our denomination. My father was a minister and my mother was, for 35 years, president of the Women's Home and Foreign Mission Convention of North Carolina. She was one of the founders of our present National Baptist Convention.

"I joined the National Baptist Convention in 1925 and have missed only one session since that time.

"Throughout all my political career, I have been loyal to the National Baptist Convention and its objectives.

"The good Lord has blessed me with the privilege of serving as pastor of the Mount Olivet Tabernacle Baptist Church since 1926."

South Seeks Compromise On School Desegregation

By LOUIS LAUTIER

For the NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON — Reports are that the five-man delegation from the Southern Governor's Conference, which met in Sea Island, Ga, last weeek, will tolk compromise of school desegregation with President Eisenhower Tuesday afternoon.

From a well-informed source it was learned that the moderates, like Governors LeRoy Collins of Florida, Luther H Hodges of North Carolina and Frank G Clement of Tennessee want Presidential sanction of an understanding they hope to negotiate with NAACP spokesmen whereby they will put into effect a minimum of desegregation in their public schools on condition that the NAACP will not press for faster and total integration.

Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas, who generated the violence which caused President Eisenhower to send Federal troops into Little Rock, is included among the moderates but is not a member of the delegation Mr Eisenhower is seeing.

Gov Collins, who warned the South to abandon the "Confederate blanket" and stop "consuming itself in racial furor," "or die politically and economically," has done nothing toward admitting colored students to Florida universities in compliance with Supreme Court decisions in the Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher case (1948), the G W McLaurin case (1950, and the Heman Marion Sweatt case (1950).

Die-hard segregationist governors, like Marvin Griffin of Georgia, Earl K Long of Louisiana, James P Coleman of Mississippi, George B Timmerman of South Carolina, and Thomas B Stanley of Virginia, will stand pat and eventually face the crisis of closing their public schools or integrating them.

After President Eisenhower talks with the delegation from the Southern Governor's Conference, but before he gives his blessing to any compromise proposal put forward by them, he should talk with some topflight colored persons who are unalterably opposed to any compromise on constitutional rights.

The gimmick in the compromise talk is that no matter who agrees to a compromise, if a single parent, whose child has the necessary qualifications for attending a white school, except color, decides to assert the constitutional right to have the child attend a nonsegregated school, the compromise evaporates-no matter how much money the local school board may have spent in building a nice jim crow school.

During the star chamber inquisitions held by the Thomson racial investigating committee in Arlington, Va, colored witnesses were asked if they had not pride of race. The implication was that if they had race pride they would not want colored children to be attending schools with white children.

When the question was put to E B Henderson, president of the Virginia Conference of the NAACP, he told the committee counsel he would have to be a little more explcit.

Henderson pointed out that his great grandmother was a Portuguese, one of his great grandfathers was an American Indiana, and that his mother's father was a Virginia planter.

"In which race should I have pride?" Henderson asked.

The 28-member advisory committee on foreign policy of the Democratic Advisory Council, of which Dean Acheson, Council, of which Dean Ache ex-President Truman's Secretary of State, is chairman, includes in its membership L Howard Bennett, a Minneapolis (Minn.) attorney; Edith Sampson, a Chicago attorney and former alternate delegate to the United Nations General Assembly and Jefferson Beaver, San Francisco business executive.

The committee was appointed by Paul M Butler, chairman of the Democratic National Committeee, and met here Saturday.

Capital Spotlight

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 1-5-57

By Louis Lautier

Marian To Sing At Inauguration

P. 4

Marian Anderson, the contralto, will be one of two soloists on the inaugural ceremonies program at the Capitol on Jan. 21. Miss Anderson will sing the "Star Spangled Banner." Brian Sullivan will sing "America."

Sen. Styles Bridges, (R. N.H.) said George Murphy of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Film Studios made the arrangements for the two singers to appear on the program.

Of nine of the area's outstanding clergymen appointed to the religious observance committee of the Inaugural Committee, none is colored.

* * *

THE LATEST appointees are Bishop Philip Hannan of the Catholic Archdiocese, the Rev. Ward Hurlburt, president of the Washington Ministerial Association and pastor of Brookland Baptist Church, and Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of the Methodist Church.

One of the highlights of the inaugural ceremonies will be the reception for Governors and other distinguished guests. Edward F. Colladay, an ex-Republican National Committeeman for the District of Columbia, is the chairman of the Committee on Reception of Governors and Special Distinguished Guests.

Mr. Colladay is one of the lawyers who argued before the Supreme Court against enforcement of the "lost laws" of 1872 and 1873 which made it an offense for any restaurant to refuse to serve any "well-behaved, respectable" person because of his color.

He also urged in the District Court here against integration to the District of Columbia public schools.

* * *

VICE CHAIRMEN and the advisory committee on reception of governors and special distinguished guests include James A. Cobb, J. Flipper Dericotte, Mrs. George E. C. Hayes and Mrs. Ida Smith Taylor.

The Official Hostesses and Hospitality Committee of the Inaugural Committee, of which Mrs. Howard Aldridge Coffin is chairman, has about 178 members, of whom only three are colored.

There is no colored honorary vice chairmen. Of 28 vice chairmen, only two, Mrs. Ida Smith Taylor and Mrs. J. Franklin Wilson, are colored.

Of 112 official inauguration hostesses, only one, Mrs. J. Franklin Wilson, is colored.

Charles K. Brown, a lawyer, is a vice chairman of the Nationalties Liaison Committee of the Inaugural Committee.

* * *

ALL OF these stories being leaked to the press that Davis, Gerber and Company, who investigated District of Columbia public schools, will file a constructive report is a lot of bunk.

If they've toned down their report, it is because they wish to avoid a fight in the House District of Columbia subcommittee which was named by Rep. John L. McMillan, of South Carolina, a rank segregationist, to investigate District of Columbia schools, or in the full committee, of which Rep. Bill Dawson, of Illinois, is a member, or on the House floor.

As a matter of fact, it's possible that the full District of Columbia Committee will reject the Davis-Gerber report.

* * *

THE COMMITTEE has 25 members, 14 Democrats and 11 Republicans. Three of the Democrats are Reps. Arthur G. Klein of New York, Dawson, and Roy W. Wier of Minnesota.

One of the Republicans is Rep. Joel T. Broyhill of Virginia, also a segregationist. Broyhill, along with two other Republican members of the Davis subcommittee Reps. A. L. Miller of Nebraska and DeWitt S. Hyde of Maryland, absented himself from the hearings. It is possible that he would absent himself from a full committee meeting. He has been hospitalized and may not be physically able to attend—or, at least, that is a good excuse.

But assuming that Broyhill is present and votes with the Dixiecrats, the three northern Democrats can team up with the ten Republicans to reject the Gerber report and give Davis, Williams and Gerber each a kick in the pants.

For purposes of identification, Davis is James D. Davis of Georgia, an ex-Ku Klux Klansman. Williams is John Bell Williams, of Mississippi, who bolted the Democratic party to support T. Coleman Andrews of Richmond, Va., the states' rights candidate, in the Presidential election, and is one of the leading Congressional spokesmen for the White Citizens Councils.

* * *

GERBER IS Willie Gerber of Memphis, Tenn., who was a hatchet man for the late Boss Ed Crump and was counsel for the subcommittee.

The other subcommittee member was Rep. Woodrow W. Jones, (D., N.C.) whose racism is mild compared with that of Davis, Williams and Gerber.

During the hearings, Davis, Williams and Gerber sought to show that Government officials were boycotting District of Columbia public schools because they were integrated and sending their children to either private schools or schools outside of the District of Columbia which were not yet mixed. School records did not bear them out.

* * *

F'RINSTANCE, Mary Reed, daughter of Allen Reed, a legislative analyst in the Executive offices of the President, attends Coolidge High. Emily Rabb and Sheila Rabb, daughters of Max Rabb, Secretary to the Cabinet, attends Deal. Mary Kennedy, daughter of John Kennedy, a White House employee, attends Brightwood. Pracilla Rabb, daughter of Max Rabb, attends Murch.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Baptist Fight Seen In Making

Afro-American Sat. 1-12-57

A bitter fight over the presidency of the National Baptist Convention is in the making.

Two factions are lining up. One is for re-electing the Rev. J. H. Jackson of Chicago as president. The other is for sticking to the provisions of the constitution and by-laws limiting a president to two successive terms in office.

Unless the tenure law is changed, Jackson will have to step down four years hence.

SEVERAL MINISTERS who came to Washington to protest any purge from the Democratic party of Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, of New York, pastor of Abyssinian Baptist Church, New York City, say if Jackson is not re-elected there will be another split in the National Baptist Convention. There already are two such conventions, the Jackson group being the larger.

The Illinois guest list for the Presidential inaugural ball includes Mr. and Mrs. William A. Booker, Mr. and Mrs. Golden Darby, the Rev. and Mrs. Junius C. Austin (He's pastor of Pilgrim Baptist Church, Chicago), the Rev. and Mrs. A. Lincoln Jones, State Representative William Robinson, Mr. and Mrs. Euclid Taylor, Mr. and Mrs. Jefferson Ish Jr., and Mrs. Mame Mason Higgins.

The ministers who came to Washington and protested against Powell being stripped of his seniority may not know it, but one of those who prevailed upon Rep. Wayne Hays, of Ohio, not to make a motion in the House Democratic caucus to do so was Rep. Bill Dawson, of Chicago.

Senate Buzzer Blocks Move On Civil Rights

Afro-American Sat. 2-2-57 Baltimore, Md.

P. 12

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — Efforts of Sen. Thomas C. Hennings, (D., Mo.) to get civil rights legislation off to an early start stalled Tuesday when the convening of the Senate broke up a Senate Judiciary Committee meeting.

Senator Hennings, a member of the committee, had read a statement asking the committee to adopt a resolution fixing a date for the end of hearings on civil rights bills and a time to vote for reporting such measures to the Senate.

He had begun to read the resolution when the Senate's buzzer (a bell system) announced that the Senate was in session.

Without waiting for a formal vote to end the committee meeting, several Senators exclaimed: "The Senate's in session," and walked out.

Senate rules forbid a committee to meet while the Senate is in session without permission.

* * *

THE TEXT of the resolution, the adoption of which Senator Hennings moved, follows:

"Resolved, that the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate, favoring the early enactment of civil rights legislation in the first session of the 85th Congress, hereby agrees to take the following action:

"(a) To complete any and all hearings on the subject of civil rights prior to Feb. 18, 1957; and

"(b) To vote on civil rights legislation to report to the Senate within one week after the conclusion of said hearings."

* * *

SENATOR Hennings said he will offer the same resolution at the next meeting of the Judiciary Committee.

Before the meeting broke up the Missouri Senator asked that the resolution be adopted, and vote to report civil rights bills to the Senate "early in this session so that there will be a real opportunity for the United States Senate to act on this pressing matter.

"I sincerely believe that there is absolutely no necessity for long-drawn out hearings," Hennings said, adding:

"I really feel that we are all aware of the various points of view which prevail in our country today and, therefore, further hearings are not necessary.

* * *

"HOWEVER, I am perfectly willing to agree to a reasonable amount of hearings in the full committee immediately, with the definite understanding that undue delay in getting down to a vote on the legislation will not be permitted.

"In attempting to reach a decision about what 'a reasonable amount' of time for hearings may be, I am suggesting that a period of two weeks should be ample time to hear witnesses presenting differing views on the subject.

"By setting a definite deadline for the completion of civil rights hearings, we should be able to proceed in an orderly and expeditious manner to a vote in committee on the legislation in order that it may go to the Senate calendar at a date sometime in February."

Originally, Senator Hennings had planned to report from the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, of which he is chairman, the four civil rights bills which the subcommittee reported last year, but which were kept bottled up.

HENNINGS SAID he did not plan to hold a subcommittee meeting but would telephone to other members, Senators Joseph C. O'Mahoney, (D. Wyo.) and William Langer (R. N.D.), and get their consent.

O'Mahoney and Langer are cosponsors of the Hennings bills, which would:

1. Protect the voting rights of all citizens in Federal elections, including primaries,

2. Establish a civil rights division in the Justice Department,

3. Protect members of the armed forces against bodily attack, and

4. Outlaw lynching and mob violence.

* * *

SEN. JAMES O. EASTLAND, of Mississippi, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, apparently has thwarted Hennings' plan.

The meeting of the Judiciary Committee Tuesday was an organizational one. Eastland reappointed Hennings chairman of the Constitutional Rights subcommittee and also reappointed O'Mahoney and Langer to membership.

He enlarged the subcommittee, however, from three to seven members.

Two of the new members

are Senators Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina and Sam J. Ervin of North Carolina, both Democrats, and both hostile to civil rights legislation.

The two Republican members added were Senators William E. Jenner of Indiana and Roman L. Hruska of Nebraska. Jenner and Hruska customarily vote with Eastland on civil rights legislation.

* * *

JOHNSTON IS certain to seek to delay any action on civil rights bills by the subcommittee. Ervin and Hruska are new members of the Judiciary Committee and may insist on hearings before the subcommittee acts.

Eastland with the aid of Johnston and other anti-civil rights Senators was able to keep the hearings going until Congress recessed late last July.

Eastland told newsmen after the committee meeting that he had increased the membership on the Constitutional Rights subcommittee because about 60 civil rights bills have been introduced.

Three members of the Constitutional Rights subcommittee all signed the four same civil rights bills, he said. "The authors of the other bills should be given representation," he added.

In The Nation's Capital

Jul. 2-8-57

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

For the NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON, D. C.— Definition: The "Middle East" includes the area lying between and including Libya on the west, Pakistan on the east, Turkey on the north, and the Arabian Peninsula on the south, says Sectary of State John Foster Dulles. It links Europe, Asia and Africa.

The cutest, yet most pathetic, figure in the entourage of King Saud of Saudi Arabia is his 3½-year-old son, Prince Mashhur Ibn Saud, who has suffered partial paralysis of the right arm and leg ever since birth. He bravely waved to crowds along the parade route with his left hand.

Louis Lautier

The nomadic Bedouin tribe were the original Arabs. Arabs of today are an intermixture of pure Semites with native peoples in northern, eastern and central Africa, in Madigascar, India, the Malay Archipelago, and various parts of Syria and Persia.

Kansas city, Mo.

Of Dark Skins

Looking at the dark-olive bronze and even black-skinned men with aquiline noses in King Saud's entourage, a woman, viewing the parade from the Washington National airport to Blair House, exclaimed: "They're not Arabs, they're Africans!"

Guests at the National Press club luncheon, included Dr. Paul Dudley White, famous heart specialist who treated President Eisenhower, Dr. John B. Johnson, Dr. Frank Jones, Dr. Harold Johnson, Dr. Montague Cobb and Dr. Edward C. Mazique.

Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat, of New York, was snubbed by 80 fellow Democrats, who endorsed a program drafted by Democratic members of the bipartisan House civil rights bloc.

The program covered such subjects as civil rights, Federal aid to school construction, and statehood for Alaska and Hawaii. First announced on Jan. 8, it was put in the Congressional Record of Jan. 30 by Representative Frank Thompson, of New Jersey, a member of the civil rights bloc.

Although he is a charter member of the bloc and is the sponsor of an amendment which would deny federal funds to build classrooms to school districts defying the Supreme Court, Powell was not asked to endorse the program.

Dawson, Diggs Sign

Signers of the program include Representatives William L. Dawson of Illinois and Charles C. Diggs of Michigan. Also signing it were Representatives Emanuel Celler of New York and Wayne Hays of Ohio, both of whom wanted Powell denied seniority as a Democrat because he supported President Eisenhower for reelection last fall.

The Army Department last April 21 directed that questions relating to race on a civilian personnel form, used to get background information after employment, be ignored.

Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Army Franklin L. Orth told Representative Powell the other day that the Army has decided to destroy its stock of such forms and order new ones printed with such questions deleted.

President Eisenhower's Government Employment Policy Committee, of which the Rev. Archibald Carey, a Chicagoan, is chairman, is toying with the idea of asking the Defense Department for a registry of civilian employees at the Pentagon who apply for promotions but fail to get them.

One estimate is that a register would cut by half the number of colored applicants for jobs above grade 3 who are turned down.

Trick Blocks Upgrading

One trick reportedly used to block upgrading of colored employees to higher job classifications is the reorganization of an office or section when a colored applicant becomes No. 1 on the list for promotion.

The President's Committee has the suggestion that reorganizations be carefully checked and submitted to it.

Powell said Deputy Assistant Secretary Orth told him he would furnish him with hiring policies and methods of recruiting civilians for Army dependents' schools and special services.

There is a shortage of teachers for dependents' schools in the United States, just as there is generally a shortage of teachers, but Powell believes that, with integration taking place in the public schools, there are hundreds, if not thousands of colored teachers who are out of work and the state education associations can get them to apply for jobs in Army dependents' schools.

Although colored WAC's represent from 20 to 30 per cent of the WAC population at Fort McClellan (Alabama), Powell says, they cannot get into the WAC band there. He's checking with the Army on that.

An Army sergeant took off a bulletin board at an Army post a call for a private to volunteer for duty at the United States Embassy in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, but said the private must be Caucasian.

Report Not So

The Army told Powell that the Ethiopian government said it did not want any colored Americans sent there for duty at the American Embassy.

Powell said Orth will check this report.

It's strange because Dolly Hughes, who played football at Howard university, went to Ethiopia with a United States Point 4 mission, liked it so well that he married an Ethiopian girl and settled down there teaching physical education to Ethiopian youths.

But a Defense Department source says his information is that colored Americans are not wanted in Ethiopia and Iceland and Jewish GI's are barred from Saudi Arabia.

Powell tells of this incident involving Judge Jane M. Bolin of the New York City Domestic Relations Court, who, he said, was discriminated against by the Panama Steamship Line, wholly owned by the Government.

After protesting, Powell said, she was given a good seat in the dining room, but she was given certain forms to fill out containing references to race. The steamship line officers said the Panamanian Government required such information.

Powell asked the Ambassador from Panama about this and he has a letter from him saying the steamship line officers was totally untrue and asking for the name of the person who informed the Panama Line that Panama has such a requirement.

Now that the inauguration is over, it's time that the Republican National Committee took some action to end racial segregation in Republican women's affairs in the District of Columbia.

Newsman Tells Of Figh For Rights And Dignit

Daily World Thurs. 4-11-57 Atlanta, Ga.

P. 1

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

Washington Correspondent, Atlanta Daily World and NNPA News Service

BALTIMORE — (NNPA) — The determination to fight without ceasing for the dignity of all men and their right to the best educational opportunities the state can afford is nowhere more deeply rooted than in Baltimore.

Carl Murphy, president of the Afro American Newspapers, thus summed up the results of his lifetime of activities in various fields at a testimonial dinner given him Sunday evening under the auspices of the Morgan State College Alumni Association.

Before responding to greetings brought him from agencies of the state of Maryland fraternity groups, the NAACP, Howard University, his alma mater, the City of Baltimore, and the State of Maryland, Mr. Murphy heard himself praised for his contributions in various fields, particularly to Morgan State College.

Nearly 1,000 persons crowded the Memorial Refectory at Morgan State College to pay tribute to Dr. Murphy.

The tone of the evening was set by Talmadge L. Hill, a Morgan alumnus, who served as toastmaster. He declared that Dr. Murphy has played "an enviable role" in the development of Morgan State.

Dr. Murphy is a charter member trustees of the Board of Morgan State. The State Board of nine trustees was set up after the Methodist sold Morgan College to the State of Maryland for $250,000 in 1933.

He was chairman of the building committee from 1939 to 1953, vice chairman of the board from 1943 to 1953, and succeeded Judge Morris A. Soper as chairman in 1953.

Dr. Bliss Forbush, a member of the board said he was sure Morgan State "is never for a day out of Dr. Murphy's mind. He praised the dignity with which Dr. Murphy presides, his good humor, and said he has brought the trustee board into a "working body" pledged to make Morgan a powerful instrument for good.

J. Millard Tawes, Maryland State Comptroller, representing the State Board of Public Works called Dr Murphy "a great Maryland citizen, a man interested in education.

Dr. Dwight O. W. Holmes, president emeritus of Morgan State, spoke in two capacities -- first for Dr. Martin D. Jenkins, Morgan president, who recently underwent a throat operation, and then for the State Board of Education.

The statement he read for Dr. Jenkins said Dr. Murphy has Contributed more than any other single individual to the physical development of Morgan State." It stated that every building that has gone up on the Morgan campus has received "his loving care and consideration."

Dr. Holmes, the first colored person named to the State Board of Education, called the Afro American "a deterrent to any kind of funny business" by the board.

Judge Joseph L. Carter of the Baltimore Supreme Bench representing the judiciary, said he was sure there would be no dissent filed by fellow members of the judiciary when he said Dr. Murphy is held in the greatest esteem by the members of the bench.

Thurgood Marshall, special N. A. A. C. P. counsel, praised Dr. Murphy for building the Afro into "a darn good newspaper" -- not just a colored newspaper -- and told of his contributions to the NAACP, of which he is a board member.

Mr. Marshall pointed out that space in a newspaper is worth money and when an editor devotes considerable space to what he thinks is good for the city and state, he is making an actual financial contribution.

"We have enjoyed that in Baltimore for years," Mr. Marshall said.

Not only that, he went on, back in the early days of the case to compel the university of Maryland to open its doors to colored students, when there was no money, Dr. Murphy "gave not only a blank check out of his own pocket but a blank check on the Afro -- and cared nothing whether he got his money back."

Mr. Marshall also said Dr. Murphy has been with NAACP lawyers in all of the cases they have carried to the Supreme Court and has made it a practice to take them to lunch and pick up the check.

"When you do that," Mr. Marshall said, "you may not lose your life but you're jeopardizing your pocketbook."

IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

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BY LOUIS LAUTIER
Washington Correspondent, Atlanta Daily World and NNPA News Service

"LIBERAL" ARGUMENT

Northern liberals are a peculiar breed. They now are urging that Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas be allowed to save his face, at the same time, cease his interference with Federal court orders for the integration of public schools in Little Rock.

Worse than that proposal is the suggestion of Governor Foster Furcolo of Massachusetts that a committee of five governors be appointed to work out a solution of school integration in Arkanasas.

Two of the members of the panel would be from northern states where integration of the schools is no problem, two form states in the Deep South which are resisting integration, and the fifth from a border state where integration is proceeding peacefully.

Both proposals are silly. Faubus deliberately chose to defy the Federal Government. He, therefore, should be treated like any other state official who disobeys a court order and wilfully invades the constitutional rights of citizens.

The Supreme Court in its decision of May 17, 1954, declared that racial segregation in public education is unconstitutional.

In its opinion of May 31, 1955 the court incorporated that declaration by reference, and added: "All provisions of federal, state or local law requiring or permitting such discrimination must yield to this principle."

NOTHING TO ARBITRATE

There is, therefore, nohting for any committee of governors to arbitrate.

The Little Rock plan of integration was devised by the Little Rock School District. It was approved by the Federal District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas, and the decree and judgment of that court was affirmed by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at St. Louis.

Gov. Faubus knew what he was doing when he issued orders on Sept. 2 to Gen. Sherman T. Clinger, Adjutant General of Arkansas, directing him "to place off limits to white schools those schools for colored students and to place off its to colored students those schools limits to colored students those schools heretogore operated and recently set up for white students."

Whether he was acting solely as Governor of Arkansas or as the representative of other southern governors who are determined to obstruct interfere with and nullify Supreme Curt decisions against segregated public schools, Faubus should be made to take his medicine.

Besides having guardsmen to bar ten colored boys and girls from entering the all-white Central High School created disorder, incited violence and increased racial tensions throughout the Suth, and did irreparable damage to American prestige abroad.

The law governing his conduct is settled. The Supreme Court in 1932 decided every issue that was raised by Faubus in calling out the National Guard to blooockade the Little Rock high school.

TEXAS GOVERNOR ENJOINED

In Sterling V. Constantin, a three-judge Federal district court enjoined Gov. Ross S. Sterling of Texas, Texas Adjutant General W. W. Sterling and Brig. Gen. Jacob F. Wolters of the Texas National Guard for enforcing their military or executive orders regulating or rsetricting the production of oil on the complainants' property. Appeals were taken t the Supreme Court.

Gov. Sterling issued a proclamation on Aug. 16, 1931 stating that certain counties in which complainants' properties in oil and gas wells were located were in "a state of insurrection, tumult, riot, and a breach of the peace," and declaring "martial law" in that territory.

The evidence showed no insurrection, nor riots in fact, existing at any time in the territory, no closure of the courts, no failure of civil authorities.

In their appeal, Gov. Sterling and the other Texas oficials contended (1) that the governor has power to declare martial law; (2) that courts may not review the sufficiency of the facts upon which martial law is declared; (3) that courts may not control by injunction the means of enforcing martial law; and (4) that the finding of the governor of necessity to take property is due process of law.

The Supreme Curt ruled that the Federal District Court had jurisdiction. It said the suit was not against the state. The applicable principle, the court stated, is that where state officials purporting to act under state authority, invade rights secured by the Federal Constitution, they are subject to the due process of Federal courts in order that the persons injured may have appropriate relief.

The situation in which Gov. Sterling acted was similar to the one in which Faubus called out the National Guard.

SUED IN U. S. COURT

The Texas Railroad Commission issued orders governing and limiting oil production. The complainants sued in the Federal Court to restrain the enforcement of these orders upon the ground that they were unouthorized, arbitrary and capricious, and violated the Federal right to the enjoyment and use of the properties.

A Federal judge granted a temporary restraining order pending the convening of the special three-judge court. While this orderly process was going forward, it was superseded and, in effect nullified by the Texas governor, who undertook by military orders to effect the limitation which the commission was temporarily forbidden to maintain.

Gov. Sterling and the other Texas officials asserted that the Federal Court was powerless to intervene and that the governor's order had the quality of a supreme and unchallengeable edict, unreviewable through the judicial power of the Federal Government.

Speaking for a unanimous court Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes said:

"If this extreme position could be deemed to be well taken, it is manifest that the fiat of a state Governor, and not the Constitution of the United States would be the supreme law of the land; that the restrictions of the Federal Constitution upon the exercise of state power would be but impotent phrases, the futility of which the state may at any time disclose by the simple process of transferring powers of legislation to the governor to be exercised by him, beyond control, upon his assertion of necessity.

"Under our system of government such a conclusion is obviously untenable. There is no such avenue of escape from the paramount authority of the Federal Constitution."

WIDE DISCRETION

Chief Justice Hughes conceded that the governor of a state has wide discretion in calling out it military forces to suppress insurrection and disorder. But it does not follow, he said, that every act of the governor no matter how unjustified, is settled conclusively by his act. The question is subject to judicial inquiry, he declared.

If the court finds that the limits of executive authority have been transgressed, and that in view of the character of the injury equitable relief by injunction is essential in order to afford the protection to which the injured person is entitled, Chief Justice Hughes said, "it cannot be said that the judicial pwer is fettered because the injury is attributable to a military order."

"If it be assumed that the governor was entitled to declare a state of insurrection and bring military force to the aid of civil authority," Chief Justice Hughes declared "the proper use of that power in this instance was to maintain the Federal Court in the exercise of its jurisdiction and not to attempt to override it; to aid its process effective and not to nullify it; to remove, and not to create, obstructions to the exercise by the complainants of their rights as judicially declared."

Rogers to continue Brownell's policy

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — Federal law enforcement will continue to be in good hands when Deputy Attorney General William P. Rogers moves up to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr.

Mr. Brownell resigned Wednesday and President Eisenhower chose Mr. Rogers, No. 2 man in the Justice Department, to succeed him.

The first major task facing Mr. Rogers is the selection of six members to serve on the new Federal Civil Rights Commission created by the civil rights law passed by Congress this year.

* * *

OTHER EQUALLY important tasks facing the new attorney general are:

1. Selection of an assistant attorney general to head the new Civil Rights Division in the Justice Department.

2. Selection of a staff director to head the new six-member Civil Rights Commission, and

3. Selection of a new deputy attorney general and an assistant attorney general to head the Justice Department's Criminal Division as a result of his own elevation to succeed Mr. Brownell.

Because of the Jan. 7 deadline on filling places on the commission, President Eisenhower is expected to act before that date in order to avoid the delay that would ensue were they forced to await confirmation by the Senate.

* * *

SHOULD THE President fail to act before Congress returns (Jan. 7), his appointees would have to be confirmed by the Senate before they could serve. But he can make recess appointments now which hold good until the adjournment of the next Congress.

At least two of the six members of the new Civil Rights Commission are expected to be colored persons.

The White House, in announcing the change, said it will take place in about two weeks.

The exchange of letters between the President and Mr. Brownell disclosed that the Attorney General had discussed with Mr. Eisenhower his desire to return to private law practice in August.

But before plans were completed for turning over his duties to his successor, Mr. Brownell stated in his letter to the President, "the Little Rock matter intervened, requiring urgent legal action in the Federal courts.

* * *

"SINCE THE FEDERAL Government's legal position in this case has now been clearly defined, it seems an appropriate time for me to fulfill my desire to resume private practice as counsel to the firm in New York City from which I resigned when you appointed me attorney general."

Since practice involving Federal matters is forbidden for two years by former government officers, the White House said, Mr. Brownell will serve as "counsel" to his former law firm, Lord, Day and Lord.

Mr. Brownell has served as attorney general longer than any of his predecessors, except one, Homer Cummings, who served under President Franklin D. Roosevelt for nearly six years.

Mr. Brownell has served since Jan. 21, 1953. He has been the President's main adviser on civil rights, encompassing school desegregation, the sending of Federal troops to Little Rock and ending racial discrimination in places of public accommodation in Washington.

* * *

IN HIS LETTER to the President, Mr. Brownell said the choice of Mr. Rogers as his successor gave him "great personal satisfaction. He and I have worked closely together and I know that his appointment will assure the operation of the Department of Justice under highest professional standards."

In his administration of the Justice Department for nearly five years, Mr. Brownell became one of the twin whipping boys of southern politicians. The other is Vice President Richard M. Nixon.

His handling of civil rights matters was one of the chief causes of his becoming a main target of southern politicians. When he assumed office upon the first inauguration of President Eisenhower, the school segregation and the Thompson Restaurant cases were pending in the Supreme Court.

* * *

SHORTLY AFTER HE took office, Mr. Brownell filed a brief in the Thompson Restaurant case urging the Supreme Court to reverse the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia and hold valid "lost" laws of 1872 and 1873.

These laws forbade racial discrimination in restaurants and other public places in the District of Columbia.

After the Supreme Court ordered reargument in 1953 of the school segregation cases, it invited the attorney general to take part in the oral argument if he so desired.

Mr. Brownell quickly accepted this invitation and filed a supplemental brief for the United States. The argument in the supplemental brief was largely devoted to answering the questions stated in the court's order of reargument.

The brief asserted that it was within the judicial power, in construing the Fourteenth Amendment, to decide that racial segregation is unconstitutional.

* * *

ANOTHER BRIEF filed by Mr. Brownell in November, 1954 on the questions as to the decrees that should be entered in the school desegregation cases was largely followed by the court in its decision of May 31, 1955.

Mr. Brownell also drafted, submitted to the Congress and testified before both the House and Senate Judiciary Committees in support of the Eisenhower civil rights program which was enacted during the last session of Congress.

In all of these matters, including the Little Rock situation, Mr. Rogers worked very closely with Mr. Brownell.

While the civil rights bill was under consideration, it was discussed weekly at White House conferences between the President and the Republican congressional leaders.

* * *

AT THESE WEEKLY meetings, if Mr. Brownell was not present, Mr. Rogers was there to advise on legal aspects of the bill.

Mr. Rogers also was assigned the duty of acting as the connecting link between the Justice Department and Republican congressional leaders at the Capitol while the bill was under consideration.

Mr. Brownell is credited with masterminding the decision which sent Federal troops to Little Rock to prevent obstruction of the Federal court order for desegregation of the Little Rock schools.

Mr. Brownell, 53, was a campaign manager for Thomas E. Dewey, New York governor, in Dewey's losing presidential bids in 1944 and 1948 and helped manage the winning Eisenhower campaign in 1952.

* * *

THE WHITE HOUSE said Mr. Rogers will be given a recess appointment because Congress is out of session.

Mr. Rogers was graduated from Cornell University in 1937. After six months in private practice, he went to work as an assistant to Dewey when Dewey was New York County district attorney.

He saw service in the Pacific in World War II on the aircraft carrier Intrepid which took part in the April 1944 invasion of Okinawa.

Before 1952, Mr. Rogers had attracted favorable attention as counsel to the Senate War Investigating Committee.

* * *

HE WAS RETAINED by the committee in 1947 when the Republicans controlled Congress and stayed on as counsel in 1949-50 when the committee, then named the Permanent Investigating Committee, was controlled by the Democrats.

He directed some of the most sensational postwar congressional inquiries, including the "five per center" investigation.

Mr. Rogers was one of the behind - the - scenes operators who worked at the 1952 Republican National Convention in Chicago for Mr. Eisenhower's nomination over the late Sen. Robert A. Taft of Ohio. During the 1952 campaign he traveled with Vice President Nixon as an adviser.

Charges Rights Of All Duty Of Federal Govt.

World Sat. 4-6-57 P.1

Orlando, Ala.

31a

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

Washington Correspondent, Atlanta Daily World and NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — The rights and privileges of all Americans are the responsibility of the Federal Government, the House Judiciary Committee declared in a report filed Tuesday urging passage of the Eisenhower Administration's civil rights program.

A minority report, signed by eight Southerners, six Democrats and two Republicans, called upon the ghosts of Abraham Lincoln, General Ulysses S. Grant and General Robert E. Lee to justify their opposition to the proposed legislation.

"Neither Thaddeus Stevens nor Charles Sumner ever advocated any such thing as is found in the present proposed legislation, which has the effect of making the United States the parent guardians of minority groups, and the pursuer of all of the other citizens in the United States," the minority report asserts.

(Steven and Sumner were American statesmen and abolitionists, who were bitterly attacked by Southerners because they favored full equality of citizenship for the freed slaves after the Civil War.)

"Any intolerance or discrimination or deprivation of our constitutionally guaranteed rights and privileges resound and reverberate throughout the globe," the majority report declares.

"More important than even these world-wide ramifications is the right and duty of the Government to fulfill its responsibility to each and every American citizens," it adds, "the Federal Government must assume the ultimate responsibility for the protection of individuals when State and local enforcement and protection of such rights fail."

The report argues that the need for the proposed legislation has been clearly established. To support this argument it cites the report of President Truman's Civil Rights Committee in 1947, the special message on civil rights sent to Congress in 1948 by President Truman, the messages of President Eisenhower in 1956 and last Jan. 10, and the recommendations of Attorney General Herbert Brownell of April 9 1956, and their repetition during his testimnoy before the committee this year.

The provisions of the Administration bill, the report states, "are designed to achieve a more effective enforcement of the rights already guaranteed by the Federal Constitution and laws, particularly with regard to the right to vote in Federal elections.

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The committee states that the proposed legislation neither encroaches upon nor diminishes the powers of a State of the Federal Government within the concept of dual sovereignty.

The report also asserts that the Administration proposal neither extends nor increases the area of civil rights jurisdiction of the Federal Government, but merely substitutes civil proceedings for criminal action in that field.

The bill provides for the establishment of a bipartisan commission to investigate asserted violations of civil rights, the creation of a civil rights division in the Justice Department, authorizes the Attorney General to bring civil suits to enjoin violations.

Explaining the bill, the report states:

31a

1. The purpose of the proposed commission is to collect and accumulate data so that a more intelligent study of civil rights may be made.

2. It is no longer logical that the civil rights section should remain as a subdivision in the Criminal Division of the Justice Department because the Department also must engage in civil cases in the civil rights field. For example, the litigation involving school desegregation in Hoxie, Ark., and Clinton, Tenn.

Besides, passage of the proposed legislation would result in an increased volume of civil rights work for the Department.

3. The existing civil rights law, known as the Ku Klux Act provides a civil remedy in damages to a person as a result of conspiracies to deprive one of certain civil rights.

The proposed legislation would add two new paragraphs at the end of this Act. One provides that the Attorney General may bring for the United States or in the name of the United States a civil action for preventive relief whenever a person has committed any acts which would give rise to a cause of action under the present law.

The second new paragraph gives jurisdiction to Federal district courts in such suits without regard to whether the party aggrieved shall have exhausted any administrative or other judicial remedies.

The effect of these news paragraphs is not to expand the rights presently protected but merely to give the Attorney General the right to bring a civil action to prevent acts or practices which would give rise to a cause of action under the existing law.

By authorizing such civil action for preventive relief or for a declaratory judgment, the constitutionality of election practices may be quickly determined and appropriate relief awarded.

The proposal would also solve the problem where subterfuge and subtleties are resorted to on the administrative level to deprive an individual of his rights.

4. The Attorney General would be authorized to bring a civil action when any person has engaged or there is reason to believe that a prson is about to engage in any act or practice which would deprive a person of the right to vote in Federal elections.

Nothing contained in the proposal infringes upon the power given to the states under the Constitution to fix the qualifications of the voters. But such power is not unlimited, as indicated by the express power given to Congress to regulate the manner of conducting elections as well as by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, both of which expressly give the Congress the power to enforce them by appropriate regulations.

The minority report notes that no civil rights legislation has been passed by Congress since 1875.

"This is the most eloquent argument against the passing of civil rights legislation now that anyone could possible present," the minority report asserts adding:

"We believe that we have gotten along well without such iniquitous legislation, and we are proud of the United States and every one of the individual states."

The minority report is signed by Representatives Edwin E. Willis, Louisiana; James B. Frazier, Tennessee; E. L. (Tic) Forrester, Georgia; William M. Tuck, Virginia; Robert T. Ashmore, South Carolina; John Dowdy, Texas, Democrats, and Richard H. Poff, Virginia, and William C. Cramer, Florida, Republicans.

U.S. court bars dropping of Texas school Jim crow case

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 5-4-57

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D.C.(NNPA) —The Supreme Court Monday refused to review the judgement of the United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals at New Orleans holding that a real question exists with respect to schools in the Wichita Falls (Texas) Independent School District.

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The Court of Appeals set aside judgement of the Federal District Court for the northern district of Texas, holding that the suit of colored children and their parents to compel admission of the children to a previously all-white school had become moot. The District Court dismissed the case.

The appellate court reversed the judgement of the District Court with instructions to that court to retain jurisdiction for the entry of all proper and necessary orders and judgements.

* * *

THE EFFECT of the Supreme Court's refusal to review the case is to leave the suit pending in the District Court until the federal courts are satisfied that the Wichita Falls Independent School District has complied with the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregated public schools.

The suit was brought by families of several colored children in December, 1955, after the children had been denied admission to the Barwise School, then an all-white school, and referred to the Booker T. Washington School, a Jim Crow school.

Altogether more than 13,000 pupils were enrolled in the district. No colored child was going to any school other than the Booker T. Washington and the Sheppard Air Force Base schools.

* * *

THE CHILD plaintiffs lived in the area served by the Barwise School. At the beginning of the school term in september, 1955, they applied for admission to that school and were refused because they were colored.

A new school, Lamar, was being built in Sunnyside Heights, a white section, to which it was planned to transfer white pupils.

The new school was completed in January, 1956, after the suit was filed. White pupils were then transferred from Barwise to the new school. Barwise was renamed the A. E. Holland School after a former colored principal of the Booker T. Washington School.

* *

IT WAS opened on a nominally desegregated basis, although only colored children, including the plaintiffs, were registered.

The Superintendent of Schools testified that a start had been made toward desegregating the schools. The Sheppard Air For Base School had been desegregated and was attended by white children, and some be-16 colored children, and because the A. E. Holland Scool was legally desegregated, actually attended by colored children only.

He also testified that it was the intention of the school board to desegregate completely the entire district "at the earliest feasible moment.

The District Court held that the specific grievance alleged by the plaintiffs of being denied admission to the Barwise School had become moot and dismissed the case.

On appeal, the school district attached to its brief an affidavit by the Superintendent of Schools to the effect that the 1956 summer session of the Wichita Falls Senior High School was nonsegregated and was actually attended by 411 white and 15 colored children.

He also stated that on Sept. 5, 1956, all pupils were admitted to the schools to which they applied, without racial discrimination, though no colored children applied for admission to any school except Sheppard Air Force Base School, the Booker T. Washington School and the A. E. Holland School.

The colored children and their parents denied that the schools in the district had been, in good faith, desegregated.

The Court of Appeals held that at the time of judgement in the District Court the case had become moot and that it was error to dismiss the suit.

The voluntary cessation of illegal conduct, the appeals court said, does not make a case moot unless the court finds that there is no reasonable probability of the return of illegal conduct.

IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

'Deliberate Speed' Slow For 3 Years

Afro American Sat. 5-11-57 Baltimore, Md.

By LOUIS LAUTIER
For the NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON

The jim-crow states have had nearly three years in which to "make a prompt and reasonable start toward compliance" with the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, outlawing racial segregation in public schools.

These states were put on notice on that date that racial segregation in public education is unconstitutional and that all laws, Federal, state and local—requiring or permitting such segregation must yield to this principle.

Because of the wide applicability of the decision, the court heard further arguments on the quesstion of how and when its decision should be put into effect.

Then, on May 31, 1955, the court remanded the Virginia, South Carolina and Kansas cases to lower Federal courts to orders and decrees as are necessary to desegregate the public schools "with all deliberate speed."

* * *

THE ANNUAL report of Attorney General Herbert Brownell for the fiscal year ending June 30 shows that no steps to desegregate the schools have states which had compulsory been taken in nine of the 17 jim-crow school laws.

These states are Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia and Tennessee (except in the Federally supported Oak Ridge school).

As a matter of record, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Florida have officially adopted resolutions of "interposition," declaring that the state had the right to put its sovereignty between its citizens and the Federal Government to nullify the decision.

While litigation relating to enforcement of the decision is proceeding, it appears that it is time for the Executive and Legislative Branches of the Federal Government to lend aid to the Judicial Branch to compel compliance with the decision.

* * *

THE 84th Congress extended the programs of financial assistance for school construction and for operation of schools in federally affected areas through fiscal year 1958.

Under this latest extension of the law, school districts may request assistance to help build additional classrooms needed to accommodate children whose presence in the district is due to federal activities.

The United States Office of Education estimates that the cost of this latest two-year extension of the school-construction program will amount to $144,300,000. The appropriation requested for fiscal year 1958 amounted to $41,800,00.

* * *

THE NEW appropriation bill also includes $12,000,000 for payments to school districts to help meet current operating expenses in the fiscal year 1958. This is the amount requested and is $13,950,000 over the amount appropriated for the current fiscal year.

Some 2,000 districts are expected to participate in the program of Federal assistance for operation of schools in federally affected areas. Payments to eligible dstricts will be based on the numbers of pupils in attendance in the current school year.

It is estimated that the participating districts will have in attendance some 1,125,000 pupils whose parents are in the military service or work for the Federal Government.

* * *

AN ADDITIONAL 20,000 pupils will attend schools operated by the Federal Government on Federal installations where local educational agencies cannot accept responsibility for free public education.

Since the Supreme Court decision holding racially segregated public schools unconstitutional is the law of the land, it would appear that the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which administers through the United States Office of Education, the programs of financial assistance for school construction and for operation of schools in federally affected areas, can legally deny funds to school districts which maintain Jim Crow schools.

If the Department of Health, Education and Welfare cannot do so, the Congress certainly can end these programs as a waste of taxpayers' money.

Unless the Department or Congress acts, as Representative Frank T. Bow, Republican, of Ohio, pointed out, the program will continue "to grow as the Federal Government hires additional people or as Federal employees continue to have children."

Capital Spotlight

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. By Louis Lautier Sat. 6-8-57

The White Sentinel Printing Claptrap

A scurrilous 8-page letter-size sheet, "The White Sentinel," is being sent to members of Congress.

Attacking the Eisenhower Administration for racial integration and promotion of civil rights, and libeling colored people as a group, the publication is edited by Helen M. Wolf. It is the official organ of the National Citizens Protective Association, Inc., of which Forest W. Wolfe is president.

According to a printed letter sent with the publication, the national office of the association is 3154a South Grand, St. Louis 18, Missouri. The telephone number is given as 5-0417.

* * *

ON THE FRONT-PAGE of the hate publication are photos of E. Frederic Morrow, a member of the White House staff, with President Eisenhower; Morrow with his clerical staff, and Morrow presiding at a conference with other White House aides.

On page 2 is a photo of Vice President Nixon with Morrow upon their return from Mr. Nixon's good will tour of eight African countries, on which Morrow accompanied him.

Also on page 2 is an old photo of President Eisenhower singing the Star Spangled Banner at the opening of a NAACP meeting in Washington three or four years ago. With the President are Dr. Channing H. Tobias and the late Walter White.

* * *

THE CLAPTRAP published in The White Sentinel would be funny if it were not so ridiculous and perverted. Of Morrow, the sheet says:

"As Administrative officer of the mysterious 'Special Peoples Group,' Morrow sits in on secret White House staff meetings which plan strategy for the Administration."

It also says:

"His latest 'Special Projects' project was to arrange for and then chaperon Junior Nixon on his Hottentot hugging and kissing tour of Africa . . .Nixon prattled off speeches, cleared through Morrow, urging independence and freedom from colonialism for Africa's teeming millions and throwing oil on the fire of African nationalism and communism which threatens to drive the white man out of the Continent.

"The white people of Africa, as well as England, France, Belgium, Portgual and Spain, bitterly resent Nixon's misguided tour, little knowing an NAACP trouble-maker in the White House planned and piloted the whole unfortunate affair and shoved the inflammatory speeches Nixon glibly read into his hands."

* * *

SILLY WOMAN! There's not a word of truth in any of the hate propaganda Helen Wolf writes.

Vice President Nixon said nothing in Africa or about Africa in his report that has not been reiterated by a once champion of white supremacy, Ambassador James P. Richards, special assistant to the President, who made a two-month trip to explain the Eisenhower doctrine for the Middle East to Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Greece, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Tu-Asia, Turkey and Yemen.

Asked at a press conference about the situation in North Africa, Richards said, "One of the most potent forces for instability in that area is the French conflict with the independent forces in North Africa. That is a very disturbing impact over there. I think one of the duties of the United States right now is to lend its good offices to settlement of problems between the French and North Africa."

* * *

MR. RICHARDS was talking about Arabs, some of whom are as black as the Hottentots Helen Wolf mentioned.

Just as silly as the claptrap about Morrow is the attack upon the National Urban League.

The White Sentinel says contributions to Community Chest and United Givers Funds enable the League "to promote racial amalgamation."

It also appeals to racial prejudices for whites to boycott certain automobiles, the Ed Sullivan TV show and certain cigaret companies which, it says, "enrich the Urban League's slush fund and are responsible for employment integration in the tobacco industry."

* * *

ROBERT B. ANDERSON, a native of Burleson, Texas, whom President Eisenhower nominated the other day to succeed George M. Humphrey, resigned, as Secretary of the Treasury, was the man who ordered racial segregation ended in the use of toilets, water fountains, cafeterias and other facilities in Navy yards in the South. He was the Secretary of the Navy at the time.

Rep. William L. Dawson, (D., Ill.) — absent from Congress for more than a month on account of illness—is recuperating at his home in Chicago. He has been there since May 23.

Lautier Compares It To An Arabian Nights Tales

Call Fri. 3-29-57 p. 1

Kansas City, Mo.

NNPA Correspondent Describes Visit To Far-Away Lands With Vice President

By LOUIS LAUTIER

TRAVELING IN AFRICA WITH VICE PRESIDENT NIXON.—(NNPA)— This has been an exciting trip, even fabulous at times— a tale from "Arabian Nights."

For example: There was the dinner Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, the Lion of Judah, who traces his ancestry back to King Solomon of Jerusalem and Mekeda, Queen of Sheba—1000 years before the birth of Christ—gave for Vice President Nixon.

The Emperor has 40 servants, all heavily laden with decorations. Also on the fabulous side were the visits in Sudan of Vice President Nixon and his party to Sayed Ali Merghani, whose age was given at 85 or 90, and Sayed Abederrahman Mahdi, leaders of the Khatmya and the Ansar sects (religious), respectively.

Gold Knives and Forks

At the palaces of these two religious leaders, the Nixon party were served refreshments—Tea, fruit juices and cakes. At the palace of Sayed Ali Merghani, the knives and forks were gold.

On the road leading to the Mahdi's palace, his followers, dressed in white robes and white turbans were lined along the sides of the road. As Nixon and his party were leaving the Mahdi's palace, his followers were shouting religious slogans as an expression of their pleasure. Translated from the Arabic, they were shouting: "God is great! Thanks to God!"

There are three leading political parties in the Sudan, two of which are headed by these religious leaders. The Umma party, which has five of the 16 Ministers in the Cabinet, is headed by Sayed Siddig Mahdi, son of the Mahdi. Prime Minister Abdullah Khalil is the secretary-general.

The People's Democratic party, which also has five Ministers, enjoys the support of the Katima religious sect.

The Anti-Imperialist party (Communist) is heaed by Hassan Tahir, member of the Parliament. It is influential in trade unions, the schools and peasant organizations.

There also is the Southern Liberal party, which is composed of southern members of parliament.

Sudanese Are Black

If you do not know it, the Sudanese are almost jet black but are Arabs. They are darker than any of the peoples visited, except perhaps the Liberian tribal people.

On the palace grounds of Sayed Abdelrahman Mahadi is the tomb of his father, who fought the Turks for 10 years and liberated the Sudan. He died about three years after he had conquered Khartoum in 1885.

Lord Kitchener with an Anglo-Egyptian army overthrew Sudanese rule in 1898. From then until Jan. 1, 1956, it became independent.

It was at Khartoum that local newsmen asked some of the sharpest questions asked on this trip concerning the Eisenhower Middle East doctrine. They particularly wanted to know whether economic and military assistance under that program would entail domination by the United States.

He replied that the policy was designed to assure the independence of countries aided and not their domination by the United States or any other power.

Opposition To Visit

The Sudan was the first country in which there was open opposition to Nixon's visit. The Communist party had distributed leaflets the day before he arrived at Khartoum saying "Go home, Nixon!" Asked if he was aware of the distribution of these leaflets, Nixon replied:

"I am not surprised that such leaflets were passed out. On some of my other visits in other parts of the world I have found instances where local Communist leaders have passed out propaganda urging that I return to the United States.

"They are entitled to their opinion, but I would suggest that they might well print some leaflets and take them to Hungary and urge the Russians to go home so Hungary could have some independence like the Sudan."

Incidentally, the third Ambassador to whom Nixon was introduced after he landed in Khartoum was Leonid F. Teplov, the Soviet Ambassador.

"What do you think of Mr. Nixon?" a reporter asked Teplov.

Giving a horse laugh, Teplov said: "You want to know everything. No comment."

"Are you pleased that Mr. Nixon has come to visit the Sudan?" he was asked.

Call p. 4

Three Engines Konk Out

Teplov did tell reporters that he had served as the Soviet counsul in London and as charge d'affaires in Canada in 1951 to 1953 before coming to the Sudan.

Also in the line of ambassadors to whom Nixon was introduced was Mallas Andom, the Ethiopian ambassador.

Since leaving the United States, three engines have conked on the planes Nixon, his party and the press have been traveling. The four-engine D.C. 6, on which the press is traveling, lost an engine and had to return to Nouasseur Air Base at Casablanca.

The press remained in the airport at Nouasseur from about 1 a.m. to 6 a.m. before being put on another D.C. 6.

Then the plane on which the Vice President and Mrs. Nixon and the Nixon party were riding lost an engine going into Roberts Field at Monrovia.

The third mishap occurred on the Nixon plane after it was about an hour out of Khartoum en route to Tobruk, Libya. The Nixon plane took off from Khartoum after the press plane, about 7 a.m. After it was about an hour out of Khartoum engine trouble developed and it had to turn back.

The trouble was in the No. 2 engine. It was partially working but not developing its full horsepower and the plane was turned back to Khartoum because Torbruk was too far away.

In Khartoum the crew worked in the broiling sun on the DC 6 for about two hours, hoping to get it repaired and to continue the journey.

Visit With Dignitaries

In the meantime, the Vice President and Mrs. Nixon were with the Sudanese dignitaries, including Prime Minister Khalil. The Vice President got a haircut and improvised upon a piano at the Prime Minister's home. Mrs. Nixon took a final look around the city and bought some ivory.

Finally, it was decided to put the Vice President and his party on a DC 4, which is much slower than the DC 6. They took off at 1:15 p.m., for Tripoli, one of two capitals.

Meanwhile, when the Nixon plane was forced to turn back, the press plane was radioed to change its course from Tobruk to Tripoli. When the press landed at Wheelus Air Base, which the United States maintains near Tripoli, about 1:30, there were reports that Nixon was proceeding to Tobruk to have dinner with King Idrus.

Some of the reporters decided to continue to Tripoli to be there when Nixon and his party arrived. Others decided to remain in Tripoli. But before the press plane took off for Tripoli, word came that Nixon was cutting out his visit to Tobruk and was coming directly to Wheelus Air Base.

Reviews Honor Guard

Nixon and his party were due to land at El Aden airport at noon. He was to review an honor guard there and be presented by United States Ambassador John L. Tappin Libyan official.

From the airport he was to drive to Dar as-Salam Palace to review the Libyan Royal Guard, be officially welcomed by Prime Minister Mustafa Ben Halim and the chief of the Royal Diwan 'Abd-as-salam Busnirl, and be presented to King Idris.

The Vice President was to lunch with King Idris, the spiritual and temporal ruler of the Senussi tribe. Mrs. Nixon was to have luncheon with Queen Fatima. So was Miss Rose Mary Woods, Mr. Nixon's secretary.

Other members of the Vice President's party, including E. Frederic Morrow, a member of the White House staff, assigned as a special assistant to Mr. Nixon on this trip, were to lunch with members of the Royal Diwan (King's personal cabinet).

The Nixon party, joined by Libyan officials and Mr. and Mrs. Tappan were to take off from El Adem Airport at 4:30 p.m. and arrive at Wheelus Air Force Base at 7 p.m.

But the entire schedule had to be cancelled. The American Ambassador told King Idris what the situation was. King Idris said he understood and invited Mr. Tappin to eat the Vice Presient's lunch, which he did.

Instead, the Vice President arrived at Wheelus Air Force Base at 10:15 p.m.

Incidentally, the crippled DC 6 was flown from Kartoum to Wheelus Air Base. The crew continued to work on it after the Vice President had taken off, but it landed at Wheelus about 15 minutes ahead of the DC 4.

At Wheelus, Mr. Nixon was given the usual welcome. He was introduced by the American Ambassador and welcomed to Wheelus by Major Gen. Richard J. O'Keefe, commander of the 17th Air Force, and Col. Williams J. Cain, Jr., commanding officer, Wheelus Field.

He reviewed the guard of honor and made a speech in which he said he and Mrs. Nixon had been looking forward to visiting Libya and praised the Americans stationed as ambassadors of good will.

Adolphus (Dolly) Hughes, who played football during his college days at Howard university, and who has been in Ethiopia for 10 years teaching physical education, has had a heart attack.

Emperor Haile Selassie is giving him a year's leave with pay and he is returning to the States very soon, bringing his family—wife, son and daughter—with him. After treatment at John Hopkins hospital in Baltimore, he will go to Berkeley, Calif.

Homer G. Smith, who writes for newspapers under the pseudonym of Chatwood Hall, is in Addis Ababa with his German-born wife. He has been trying unsuccessfully for 10 years to return to the States. There appears to be a question of renounced citizenship involved, making him a man without a country.

Writer Says Traveling With Vice President Exciting

World Birmingham, Ala. Wed. 3-27-57

p. 4 31a

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

Washington Correspondent, Atlanta Daily World and NNPA News Service

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Capital Spotlight

Afro-American

Sat. 4-6-57

By Louis Lautier

Baltimore, Md.

Joe Louis To Get Tax Settlement

p. 4

31a

Technicians of the Internal Revenue Service have been working with representatives of the legislative branch of the Treasury Department on legislation to make it administratively feasible to handle matters like the Joe Louis tax case.

No definite conclusions have been reached yet, but the problem has been under study.

Russell C. Harrington, Internal Revenue Commissioner, says, "It is a rather complicated question as to just how you can do it and be fair to everybody."

"We are going to settle with Mr. Louis on as fair a basis as we possibly can," the commissioner continued.

* * *

"THE SETTLEMENT we make with Mr. Louis is going to be just as fair as we can make it, both from his standpoint and ours. We are not interested in putting him in the poorhouse. We want to see him have a chance to make a living the rest of his life.

"And we want to get as much money in the process for the Government as we reasonably can. He will get a square deal, and the Government will get a square deal."

Rep. Alfred D. Sieminski, (D., N.J.), thinks the Joe Louis tax case points up the tax position of individuals in the economy of the United States.

He wonders if the tax structure could be adjusted by providing a tax of 10 per cent on gross income instead of the present tax rates on net income.

* * *

THAT WOULD cut down, it seems to me, time. effort, and expense for the Internal Revenue Service and for individuals in this field," Sieminski says, adding:

"If Joe Louis earned $1,000,000 as his part of the gate, he would not have to pay $900,000 tax on it. He would pay a very much smaller amount of money, and so would you, as a family man, paying 10 per cent of your gross income.

"You would have in your pocket, then, the balance to spend, to invest and to propel our economy.

"If we as consumers and earners are the basis of American wealth, and if our thriving and growing population is to be encouraged, then it seems to me that more vision and energy will come from the people if the heavy tax burden which seems to be mounting on them, is given greater consideration.

"Most of them are in debt and will for the greater part of the rest of their lives be paying for what they have bought, and hope to buy and use.

* * *

"OLD TIMERS used to say, 'You should tithe 10 per cent of your income.' And religion and people flourished, and there was very substantial morality which appeared in the land. There was no attempt to 'chisel.'

"People were grateful and prospered. There were no expense accounts, no entertainment and travel vouches, no attempt by ingenuity to hold on to your money. Ingenuity and effort were spent on earning it.

"If we tithed that 10 per cent for Government, it could do a lot for us. It would certainly provide fewer cases like the Joe Louis case."

President opposes jury trial amendment to civil rights bill

Afro-American Sat. 6-8-57 P. 8

Baltimore, Md.

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — President Eisenhower indicated Wednesday that he prefers the opinion of President (later Chief Justice) William H. Taft on the question of jury trials in contempt cases to the opinions of opponents of civil rights legislation given in the heat of partisan argument.

Southern opponents of civil rights legislation are contending that the Eisenhower Administration's proposals would deprive persons of the right to jury trial in contempt cases arising under pending bills in both the House and Senate.

Attorney General Herbert Brownell, who submitted the proposals to Congress, the American Civil Liberties Union, and other supporters of civil rights legislation assert that the jury trial argument is designed to nullify such legislation.

* * *

THE KEY provision in pending civil rights bills would authorize the attorney general to bring civil suits in the name of the United States to enjoin threatened deprivation of the right to vote or threatened violations of other civil rights.

Under present law, a person charged with contempt of court for violation of an injunction is not entitled to a jury trial where the United States has brought the action for injunction, as would be the case under the proposed legislation.

The jury trial question came up at Mr. Eisenhower's news conference when a reporter asked the President:

"I wonder if you would care to add any comment to that of the attorney general on efforts of opponents to add crippling amendments, such as the jury trial amendment, to your civil rights proposals?"

* * *

MR. EISENHOWER replied: "Well, I don't think I have any to add.

"One thing I have been struck by—it was Chief Justice Taft's comments on a similar effort and he stated that if we tried to put a jury trial between a court order and the enforcement of that order that we are really welcoming anarchy.

"Now, I think most of us here are not great constitutional lawyers, but, Mr. Taft, by the way, made that statement when he was President in 1908, but there is no evidence that he ever changed his mind; and I would take his opinion far more than I would an opinion that was given in, let's say, in the heat of partisan argument."

* * *

PRESIDENT TAFT, in his speech accepting the nomination for the presidency in 1908, referring to proposals similar to those now advanced, said:

"Under such a provision a recalcitrant witness who refuses to obey a subpoena may insist on a jury trial before the court can determine that he received the subpoena.

"A citizen summoned as a juror and refusing to obey the writ, when brought into court, must be tried by another jury to determine whether he got the summons.

"Such a provision applies not alone to injunctions, but to every order which the court issues against persons.

"A suit may be tried in the court of first instance and carried to the court of appeals and thence to the Supreme Court and a judgment and decree entered and an order issued.

* * *

"AND THEN, if the decree involves the defendants' doing anything or not doing anything, and he disobeys it, the plaintiff, who has pursued his remedies in lawful course for years, must, to secure his rights, undergo the uncertainties and delays of a jury trial before he can enjoy that which is his right by the decision of the highest court of the land."

Capital Spotlight

Afro-American Sat. 6-15-57

By Louis Lautier

Baltimore, Md.

Dawson May Return To Capital Soon

P. 4

Washington hears that Rep. William L. Dawson, (D., Ill.), who has been absent from Congress on account of illness since April 29, may return soon from his home in Chicago where he is recuperating.

Visitors may see Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat, of New York, at Bethesda (Md.) Naval Hospital if they are accompanied by Maxienne Dargans, his secretary.

Neither Dawson nor Powell was able to vote on the rule providing for four days of debate on the Eisenhower Administration's civil rights bill. Dawson was paired for the rule with Rep. James B. Utt, (R.-Calif.), against. Powell had a general pair with Rep. Alvin E. O'Konski, (R., Wis.).

Republicans voting against the rule included Rep. Bruce Alger, Texas; Joel T. Broyhill, Virginia; Ben F. Jensen, Iowa; Charles R. Jonas, North Carolina; Russell W. Keeney, Illinois; Clarence R. Kilburn, New York; Noah M. Mason, Illinois; Richard H. Poff, Virginia, and Wint Smith, Kansas.

Two Southern Republicans — Reps. E. Carroll Reece and Howard H. Baker — voted for the rule.

NEGRO (LOUIS LAUTIER)

IN THE NATION CAPITAL

Daily World Tues. 6-11-57

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

Washington Correspondent, Atlanta Daily World and NNPA News Service

Atlanta, Ga.

Now is the time for supporters of civil rights legislation to make a determined fight for a workable cloture rule which will enable the Senate to come to a vote on any matter after reasonable debate.

The present cloture rule (Rule 22) does not permit that. To shut off debate it requires an affirmative vote of two-thirds of the entire Senate membership, or 64 Senators.

But it leaves subject to unlimited debate a motion to take up a resolution to change the rules. Debate, however, can be limited on the resolution itself.

The key to eventual passage of civil rights legislation may well be an effective cloture rule.

Senator James O. Eastland, of Mississippi, and his confederates — Senators John L. McClellan of Arkansas, Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina, and Sam J. Ervin of North Carolina — cannot forever keep civil rights bottled up in the Senate Judiciary Committee, of which Eastland is chairman.

But it already is so late in the session that a filibuster could cause a legislative log jam which would jeopardize passage of a civil rights bill.

Apparently, there are several parliamentary maneuvers under study to get the civil rights bill to the Senate floor, if the dilatory tactics in the Judiciary Committee are not stopped.

Senator William F. Knowland, of California, the Republican leader, has indicated that he may offer a motion to discharge the committee from further consideration of the bill. Or an effort may be made to take up the House bill immediately, without referring it to the Judiciary Committee, after the House passes it early next month.

Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, of Texas, the Democratic leader, has said it will be all right with him if either Knowland or Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Democrat, of Missouri, who is in charge of the civil rights bill, makes such a motion.

Johnson and the Democratic Policy Committee decide what bills that have been reported by committees and are on the Senate calendar, are to be called up for Senate consideration. Johnson usually makes the motion that the Senate consider a bill.

But, in the case of civil rights, he apparently intends to play the role of Pontius Pilate and wash his hands of the measure.

If a resolution to change the Senate cloture rule should be on the calendar when the civil rights bill is reported from the Judiciary Committee, or when the Senate decides to consider the House bill, without sending it to the Senate Judiciary Committee, it could have a softening effect on southern opponents of civil rights who have sworn to resort to every parliamentary means available to prevent Senate passage.

The filibuster is a powerful weapon in the hands of a willful minority, and southerners do not want this right that they have repeatedly abused curtailed further.

Senator Hennings, who is chairman of the Senate Rules and Administration Committee as well as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Constitutional Rights subcommittee, has named a special Rules subcommittee to consider resolutions to change the cloture rule.

The subcommittee is 4 to 1 for changing the rule. Its chairman is Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana. Senator Hennings also is a member. The third Democratic member is Senator Herman Talmadge of Georgia. The two Republican members are Senators John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky and Jacob K. Javits of New York.

The subcommittee has voted to hold unlimited public hearings. Senator Javits wanted hearings limited to a few experts on Congressional procedure. No date has yet been set to start the hearings. There is no need for further delay.

IN THE NATION CAPITAL

Daily World Fri. 6-7-57 P. 4

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

Washington Correspondent, Atlanta Daily World and NNPA News Service

Atlanta, Ga.

THE 30-MEMBER HOUSE EDUCATION and Labor Committee (17 Democrats and 13 Republicans) split in reporting the bill to authorize Federal aid to the states and local communities for construction of public school classrooms.

That they did so came as no surprise to anyone. But how badly they are split is not revealed by the report.

For example, the report was submitted by Representative Graham A. Barden, of North Carolina, com-

mittee chairman. Whether Mr. Barden will support the bill remains to be seen. A year ago, after debate was begun on a school construction bill, Mr. Barden announced to the House that he was washing his hands of the measure, walked off the floor and left the bill in charge of Representative Cleveland M. Bailey, of West Virginia, chairman of the subcommittee which handled it.

Mr. Barden and his fellow southerners on the committee, Representatives Carl Elliott of Alabama and Phil Landrum of Georgia, are most likely to oppose the bill.

As a matter of fact, it is strange but true that the Representatives of the states which need Federal aid the most and stand to gain the most from the proposed program are the ones most bitterly opposed to it.

For example, Virginia would be entitled to $38,790,000 in Federal grants during the five-year period of the program; Alabama would be entitled to $43,550,000; Ark., $26-460,000; Mississippi, $33,315,000; South Carolina, $34,295,000.

REASONS FOR ATTITUDE

There are two reasons for the attitude of most southern states: (1) They fear that, with or without the Powell amendment, local school districts maintaining racially segregated schools will be denied Federal funds, and (2) they are opposed to Federal minimum wage laws.

The bill provides that in order to receive grant payments a state must provide assurances that the school construction shall be subject to the provisions of the Davis-Bacon minimum wage law.

The bill, as reported, is designed to provide alternative programs for financing school construction:

1. Payments to state educational agencies for assistance on a grant basis to local school districts where this type of aid can be most effectively used as determined by a priority system established by the state.

2. Purchases by the Federal Government of bonds issued by school districts which are capable of financing their own school construction but cannot obtain financing from ordinary sources on reasonable terms.

3. Credit assistance to state school-financing agencies to provide schools and related facilities in those states where such agencies exist or may be created.

Representative Adam C. Powell, Democrat, of New York, did not offer in committee his amendment to deny funds to school districts which maintain segregated schools. He has said he will offer it on the House floor.

Five Republican members of the Education Committee — Representatives Ralph W. Gwinn of New York, Clare E. Hoffman of Michigan, Albert H. Bosch of New York, Stuyvesant Wainwright of New York, Donald W. Nicholson of Massachusetts, and William H. Ayres of Ohio — filed a minority report in which they urge defeat of the bill.

They argue:

1. That the need for additional classrooms is not nearly as serious as supporters of Federal aid would have the country believe, and that whatever need there is is being met by the states and local school districts.

2. If there is the need the Government says there is, the proposed bill will not meet it.

3. The majority of Americans are opposed to Federal aid to education.

4. The legislation, if enacted, will not result in the construction of an additional classrooms that would not be built without it.

The five Republicans who signed the minority report take no position for or against the Powell amendment, although most of them voted last year for it.

"We do believe that with or without the so-called Powell amendment that there is a serious legal question as to whether or not this money can be spent in those states which continued to operate their schools on a segregated basis," the minority report declares.

To support this argument they quoted from a speech on the House floor made by Representative William Colmer, Democrat, of Mississippi, last Feb. 11. He said:

"The Powell amendment is immaterial in either form. For, whether adopted or not, no one could be so trusting as to believe that the Federal Government officials charged with administering that program would allocate funds in violation of the Supreme Court decree to states not complying therewith.

"Even if they so desired, they would in all probability be enjoined by the Federal courts.

IN THE NATION'S CAPITOL

Daily World Sat. 7-27-57

By LOUIS LAUTIER — NNPA and Atlanta Daily World Reporter

Atlanta Ga.

CONSIDER SOURCE

ONE MUST CONSIDER the source of the abusive speech made against civil rights on the Senate floor by Senator Harry F. Byrd, Democrat, of Virginia, on July 16.

Byrd vented his spleen on the Chief Justice of the United States, the Attorney General, the NAACP and Americans for Democratic Action.

P. 6

Who is Byrd and what contribution has he made to American civilization in the 70 years he has lived, or to American legislation in the 24 years he has been a member of the United States Senate?

His autobiography in the Congressional Director is very scant — as if he were ashamed of the status into which he was born. Nothing is said about his educational background or lack of it. All it tells is that he was elected to the Virginia senate in 1915, in which he served until he was elected Governor for the term 1926-30, was appointed to the United States Senate on March 4, 1933, and has been elected and reelected to that body ever since.

"Who's Who In America," however, gives his limited educational background. He received his education in the public schools and at Shenandoah Valley Academy. He is an apple grower.

POLITICAL SOURCE

Byrd is the political boss of Virginia, a backward state, one of five which still requires payment of a poll tax as a condition for voting. Every time repeal of the poll tax is considered, the Byrd machine would write so many other restrictions on voting in its place that opponents of the poll tax wonder if anything would be accomplished by its repeal.

Yet Byrd had the gall to call Chief Justice Warren "the modern Thaddeus Stevens, now cloaked in the robes of the Chief Justice of the United States.

Except for the insulting context in which Byrd made his reference to Chief Justice Warren, the Chief Justice should feel complimented to be called a "modern Thaddeus Stevens."

Stevens, a statesman and an abolitionist, fought for human freedom, equality and human dignity.

Eected to Congress as a Whig, he served in that body from March 4, 1849, to March 3, 1853. Elected as a Republican to the 36th Congress and the four succeeding Congresses he served as a Republican from March 4, 1859, until his death Aug. 11, 1868.

Stevens is regarded by southerners as a fanatical radical because of the part he played in reconstruction.

He was chairman of the Managers appointed by the House in 1868 to conduct impeachment proceedings against President Andrew Johnson.

He drafted the Reconstruction Act of March 2, 1867, "to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel states."

The unsuccessful impeachment proceedings against Johnson arose out of his differences with Congress on reconstruction policy.

5 MILITARY DISTRICTS

The Reconstruction Act divided the southern states into five military districts. It provided that military supervision would be withdrawn, and a state's representatives readmitted to Congress after it had (1) framed a new constitution "in conformity with the Constitution of the United States in all respects," (2) adopted universal male suffrage, and (3) ratified the 14th Amendment.

Stevens also was chairman of the House group of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, created by the Congress.

The first proposal to be reported by the Joint Committee was the Stevens "appointment" amendment. This amendment proposed to reduce the Congressional representation of a state which excluded any group of citizens from voting on account of race or color.

After an amendment concerning appointment of direct taxes, the Stevens "appointment" amendment passed the House with little discussion.

Two proposals, one by Stevens and the other by Congressman Bingham, were the precursor of section 1 of the 14th Amendment. Stevens' "appointment" amendment became section 2.

From the opening statement on section 1 by Stevens on May 8, 1866 until he closed debate on May 10, 1866, with the declaration that the southern states should not return except "as supplicants in sackcloth and ashes," nearly all the "radical" Republicans in the House echoed his disappointment that the vote for the colored man was not directly included in the proposed amendment.

Stevens contended that what was proposed "is all that can be obtained in the present state of public opinion."

It seems odd that 91 years later colored people should still be fighting for the right to vote and for the constitutional rights guaranteed by the 14th Amendment, and that Senator Harry F. Byrd, representing the state which was Military District No. 1 under the Stevens Reconstruction Act, should be fighting for the right of the states to deny those rights merely on the ground of race or color.

Writer Says Rev M L King Not Yet Ready For Political Bigtime

Informer Sat. 6-29-57 P.11

Houston, Texas

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D C NNPA) — The Rev Martin Luther King Jr, leader of the Montgomery, Ala, bus boycott, is an estimable young man, and an excellent pulpit orator but he is not yet ready for the political bigtime.

This estimate of the Rev Mr King is based on a year's observation, during which this reporter heard him speak at the Elks convention in Los Angeles, the National Baptist Convention in Denver and at the Prayer Pilgrimage at the Lincoln Memorial here and attended two press conferences he held.

At his press conference here, after he and the Rev Ralph D. Abernethy, another leader in the bus boycott, talked with Vice President Nixon for more than two hours, he showed that he has more home work to do if he is to become a political as well as a spiritual leader.

His answer to political questions, even those relating to Alabama, were in generalities. He gave no particulars about the low registration of Negro voters in Alabama, why more Negroes were not able to register, or what efforts had been made by Negro Alabamans themselves to register.

On top of that, the public relations of the Rev Mr King were badly managed News reporters hung around the entrance to the formal office of Vice President Nixon just off the Senate chamber in the Capitol for more than two hours waiting to see Mr King.

After the conference with the Vice President ended, Mr King was ushered out a side door and down stairs. Reporters with deadlines to make rushed after it. When they got outside, Bayard Ruston, who is his public relations director, was helping him to get into a waiting automobile and telling reporters that Mr King had nothing to say until his 6 o clock press conference at The Raleigh Hotel.

Mr King was a half hour late in entering the room at the Raleigh where the press conference was held.

Before he came in, Mr Ruston distributed a statement, attributed to Mr King, in which it was stated that the bus boycott leader had appealed to Mr Nixon to do three things:

1. To come South and speak in "moral terms" to give strength to southern liberals who are afraid to speak or act with understanding and equality.

2. To urge Southerners to support the right of Negroes to vote.

3. To call together Republican members of Congress and impress them with the importance of supporting civil rights legislation

Actually, what Mr King got from Vice President Nixon was a commitment to hold a regional meeting of the President's Government Contacts Committee in Atlanta or some other southern city.

The Government Contracts Committee is concerned with the policing of the clause in standard Government contracts forbidding the contractor or subcontractor to discriminate in employment under such contracts.

Mr Nixon is chairman of the committee. Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, who also was present at the talk between Mr King and Mr Nixon, is vice chairman of the committee.

Mr Mitchell told reporters that the Rev Mr King and the Rev Mr Abernathy gave the Vice President a number of ideas and opinions as to the importance of the civil rights bill.

"The Vice President assured them," Mr Mitchell said, "that the President, he (Mr Nixon and the Republican leadership were firmly in favor of the civil rights bill"

Mr Mitchell said the conferences also discussed the equal job opportunities program and the President's Government Contracts Committee and its work.

The two Alabamans pointed out to the Vice President, Mr Mitchell said, the small number of Negroes in the South who had any voting rights and the difficulty Negroes are experiencing in obtaining those rights in most, if not all, of the southern states.

Mr Mitchell said the Rev Mr King and the Rev Mr Abernethy suggested that the contracts committee come south to hold a regional meeting.

The Vice President assured them, the Labor Secretary said, that one of the southern cities would be a point which the committee would visit in the near future.

lanta, Mr Mitchell said, adding that the committee is meeting Wed

The Rev Mr King suggested Atnesday and it will probably be decided then as to the southern city in which to hold a meeting.

The Rev Mr King told reporters that he accepted the invitation to convey to the executive branch of the Government, through Vice President Nixon the conditions which exist in the South for 11,000 000 Negroes, including the bombing of Negro homes and churches to such an extent that it is "a scandal morally and legally."

He also said Negroes were being intimidated, segregation was being continued, and Negroes were being deprived of the right to vote.

At the same time, he said, he emphasized the determination and single mindedness of Negroes "to end these indignities firmly though give the Vice President "a glimpse into the hears and spirit" of Negroes who are united in their effort to obtain their rights.

He said he made it clear that he does not believe either the Republican or Dmocratic party has done enough with the moral and spiritual tools available to them to achieve civil rights.

Asked what was the Vice President's reaction, the Rev Mr King replied that the problem is "very important" and that it is "important and significant" for him to go South and make some type of statement in that area.

"Does that satisfy you?" a reporter asked

"That would be a step," the Rev Mr King replied. "I am not saying it is a total solution."

He added that Secretary Mitchell agreed with the Vice President that it would be a good move to have the contracts committee meet in a southern city.

The Rev Mr King also said he thought President Eisenhower "could do much more than he has done."

He said he and Mr Nixon also discussed the possibility of a meeting with the President at a later day, and Mr Nixon agreed that "might be a very favorable idea and it is quite possible that we might meet with the President."

The Rev Mr King also said it was made clear in the discussing that "there are many white people of good will in the South and that the real problem is that these people are afraid to speak out and take a positive stand."

He added that he made it clear that the White Citizens Council and the Ku Klux Klan represent a minority view.

He said he would welcome a conference with any outstanding Democrat of the House or Senate.

Capital Spotlight

Afro-American

Baltimore, Md.

By Louis Lautier

Sat. 6-22-57

Rep. Dawson Back And He Looks Good

P.4

Rep. William L. Dawson, (D., Ill.), who had a month's siege of illness, is back in Washington showing the mettle of which he is made.

There were all kinds of reports about his illness, none of which was given out by medical authorities at the Bethesda (Md.) Naval Hospital, where he was a patient before going home to recuperate.

There were reports that he had a heart attack. There were reports that he had a paralytic stroke. There were reports (in Chicago) that he was dead. There were even inquiries as to who would be his successor.

* * *

BUT ALL of these reports appear to have been exaggerated. Dawson returned to Washington on June 6. He looks good—a little weak and a little thinner. He is walking apparently with a little difficulty, using a stick.

To show his mettle — Dawson staved in his office on June 11 until 5:30 p.m., waiting to vote against the jury-trial amendment to the Eisenhower Administration's civil rights bill.

There was no vote because the Southerners were using dilatory tactics to delay passage of the bill as long as they could.

On June 12 the House was not in session. Some members were attending the international naval review in Hampton Roads, Va.

Capital Spotlight

Afro-American

Baltimore, Md.

By Louis Lautier

Sat. 6-29-57

Dawson, Using Cane, Sticks Until End

P.4

Rep. William L. Dawson, (D., Ill.) whose illness recently was greatly exaggerated, proved his durability during the reading of the Eisenhower Administration's civil rights bill in the House for amendment.

On teller vote after teller vote, Dawson got in line and paraded half way around the House to cast his vote against crippling amendments. The voting was a marathon but he kept up with it.

Still weak from the weeks he spent in the Bethesda (Md.) Naval Hospital, he used a stick but got around without difficulty.

* * *

REPUBLICAN headquarters is worried over criticism of I. Lee Potter, Republican state chairman for Virginia and personnel director of the Republican National Committee (he handles the patronage pie).

Meade Alcorn, Republican national chairman, appointed Potter to head "Operation Dixie," a Republican drive to organize the South to make gains in Congressional, state and local elections.

Potter served as precinct committeeman, Arlington County Republican chairman, ran for the State legislature in 1949, served as campaign manager for Rep. Joel T. Broyhill, (R., Va.) in 1952 and 1954; "pie distributor" for the Republican National Committee since 1955, and member of Republican National Committee, since 1956.

* * *

IN NONE of these activities has he ever made any overtures to colored voters. The 10th Congressional District Virginia Republican Committee and the Virginia Republican State Committee are lily-white. Broyhill, whom he elected to Congress, votes consistently with the Dixiecrats on civil rights matters.

As "pie patronage distributor" for the Republican National Committee, Potter is doing business with E. O. Spencer, a Jackson, Miss., hotel owner, instead of Perry W. Howard, Republican National Committeeman for Mississippi.

Spencer is not a member of the Mississippi White Citizens Council, but, by his own admission, he rents space in his hotel for the White Citizens Council to hold its meetings and decide what it's going to do about colored people who want their constitutional rights.

* * *

OF A five - member advisory committee on Southern affairs which will work with Potter, two are from states where the Republican party is lily-white — Mrs. Thelma Rogers, North Carolina, and Mrs. Cynthia Zimmerman, National Committeewoman for Virginia.

The other three advisory committee members are G. Harold Alexander, state chairman for Florida; Guy Smith, state chairman for Tennessee, and H. J. Porter, National Committeeman for Texas.

Several colored delegates from Southern states attended the Young Republican National Federation convention here last weekend.

But somebody needs to tell Alcorn the political facts of life — that there are now more than a million colored voters in the states of the Deep South and that most of the colored voters in the North are refugees from the South, who are very sympathetic with the plight of their brothers and sisters in the states where "Operation Dixie" is to take place.

ABOUT ONE-THIRD of the allocations of the Fund for the Republic in the past four years has gone for educational activities in race relations. The larg-

est grantee in this field is the Southern Regional Council which collected the data used by Sen. Paul Douglas, (D., Ill.) and other members of Congress in exposing disfranchisement in the South.

The Council received $500,000 from the Fund to bring white and colored leaders together to ease racial tensions on a community basis.

Church and lay - affiliated groups, representing almost all major denominations, have been given nearly a million dollars by the Fund to assist them in promoting better race relations.

* * *

THE WHITE HOUSE is expected to announce shortly an appointment of a United States Representative to the United Nations General Assembly. At the last session, Richard L. Jones, United States Ambassador to Liberia, served as an alternate delegate.

Washington hears that the Rev. Mr. Martin Luther King the Montgomery (Ala.) bus boycott leader, will back a candidate, possibly the Rev. William H. Borders, pastor of Wheat Street Baptist Church, against the Rev. Joseph H. Jackson of Chicago, who will seek reelection as president of the National Baptist Convention.

CROSSES BURNED

Crestview, Fla. — Seven foot crosses were burned in front of two residences in this small Florida town of 10,000 last week. One cross was burned a half block from where this writer lives.

The Ku Klux Klan numbers 63 members here and is sworn to uphold segregation no matter the price.

The reasons for the uprising is that schools on Eglin Air Force Base just a short distance away are integrated.

The Klan has also been parading around the house where I am staying. I have been asked by an official to leave for the good of the town. He fears what will happen if I stay.

LAMAR WEAVER

Change in rules seen

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. 1-5-57

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — Two Senators agreed Wednesday that the question of whether the Senate is a continuing body is immaterial in the fight for adoption of new rules at the beginning of the 85th Congress.

But Sen. Irving M. Ives, (R.-N.Y.), was willing to concede that it is a continuing body, while one of his comrades in the rules fight, Sen. Paul Douglas, (D.-Ill.) thought otherwise.

The question of whether the Senate is a continuing body was the point upon which a similar fight in 1953 turned.

At that time the question was argued at length, briefs were filed on each side of the issue, and the Senate voted, 70 to 21, to table a motion that it proceed to adopt new rules.

Senators Douglas and Ives, two of about a dozen Senators who have indicated that they will make a similar fight when the new Congress convenes Jan. 3, held a joint press conference in the Senate Caucus room Wednesday.

At that time they issued a statement that there are in sight now as many votes as were cast in 1953 against the motion to table the motion to adopt new rules and that they expect to get "a substantial additional number" in support of their efforts to end the filibuster.

"We mean business on this matter," said Douglas. "We intend to push through with all the strength we have."

* * *

DOUGLAS EXPLAINED that the effort is "bipartisan or nonpartisan." He said he and Ives recognized that the issue transcends party. "It is the issue of responsible government in the United States Senate and the Congress," he said.

"Members of both parties have an interest in this responsible government. We are acting not as party members but as Americans. While the initial move may have been started by some Democrats, the Republicans are just as much a party to it."

Ives broke in to say: "If you (Democrats) hadn't started it we would have."

Ives said he had been seeking to end filibustering ever since he had come to the Senate in 1947. "We don't seem to be getting very far, but we haven't given up," Ives said.

It is unfortunate that the civil rights issue has become entangled with the proposal to end the filibuster, Ives said, but "it happens that civil rights is the most important internal question in this country now."

The New Yorker added that "there are other questions of paramount concern. We're trying to make the Senate responsive to popular will insofar as we can do that within reason."

* * *

IVES DENIED that any effort was being made to adopt rules to end debate. "We want reasonable debate," he said. He added that "It is an intolerable condition to find yourself in a legislative situation where you are going to be ultimately frustrated in what you're doing."

Douglas agreed with Ives that the proposal to change the cloture rule is broader than the civil rights issue, but he said he felt that "the most immediate application of the issue at stake is in the field of civil rights and if we do not change the rules of the Senate, it will be impossible to get any meaningful civil rights legislation through."

"With the state of articulate public opinion in the South what it is, whatever the internal views of southern Senators may be," Douglas said, "in practice they will oppose effective civil rights legislation."

The Illinois Senator explained that under the present cloture rule, there are 22 southern Senators to engage in a filibuster and they need only 11 other Senators to join with them or stay away from the Senate on a vote to limit debate.

The rule requires 64 affirmative votes (two-thirds of the entire Senate membership) to limit debate. That means that a closture motion can be defeated by 33 votes against, or a sufficient number of Senators not answering a roll-call vote to keep the majority from getting 64 votes.

Ives said he does not think it is possible at present to get 64 votes for cloture.

* * *

"AS A PRACTICAL MATTER," said Douglas, "it will be impossible to get limitation of debate on any meaningful civil rights measure unless Rule 22 (cloture) is changed."

"How many votes have you got?" a reporter asked.

"Does Macy's tell Gimbel's what they are going to sell?" Douglas asked in reply.

He would make no prediction other than the proponents of adopting new rules will have as many votes as they did in 1953 "and we believe we will have more."

In reply to a question, Ives said he believed a filibuster can be broken by round-the-clock sessions and strict enforcement of the rules, "if the physical endurance of the rest of the Senate, the non - filibustering part of the Senate would permit it."

He pointed out there are 22 southern Senators ready to carry on a filibuster and they might have some friends from other parts of the country."

He said it would be virtually impossible to overcome that opposition. "That kind of opposition," he said, "can keep the Senate in session from Jan. 1 to Jan. 1."

Douglas added that such a filibuster "can only be broken with strong and determined leadership on both sides of the aisle" and only if other members of the Senate remain in constant contact with the floor so that a quorum can be maintained at all times to prevent a recess and the beginning of a new legislative day, which would mean that the effort would have to be started all over again.

ASKED WHAT KIND of cooperation could be expected from the Senate leadership, Douglas replied:

"I think you will have to ask the leadership." He pointed out that Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, the Democratic leader, has already said he is opposed to changing the rules.

Ives said he assumed Sen. William F. Knowland, of California, the Republican leader, would be for the Senate rules as they now stand.

"Senator Johnson comes from one part of the country where they have strong convictions," Ives said. "I am not sure about Senator Knowland."

Ives said he is willing to admit that the Senate is a continuing body, but that every legislative body periodically should examine its rules "from scratch."

He pointed out that one-third of the Senate is elected every two years and that new Senators never have a chance to vote on the rules.

The logical time to change the rules, he said, is at the beginning of a new Congress, particularly after the election of the President, "when we will have several weeks around here to just twiddle our thumbs.

"Then there is time to debate this thing. Later there will be howls that we are stopping consideration of important bills."

Douglas added that the Senate has always treated itself as a new body except in the matter of rules.

"THE SENATE IS ALWAYS bound by the rules of the past and never has a chance to determine what the rules shall be," Douglas said. "We maintain that the Senate has the right to set down its rules of procedure.

"To have it bound by the rules of 1949 is a violation of the Constitution as well as of procedure and common sense."

Ives said he has had "some encouragement" from a source at the White House "close to the President." He would not identify the source.

Asked whether President Eisenhower would have any influence on the Senate if he spoke out, Ives said: "No, it never pays to have the head of one branch of government tell another what it should do. You get resistance when the head of one branch butts in."

Ives and Douglas also disagreed over the precedents which will guide Vice President Nixon in ruling if a point is made that a motion to adopt new rules is out of order.

Ives said he does not believe the Vice President will overrule such a point "on account of precedents. I think the Vice President's sentiments are with us," he added.

"I personally do not think that the precedents are in favor of the Vice President ruling in the negative," said Douglas. "The weight of the precedents is in favor of his saying such a motion is in order."

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Eisenhower Aides Miffed With Louis

White House staffers are burned to a crisp over Louis Armstrong's outbursts about the intestinal fortitude of President Eisenhower. They think it sheer ingratitude.

They had the trumpet player over at the White House for luncheon one day and Vice President Nixon had him as his guest at the Capitol.

If one finds out what happened in negotiations between Armstrong and the State Department over sending him and his band behind the Iron Curtain and into Iron Curtain countries, he will have the answer as to why Louis blew such a blue note on Mr. Ike.

ACCORDING TO E. Allan Lightner Jr., acting Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, the State Department planned to send into Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union during the current fiscal year one orchestra, three musical groups, seven individual artists, and four sports activities — a total of 15 projects at an estimated cost of $486,000.

It could be that Louis and his band were omitted altogether, or he and the State Department differed over dough.

Musical groups which have toured under State Department auspices include Porgy and Bess, the Jubilee Singers, and the Dizzy Gillespie band. Individual artists include Marian Anderson, William Warfield an Leontyne Price.

THE WILBUR de Paris band, a seven-piece jazz outfit, Dixieland style, toured Africa. One of its first ports of call was the independence celebration, last March, in Ghana, where it appeared for a week.

Vice President Nixon, the official United States delegation to the independence celebration, and a number of other Americans were there at the time.

They toured Africa after their Ghana engagement, winding up in Addis Ababa, then returning to the United States. The band's deficit on that tour cost American taxpayers $38,000.

Marian Anderson was booked this fall for a tour of the Near East and the Far East that will include Pakistan, India, Indonesia, Malaya, Laos, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, the Philippines, Hong Kong, Seoul, Korea.

* * *

TO DATE, Miss Anderson has received only $2,500 from funds appropriated for the President's special international program.

She had gone abroad on her own, on a commercial tour, and the State Department picked her up for two performances in Europe and paid her her fee for those performances. One was a festival in Oslo, Norway, and the other a festival in Berlin.

Other artists who appeared for the State Department under similar circumstances, while on commercial tours, and the fees they received are: the Jubilee Singers, $525; Harlem Globe Trotters, $1,000; Philippa Schuyler, $702.40.

The Harlem Globe Trotters did their stuff for the State Department in Beirut, the capital of Lebanon.

* * *

THERE WAS discussion of a possible appearance at the Posnan (Poland) Trade Fair of Harry Belafonte, but American participation apparently fell through. Besides, Belafonte was too busy making pictures and appearing in night clubs in this country.

If he had gone to Poland, the State Department was toying with the idea of picking him up to tour him in Eastern Europe and perhaps Germany. It has had requests from Germany in particular, of long standing, for an American folk singer to appear at the American houses and elsewhere in Germany.

The State Department may have been cool on the Armstrong tour of Russia, because of the criticism members of Congress directed at it for its payments to Dizzy Gillespie and a tour of the Near East.

It cost American taxpayers $84,381 for Dizzy and his band to play 55 engagements between March 27 and May 21, 1956, in Abadan, Iran; Dacca, Karachi, Pakistan; Beirut, Lebbanon; Damascus, Aleppo, Syria; Ankara and Istanbul, Turkey; Zagrab and Belgrade in Yugoslavia, and Athens, Greece.

* * *

THE BOX office receipts on the tour totaled $16,458. The total expenses were $100,838, which left a deficit of $84,380 for Uncle Sam to pick up.

Dizzy drew a salary of $2,150 a week. Fourteen musicians got $225 a week each, one musicians, $280 a week; three vocalists, $240 a week each, and a stage setting and baggage hand, $140 a week.

In addition, the band was paid $1,287 for extra rehearsal time, and the entire group got half pay amounting to $1,802 during international travel.

A few other items of expense were passports and visas $727.15, and shots, $511.90.

* * *

A HASSLE is brewing between Val J. Washington, director of minorities of the Republican National Committee, and Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP.

It has to do with an NAACP press release in which Wilkins is said to have told the NAACP board of directors that Republicans adopted a policy during the civil rights fight which would have led to burial of the bill in a House-Senate conference committee.

Tid-Bits From Washington

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The time for the 77th session of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., is drawing near. It meets in Louisville Sept. 2-9. But the big convention wheels remain ominously quiet.

Dr. Joseph H. Jackson, pastor of Olivet Baptist church in Chicago and president of the convention, has been talking about banning nuclear weapons testing and stockpiling, but has been silent about his intentions at the forthcoming convention.

He has said he is a servant of the convention and will abide by its wishes.

But the conflict continues between supporters and opponents of Dr. Jackson. The supporters of Dr. Jackson assert that the constitution of the National Baptist convention contains no provision governing tenure.

What Constitution Says

His opponents maintain that a new constitution, adopted at the 1952 session in Chicago, provides:

"A president of the convention shall not be eligible for reelection after he has served four consecutive terms until at least one year has elapsed."

Dr. Jackson's fourth year as president of the convention expires at the next session which will be held in Louisville, Ky.

Opponents of Dr. Jackson deny that the tenure provision was an amendment to the constitution and, as such, was not validly adopted, or that, if validly adopted, it was subsequently repealed.

The two factions agree on the facts as they appear in the minutes of the convention from 1951 through 1953.

The Jackson supporters rely heaviy on the minutes of the 1952 session which shows the adoption of the revised constitution on the third day of the convention.

The constitution, in effect at the time of the 1952 meeting, provided that no amendments shall be considered after the second day of the session.

Rely on 1955 Minutes

The Jackson supporters also rely on the minutes of the 1955 session in Memphis, Tenn. Those minutes show that —

On Tuesday, Sept. 6, 1955, Dr. C. C. Coleman of Mississippi proposed a constitutional. He moved that article 4, section 2 be deleted. Article 4, section 2 provides that a president shall not be eligible for reelection after he has served four consecutives terms, until at least one year has elapsed.

The Coleman motion was seconded by Dr. D. C. Washington of Alabama.

Just before the vote was taken on the Coleman motion, Dr. Jackson said: "I do not wish to abridge your privilege in this act for it is your democratic right. The president, however, has a statement on the same matter. But he will accept your expression of it at this time."

After this statement the Board of Directors voted by a large majority to recommend to the parent body that tenure be removed from the constitution. The vote was recorded as being 37 to 11 in favor of recommending the removal of the tenure provision.

Pushes Recommendation

On Thursday, Sept. 8, 1895, Dr. Jackson, in the president's message to the convention, prefaced his recommendation with this remark:

"Before I present this recommendation, I wish to beg the indulgence of the board of directors and ask that they be tolerant enough to allow this recommendation one to take the place of their vote on Tuesday."

Dr. Jackson then made the following recommendation:

"1. That Article IV, and the last sentence in Section 1, the whole of 2, Article IV, and the whole of Section 6 of Article V, be lifted and committed for careful study and analysis; and to revamp, reshape, amend or to reaffirm as they now appear in the constitution; and that said committee shall be appointed in this annual session, and will be advised to make their first report for discussion in the mid-winter Board meeting in 1956, and that a second reading shall be presented in the June Board meeting, and that a third reading shall be given at the September Board meeting in 1956.

"In each of these preliminary readings, any member of the National Baptist Convention shall be granted the privilege of discussion and suggestions, and the Committee shall labor to gather up the thinking of representatives of the Convention, and as early as possible, to express what seems to be the will of the people in their recommendations.

"The fourth reading shall be presented Wednesday morning at the 1956 session of the Convention. At this reading mimeographed copies of the articles in question shall be in the hands of all delegates for their personal study and analysis.

"On the afternoon of the second day of the convention in 1956, said articles shall be presented for discussion and for the vote of the convention."

The 1955 minutes also state that Dr. Gardner C. Taylor of New York "glowingly commended the president's address and moved that the address be adopted, including every recommendation. The motion received the support of a chorus of seconds. The motion carried unanimously."

convention. In other words, the 1956 minutes of the Convention will not be distributed until the 1957 session in Louisville. Therefore, the minutes of the 1956 session are not available as evidence of whether the committee appointed by Dr. Jackson at the 1955 session made a report at the 1956 session in Denver and, if so what action the convention took on it.

But Dr. Marshall L. Shepard, of Philadelphia, who is prominently mentioned to succeed Dr. Jackson, says:

"According to the record, the only attempt to amend the constitution officially was in the last session of the convention at Denver when a report of the committee having been duly presented to the Executive Board was also presented to the convention for adoption. But despite the fact that the president threatened to resign unless this committee's report was adopted, the convention not only failed to adopt the report but unanimously voted to table the same."

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Louisville Sees Mixed Hotels Work

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — Whatever disorder there was in the Jefferson County Armory during the 77th annual National Baptist Convention, there was none in the four first-class Louisville hotels where delegates stayed.

The Sheraton-Sellbach opened its rathskeller to feed the delegates. For luncheon and dinner the rathskeller did a big business. In the coffee shop, there were large numbers of delegates at tables and the counters at all hours. White patrons were mixed among them in a perfectly integrated setting.

The delegates who patronized these places were properly

dressed, talked in subdued tones, and conducted themselve as ladies and gentlemen.

Baltimore

NOT SO IN Philadelphia during the Elks' convention. Men attending the Elks convention and staying in the big hotels had not all learned that coats and neckties are proper attire. A few women were even seen wearing bedroom slippers in hotel lobbies.

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Men and women at the Elks' convention also were boisterous, particularly on buses and in subway cars.

Louisville, which has not progressed nearly as far as Washington in racial integration, has a colored police lieutenant. Washington, the capital of the nation, has none.

Lieut. A. Wilson Edwards was in charge of the police detail at the Jefferson County Armory during the National Baptist Convention. Also assigned to the armory were two colored detectives, Oscar Long and his partner, James Ratcliff.

* * *

JAMES M. NABRIT JR., secretary of Howard University and professor of civil rights law in the Howard Law School, was the guest of Dr. and Mrs. M. D. Young (Hortense) during the convention. He flew from Louisville to New York Friday for a meeting Saturday of the NAACP legal committee.

If ministers opposed to Dr. Joseph A. Jackson of Chicago, president of the convention, decide to bring suit, Nabrit and Austin T. Walden, an Atlanta attorney, will represent them. If the suit is filed, it probably will be filed in the District of Columbia because the National Baptist Convention was incorporated there.

But Dr. Jackson flatly asserts there will be no court case "The courts will not fool with these when they know the facts," he said.

Asked what would be the effect of a suit, he said:

"A few men are going to waste some money. You can't bring a suit against a religious body about what the relibious body does about its own affairs so long as it does it according to its own laws."

* * *

THE REV. MERRILL BOOKER is transferring from the pastorate of St. Timothy's Baptist Church in Gary, Ind., to that of the Community Baptist Church in Chicago, which was formed by the merger of two white churches.

Dr. Booker was former chaplain of Freedmen's Hospital in Washington and also a staff member of the Washington Federation of Churches. He pastored Good Hope Baptist Church in Dallas, Texas, from 1951 to 1956.

Dr. Jackson told reporters that the Rev. L. Evans, formerly of Nashville, Tenn., now of Brooklyn, the ringleader of disturbances in the convention, has no church. Besides, he was dismissed from the convention after the chair hurling contest, in which he was a principal.

Dr. Jackson also said Cleveland Jordan, 53, of Greenwood, Miss., who gave his occupation as a farmer when he was booked at police headquarters on a charge of fighting in the Armory, is a cotton picker and gets paid by the hundred pounds—not that that is any reflection on him.

* * *

AMONG THE persons attending the convention were the Rev. L. M. Terrill, pastor of Zion Hill Baptist Church, Atlanta, and assistant professor of religion at Morehouse College; Dr. S. A. Owens of Memphis, who had some backing for president of the convention, but was dropped as vice president at large because of his opposition to Dr. Jackson.

* * *

THE REVS. JUNIUS C. AUSTIN, pastor, Pilgrim Baptist Church, Chicago; Martin Luther King and A. D. Abernathy, both of Montgomery, Ala.; M. B. Godwin, pastor, Zion Hill Baptist Church, Birmingham; W. Wilson, pastor, True Light Baptist Church, Birmingham; David Licorish, associate pastor, Abyssinian Baptist Church, New York City.

When the chair fight was staged in the Armory, the Rev. John W. Goodgame, pastor, Sixth Avenue Baptist Church, Birmingham, who was seated on the platform, leaped down onto the press table. His 200-odd pounds broke the table. He was fleeing from the line of fire.

One of the pastors who missed the conference was the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, pastor of Abyssinian Baptist Church, who was in The Hague, Netherlands.

What really took place in Room 41

Afro-American P. 1

Sat. 8-24-57

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON

Politicians, neo-politicians, and would-be politicians are all talking about 'what happened in Room F-41,' BUT . . .

Clarence Mitchell, head of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP and one of those seen going in and out of Room F-41 on the first floor of the Capitol, denied that there had been a meeting in that room.

'Everybody has the whole thing mixed up," he said. "We did not have a meeting in F-41. We met in Joe Rauh's office."

Mr. Mitchell explained that the American Civil Liberties Union, a foe of the jury trial amendment, had thrown consternation into the ranks of the "Leadership Conference" by calling for the defeat of the Senate emasculated bill."

James B. Carey, president of the International Union of Electrical Workers (AFL-CIO,) and Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers, both of whom signed the statement, were not present at the meeting in Rauh's office, Mr. Mitchell said.

Afro-American

Mr. Mitchell said he talked the situation over with Roy Wilkins and a decision was reached "to get together" the next day.

31 a. P. 2

THE NEXT DAY, Robert L. Carter, NAACP counsel, and Roy Wilkins, executive secretary, came down from New York. Also attending the meeting was Frank D. Reeves, a local lawyer, member of the NAACP legal staff, and a campaign worker for Sen. Estes Kefauver for the Democratic nomination for president in 1956.

Mr. Mitchell said there was a long discussion of the legal aspects of the civil rights bill. A statement supporting the weakened bill followed.

"The whole objective," he said, "was to keep the bill from being killed."

He said he has known for some time that it was the intention to settle for a jury trial amendment in the bill if the administration had to.

Reaction from the Aug. 7 statement in administration circles was immediate. Administration leaders and Republican members were quick to say that the NAACP "had pulled the rug' from under them.

One of the 16 persons whose names appeared on the bill was Hobosn Reynolds of Philadelphia, director of the Elks Civil Liberties Department.

* * *

IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING issuance of the statement, however, Robert H. Johnson of Philadelphia, Elks' grand exalted ruler, called the Senate vote for adoption of the jury trial amendment a 'sellout on the NAACP and an effort to retard American world leadership."

He said the Senate's action was proof of a political conspiracy among some Senators to give colored people "another paper rights deal." He promised to see that every Elk voted against the Senators who voted for the jury trial amendment.

Sen. Prescott Bush, (Rep., Conn.,) directed the attention of the Senate to an article appearing in Time, a weekly newsmagazine, Aug. 19, reporting that the "Leadership Conference" had met in the capital and issued the statement which left Senate Republicans unable to see their way clear to vote against the bill.

"In recent days, we have seen extraordinary pressures being exerted upon the House of Representatives to accept the weak and cripped civil rights bill which a strange coalition among Democrats forced upon the Senate," said Senator Bush, adding:

"These pressures demonstrate that the radical wing of the Democratic Party is more ...ested in political prestige ... power, and in patchinig up the split within their party, than in giving effective protection to the voting rights and other civil rights of millions of Americans.

'This campaign for an emasculated civil rights bill apparently resulted from a secret meeting in Room F-41 of the Capitol which was reported in this week's Time Magazine.

'At this meeting, representatives of organizations long interested in civil rights were persuaded to retreat from their former positions and endorse the weak Senate bill. Time comments, appropriately, that such a retreat "would have been called betrayal short months ago.'

* * *

"IT IS A MATTER of regret to those of us who have fought for a strong civil rights bill that Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP and others genuinely interested in effective legislation have been misled by calculated political maneuver.

'I hope that the House of Representatives will continue to resist these political pressures, send the bill to conference, and insist upon strong and effective civil rights legislation."

Later, Senator Herbert Humphrey (Dem., Minn.,) came to the defense of Mr. Wilkins, the NAACP and the labor groups which were represented at the meeting which agreed upon the Aug. 7 statement.

'I know of no organization that has done more to promote civil rights than the NAACP," Mr. Humphrey said.

He added that "the great labor organizations of our country are not sunshine patriots."

If these organizations felt that some compromise can be entered into and that the end product will be an advancement" Senator Humphrey asserted, 'I think we ought to herald them because they are demonstrating what I call political maturity."

Names of the persons who signed the statement on behalf of their organizations follow:

Earl V. Jimerson, president, and Patrick E. Gorman, secretary-treasurer, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America (AFI-CIO;) John T. Blue, Jr. director, American Council on Human Rights; Shad Polier chairman, executive committee, American Jewish Congress.

Joseph L. Rauh Jr., vice chairman, Americans for Democratic Action; E. Raymond Wilson, executive secretary, Friends Committee on National Legislation; Hobson Reynolds, director, Elks' Civil Liberties Department; James B. Carey, president, International Union of Electrical Workers (AFL-CIO).

Adolph Held, chairman, Jewish Labor Committee; Bernard Weitzer, national legislative director, Jewish War Veterans; James B. Cobb, president, National Alliance of Postal Employees; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary, NAACP; David Ullman, chairman, National Community Relations Advisory Council.

William Pollock, president Textile Workers Union (AFL-CIO); Michael Quill, president Transport Workers Union (AFL - CIO); Walter P Reuther, United Automobile Workers (AFL-CIO), and Francis Shane, executive secretary Civil Rights Committee United Steelworkers of America (AFL-CIO).

Supreme Court May Act On Va. Placement Act Mon.

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — The United States Supreme Court will probably act Monday on the petition of the Norfolk and Newport News School Boards for a review of lower Federal court rulings that the Virginia Pupil Placement Act is unconstitutional.

If it follows its action in other school desegregation cases since its decision of May 17, 1954, outlawing racial segregation in public education, it will deny a hearing to two school boards.

Refusal to hear the petition for a review of the case is expected to have a wide impact on the gubernatorial campaign that is now in progress in Virginia.

J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., former Attorney General of Virginia, who has represented the State in all of the school segregation cases which have been brought to date, including the Prince Edward County case which went to the Supreme Court, is being opposed by State Senator Ted Dalton.

TIED TO "RESISTANCE"

The only issue that Mr. Almond has been willing to discuss in the campaign is that of school desegregation. He is tied to the "massive resistance" plan of Gov. Thomas B. Stanley and the machine of Senator Harry F. Byrd.

Mr. Dalton, the Republican candidate, has predicted that this plan will collapse when the Supreme Court refuses to review lower Federal court decisions hold the Pupil Placement Act unconstitutional.

Mr. Dalton, who also favors segregated public schools, advocates a pupil placement law which would permit token integration as the best method of maintaining segregation.

The Virginia Pupil Placement Act is the key measure in the five-page-package plan enacted at a special session of the Virginia General Assembly in 1956 to keep a single colored pupil from being admitted to a single white school.

TREMENDOUS EFFORT

Aside from the political effects, the refusal of the Supreme Court to review the lower court decisions also would have a tremendous effect upon public schools in Virginia.

At least two other communities would be affected by the action. Injunctions of Federal District Court judges, directing the admission of colored students to public schools in Arlington County and Charlottesville, Va., have been stayed pending appeals.

If the Supreme Court rejects the petition for review in the Norfolk and Newport News case, the United States Court of Appeals decision upholding the ruling that the Virginia Pupil Placement Act is unconstitutional will control the Arlington County and Norfolk-Newport News cases.

Once colored pupils are admitted to any school, Virginia law requires withholding of state funds and the closing of that school.

The Virginia Pupil Placement Act was held unconstitutional by Judge Walter E. Hoffman in the Norfolk and Newport News cases last February 26.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Dixiecrats Control Washington Police

The basic facts which touched off the NAACP charges of racial discrimination in promotions in the Metropolitan Police Department first appeared in this column months ago.

Two officers who have "blue ribbon" assignments are "Babe" Hayes and Harvey McGuinn. When Congress is in session, they are assigned to the Capitol. Their job is to prevent recurrence of any incidents like Puerto Ricans firing pistols at random from a spectators' gallery in the House, shouting for independence for Puerto Rico and wounding five Congressmen.

* * *

ONE FACTOR about which no questions have been asked in the investigation of NAACP charges against Chief Robert V. Murray is the influence exerted over the Police Dept. by Rep. John L. McMillan of South Carolina, Oren Harris of Arkansas, Thomas G. Abernethy of Mississippi, Howard W. Smith of Virginia, Olin E. Teague of Texas, James C. Davis of Georgia, James H. Morrison of Louisiana, John Bell Williams of Mississippi, John Dowdy of Texas, and Billy Matthews of Florida, Dixiecrats, and Joel T. Broyhill, Virginia Republicrat.

These Southerners, dyed-in-the-wool segregationists, dominate the House District of Columbia Committee which handles police business, among other matters. Davis, an ex-Ku Klux Klansman, and Williams are leading spokesmen for White Citizens Councils. The District of Columbia Policeman's Association contributed to Davis' campaign fund in 1956 when a Republican threatened to unseat him.

* * *

WHEN THE House District of Columbia Appropriations subcommittee heard testimony last March 25 from organizations and various individuals on the 1958 District of Columbia appropriations, not a single organization or individual said anything against the Police Department or Murray.

The District of Columbia Federation of Civic Associations, on the other hand, praised both the Police and Fire Departments.

The Police Department requested for the current fiscal year an appropriation of $18,201,000 — an increase of $3,669,900 over its 1957 appropriation of $14,351,100.

The authorized strength of the Police Department is 2,500 men. The total force as of last Feb. 28, however, was 2,261 men.

* * *

BETWEEN JULY, 1956, and last Feb. 28, 136 men were appointed to the force, but there were 59 resignations and 45 other separations, making a net increase of 35 men.

Although the department continues to experience difficulty in recruiting and keeping qualified personnel, vacancies are offset by permitting officers to work on their assigned days off.

Funds appropriated for additional men go to formed private on the street, who works extra duty during night hours when crimes are most prevalent. These officers are paid for their services from funds appropriated for vacant positions.

By this procedure, Chief Murray says, the department increased its foot patrol by 55 per cent during the period September, 1956, through last February.

* * *

"MORE IMPORTANT," he asserts, "during the period September through February, when the increased patrol force was available, serious offenses in this city were reduced by 14 per cent under those during the same period of the preceding year"

Chief Murray does not anticipate that the Police Department will be in the near future be able to recruit sufficient men to offset separations and fill all positions provided for in the 1958 appropriation, but the positions and funds permit the department to work more experienced officers on their assigned days off.

From July, 1956, through February the United States Civil Service Commission received 3,270 applications for appointment to the Metropolitan Police Department

During that same period, 2,982 applicants were given the mental examination by the Commission, 841 applicants passed the mental examination, and 136 applicants were appointed

* * *

THERE IS some time lag between application and examination, examination and grading, and grading and appointment, but the figures show the magnitude of the problem faced by the Department in recruiting personnel.

The overall quality and aptitude of applicants for police positions is such that approximately 25 applications are required to produce one qualified appointee. At this ratio, over 6,000 applications would be needed to fill the 247 vacancies existing in February.

Recruiting is not the sole problem facing the Police Department in attempting to maintain full authorized strength. More and more experienced cops are quitting the force for jobs in the Federal Government or private industry

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Elks Critical of Roy Wilkins

PHILADELPHIA—Elks from all sections of the country, gathered here for their annual confab, spoke critically of the action of Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, in indicating acceptance of the Johnson - Rayburn civil rights bill when President Eisenhower and House Republicans were holding out for putting "baby teeth" into it.

Judge Perry B. Jackson of Cleveland, Ohio, Elks grand treasurer, was the only top officer of the order who was not in the courtroom during the hearing in the case of William H. (Sarge) Walker, ex - grand traveling auditor, against the Elks and its top officers.

Judge Jackson was one of the defendants in the case. When his absence was noted, Raymond Pace Alexander, attorney for the Elks, and Perry W. Howard, their grand legal adviser, told Judge John W. Lord Jr. that Judge Jackson was ill.

* * *

DURING CROSS examination of Walker, Alexander attempted to show that Robert H. Johnson, Elks grand exalted ruler, had relieved "Sarge" of his duties as grand traveling deputy because he charged exorbitant fees.

"In making your audits of subordinate lodges you were compensated by charging a fee?" Alexander asked.

"True," replied "Sarge."

"The fee was regulated by your own judgment?" Alexander asked.

"No, the fee was set by the grand exalted ruler," replied "Sarge." "He (Johnson) set a fee by the day."

Walker testified his fee was $50 a day plus traveling expenses from Washington.

* * *

"DIDN'T OUR personal grievance stem from the fact that you were overcharging these lodges to the extent that they complained to the grand exalted ruler, the grand secretary (William C. Hueston) and the grand legal adviser that they could not stand these charges and had to get you off their necks, and the grand exalted ruler had to call you down?" asked Alexander.

"No, that is not true at all," replied "Sarge." "There were many instances where the lodges—the grand exalted ruler has shown me letters praising my work and in the same letter they said the $50 fee was too much. Everybody complains about fees. Even the boys here (the grand lodge officers) are going to complain about your fee."

Judge Lord and the whole courtroom broke into a big laugh and nobody rapped for "order in the courtroom."

At an earlier point in his testimony Walker was trying to justify his bringing his suit as a class action on behalf of other Elks similarly situated as himself.

* * *

"I ASK YOU for some further demonstration of your position with respect to this as a class action?" asked Thurlow E. Tibbs of Washington, Walker's lawyer.

"It is a class action because most of the members of the lodges are afraid because of the 'payroll' arrangement," Walker replied.

The "payroll" comprises the members who hold grand lodge offices, commissions, committee assignments and whatnot and are paid their expenses for attending grand lodge sessions or for services on committee.

The "payroll" constitutes the report of the mileage and per diem committee. More than half of the grand lodge receive sums ranging from $10 to $400 or $500.

Alexander objected to the question as being a conclusion. Judge Lord sustained the objection.

* * *

"I WILL ASK Mr. Walker this: Afraid of bodily harm, are they:" Judge Lord inquired.

"No," replied Walker.

"You mean they are reticent?" asked Judge Lord.

"Because of the arbitrary and unlimited payroll of the grand lodge and assignment of commissions by the grand exalted ruler," replied Walker.

"You mean they are hesitant to speak up against the offi-

cers in control?" asked the judge.

"Because they will not have any commissions so they can wear the white hat," Walker replied. "Grand lodge officers' hats are white. The members' hats are purple. They (the white fezzes with gold embroidered letters on them) give bounce to their walk."

"I have had that experience," said Judge Lord. "I have lost the bounce."

Again the courtroom broke into laughter.

* * *

WALKER TESTIFIED that the financial membership was 59,000 in July, 1955, and there was a time when the membership was greater than that.

"What did represent a peak figure?" Tibbs asked.

"I did not have the exact figure. They always were alleged to be higher than they were—a half million, 750,000."

Harvey L. Harris, grand esteemed loyal knight, was honored at a cocktail party given Wednesday night at the Citizens Republican Club by the Deputies Club of New York.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Perry Howard, GOP and Mississippi

At the White House the other day Meade Alcorn, chairman of the Republican National Committee, made the mistake of walking through the lobby after talking with Sherman Adams, the Assistant to the President, about committee business.

Reporters immediately ganged up on him. They wanted to know about "Operation Dixie," now that Eisenhower Democrats are quitting the Republican party because President Eisenhower sent troops to Little Rock to prevent obstruction of the Federal District Court order for desegregation of Central High School.

Anyone who says Little Rock should not be made a political issue is simply engaging in a "pretty empty pastime." Mr. Alcorn said. "People are going to be influenced in their voting habits by what has happened."

* * *

BUT, AS PARTY chairman, Mr. Alcorn said, he is not going to comment on Gov. Orval Faubus, who called out the Arkansas National Guard to bar the entry of nine colored children to the school, or on the Little Rock situation "because it is still before the courts and the White House.

"Until the White House and the courts are through with it, it would be more appropriate if we did not."

The reporters wanted to know if Mr. Alcorn agreed with the statement of State Senator Malcolm Forbes of New Jersey that the Republican party was now "dead in the South." Forbes is the Republican candidate against Gov. Robert B. Meyner of New Jersey.

MR. ALCORN replied that anyone who concludes that the Republican party is dead in the South is "wholly misinformed."

As far as the Republican National Committee is concerned, Mr. Alcorn said, "our operation in the South is not suspended but will continue."

There were some questions about I. Lee Potter, ex-head of the patronage committee in Republican headquarters, who is now assigned to carrying out "Operation Dixie," designed to build up Republican strength in the South.

Potter, incidentally, is aligned with lily-white Republicans in Virginia and Rep. Joel T. Broyhill, (R., Va.) who is as much of a segregationist as is Senator Harry F. Byrd, head of the Democratic machine in that state.

Potter had reported to him, Mr. Alcorn said, that the Republican party was not in as bad a way in the South as it was made to appear.

MR. ALCORN was asked about E. O. Spencer, Jackson, Miss., hotel owner, who admits renting space in his hotel for meetings of the White Citizens Council. Spencer recently announced that he had resigned as Republican National Committeeman for Mississippi because President Eisenhower sent troops to Little Rock.

Mr. Alcorn denied that Spencer had ever been the national committeeman. Perry W. Howard has held that office since 1924. He is the oldest member of the Republic Naitonal Committee in point of service and presided over the reorganization meeting of the committee in San Francisco after the 1956 Republican national convention.

"Hasn't Spencer been handling Federal patronage for the Republican National Committee in Mississippi instead of Perry Howard?" a reporter asked.

* * *

MR. ALCORN sort of ducked the question. He said the committee has had recommendations for Federal appointments from a number of people in Mississippi, including Spencer and Howard.

"There has been very little Federal patronage in Mississippi," he added.

That isn't what persons familiar with Republican politics in Mississippi say.

There have been at least 100 postmasters appointed — nearly 200 would be closer to the figure. Appointments also have been made of a Federal marshal for the northern district of Mississippi, a Federal marshal for the southern district, a United States Attorney for the northern district, a United States Attorney for the southern district, deputy Federal marshals, assistant United States Attorneys, court attaches, and other personnel.

No colored person has ever been given a janitorship under Spencer's dispensing of Federal patronage, in a state where the colored population almost equals the white.

* * *

SOMEBODY NEEDS to tell Mr. Alcorn the political facts of life. Republicans are not going to carry Mississippi as long as Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederacy, is the patron saint of white Mississippians.

A Perry Howard as a Republican National Committeeman is an asset to the party in New Jersey and other free states. An E. O. Spencer is a liability, whom northern-liberal Democrats can attack with as much gusto as Republicans can attack an Eastland.

Ike's 4 top jobholders from Ill.

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — The naming of J. Ernest Wilkins, Assistant Secretary of Labor, as a member of the newly created Civil Rights Commission, brought criticism of the lack of geographical distribution of colored persons picked for top spots in the Eisenhower Administration.

Personally, Mr. Wilkins is very highly regarded.

He won honors as a student at the University of Illinois, distinguished himself as a member of the bar in Chicago; as a layman in the Methodist Church he rose to be secretary of its Judicial Council, and attracted the attention of Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell while he was serving as vice chairman of the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

BUT THERE was general widespread feeling that there are other colored persons competent to serve in high Government positions than Mr. Wilkins.

This feeling was the general view of a group of publishers who met in Washington the day after the White House announced the appointments of members of the commission. holding Presidential appointments appears to support this criticism.

A quick survey of persons

Of seven colored persons holding Presidential appointments requiring Senate confirmation, three of them are from Illinois, and a fourth attended the University of Illinois and practiced law in Chicago before taking a job in Missouri.

The three Illinoisans holding Presidential commissions are Mr. Wilkins, Richard L. Jones, United States Ambassador to Liberia, and Genoa Washington, alternate Representative to the United Nations General Assembly.

Judge Scovel Richardson of the United States Customs Court was originally appointed by President Eisenhower as a member of the Federal Parole Board from Missouri. After serving as chairman of that board, he was appo[illegible] to the Customs Court.

Judge Richardson [illegible] his bachelor of arts a[illegible] ster's degrees from the University of Illinois and his law degree from Howard University. After practicing law in Chicago, he accepted the post of associate professor of law at the Lincoln University Law School in St. Louis where he later became dean.

The only other colored persons holding statutory positions are Walter A. Gordon, Governor of the Virgin Islands, whose home is in Alameda, Calif.; Leon P. Miller, United States Attorney for the Virgin Islands, and Brig. Gen. Benjamin O. Davis, Sr. (retired), who is a member of the American Battle Monuments Commission.

These seven appointments to statutory positions, requiring Senate confirmation, are relatively so small in number that they almost approach zero.

* * *

IN NAMING Mr. Wilkins to [illegible] Commission, President Eisenhower apparently had an eye peeled toward the Senate Judicial Committee, of which Senator James O. Eastland, Dixiecrat, is chairman, and Senators Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina, John L. McClellan of Arkansas, and Sam J. Ervin of North Carolina, all hostile to the civil rights bill while it was pending in Congress, are members.

Reports already are abroad that Eastland, Johnston, McClellan and Ervin have their knives unsheathed and whetted for the appointees to the Commission as soon as their nominations are sent to the Senate.

The Administration reasoned that Mr. Wilkins, having been confirmed as Assistant Secretary of Labor, can win confirmation as a member of the Commission.

* * *

ANOTHER REASON figuring in Mr. Wilkins' selection, and one about which Administration spokesmen are loath to speak, is that it has had some embarrassing situations in considering colored persons for jobs requiring FBI investigations. The FBI has submitted adverse reports on a number of them.

But neither opposition to Senate confirmation from Dixiecrats nor experiences in considering colored persons for high Government jobs can justify either the low number of such appointments or their narrow distribution.

* * *

NOT ONLY do Chicagoans track on Presidential appointments requiring Senate confirmation but they also seem to get the nod for other top positions where Senate confirmation is not required.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Insists British

Not that this lessens in any degree the affront to K. A. Gbedemah, the Finance Minister of Ghana, former British African colony of the Gold Coast, who was refused service in a Howard Johnson restaurant in Dover, Del., but racial discrimination is practiced throughout the British Commonwealth.

The British, however, are more subtle at it than are their American cousins.

For example, in Accra, the capital of Ghana, there was a European club which barred Africans from membership until Ghana gained its independence.

In the hotel in Kampala, the leading commercial city in Uganda, a British protectorate in East Africa, the only African natives seen were those employed as servants.

IN A SWANKY hotel in Singapore, the only Malayans seen were the servants.

During the Ghana independence celebration, one of the press briefings was held at a downtown club. Members of the press were to be dinner guests at the club that evening.

It happened that on the same evening Vice President Nixon was throwing a party for the correspondents and photographers who were accompanying him. Naturally, the American reporters and photographers went to the Nixon party.

When they arrived late at the club for the press briefing, the buffet supper for the press was over.

A group of American reporters went into the club's dining room to order dinner. They were refused service until they were properly vouched for by a member of the club as his guests.

* * *

LATER, ANOTHER group of American reporters walked into the dining room, sat at a table and tried to order. Again they were refused service until a member told a waiter that they were his guests.

The point is that rules still operate to bar Africans from becoming members of what are called "overseas" or "European" clubs, but as I said before, the British are more subtle at it than American whites.

Moreover, the British are a minority in Asia and Africa and want to keep their present and former colonies within the British Commonwealth because, for example, they don't want Ghanaian cocoa growers or Ugandan cotton growers selling their cocoa annd cotton on the open market but want these products to be marketed through British cooperatives so that Britishers may be the mid-

dlemen.

* * *

DR. FREDERICK D. PATTERSON, director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, whose program is to improve housing conditions in New York City and encourage practical education for underprivileged people, and Dr. Luther H. Foster, president of Tuskegee Institute, were in the White House the other day, visiting staff member, including E. Fredric Morrow.

A lot of people were saddened by the death of Dr. Clarence Greene, a brain surgeon.

Aside from his achievements in the field of surgery, Dr. Greene was one of those who made merry in the gay days of the What Good Are We. He was a student in the Howard University Medical School then, and he never allowed play to interfere with his work.

* * *

ONE SHOULD be philosophical about death, but, nevertheless, a feeling of sadness and a sense of personal loss must creep over those who see the ranks of their friends being thinned out. Within the year, Dr. Walter Garvin and Dr. Ira (Buster) Cornelius have died, now "Spoof" Greene.

The lone colored pilot on the U.S.S. Forrestal, an aircraft carrier, recently rode a jet plane into the water.

Pilots are supposed to jump out, but apparently he tried to get the jet to land, and survived. It was considered quite a feat.

The Forrestal, on maneuvers, is due back at Norfolk at the end of the month.

* * *

MINISTERS WHO attended a recent joint meeting of the Foreign Missions, Home Mission, Benefit, and Education Boards of the National Baptist Convention in Philadelphia, at which Dr. J. H. Jackson of Chicago, Convention president, presided, included:

The Rev. D. W. Haggard, pastor of Mt. Carmel Baptist Church, Philadelphia, who succeeded the Rev. Marshall L. Shepard, pastor of Mt. Olivet Baptist Tabernacle Church, Philadelphia, as chairman of the Foreign Missions Board; the Rev. M. L. Gayton, pastor Metropolitan Baptist Church, and the Rev. R. L. Thomas, pastor, Second Pilgrim Baptist Church, both of Philadelphia.

The Rev. W. Herbert Brewster, pastor, East Trigg Avenue Baptist Church, Memphis, Tenn., chairman of the Education Board; the Rev. Arthur R. James, president, United Convention of Delaware, Wilmington; the Rev. R. C. Lamb, pastor, Providence Baptist Church; the Rev. H. J. Trapp, pastor, Thankful Baptist Church, and the Rev. J. Luke Jones, pastor, Miller Memorial Baptist Church, the latter three also of Philadelphia.

Oust Jackson

Baptist Ministers Protest Action, Threaten March

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA) — United State Attorney Oliver Gasch Friday denied that his office has taken "sides" in the factional fight to oust Dr. Joseph H. Jackson, pastor of Olivet Baptist Church, Chicago, as president of the National Baptist Convention, N. S. A.

Mr. Gasch authorized and approved the willing of quo warranto proceedings in the name of the United States by 10 Baptist Ministers against Dr. Jackson. The action was filed in the United States District Court here Nov. 8.

Judge John J. Sirica the same day ordered Dr. Jackson to show within 20 days, excluding Sundays and holidays, by what warrant he holds and exercises the office of president of the National Baptist Convention.

The 10 ministers are required to file a bond in the sum of $500 for the payment of all costs incurred in the prosecution of the writ if the costs are not recovered from and paid by Dr. Jackson.

"There is no basis for the assumption that my office has taken sides in the case, Mr. Gasch said.

He explained that the ancient common law remedy quo warranto is part of the District of Columbia code and provides that civil proceeding may be commenced when it is shown that a person unlawfully holds an office in a domestic (District of Columbia) corporation."

Mr. Gasch's statement was made in reply to two questions submitted to him. The questions were:

1. Why would he "lend the weight of your office to one side in a factional fight in the National Baptist Convention by authorizing quo warranto proceedings when the courts are most reluctant to interfere with the internal affairs of church and fraternal organizations?"

2. "Is this precedent to be followed in other cases involving District of Columbia corporations?"

"Mr. Frank Reeves, a member of our local bar, brought to my attention evidence in affidavit form to the effect that the respondent (Dr. Jackson), contrary to the provisions of the constitution of the D. C. corporation in question, was serving as president of that corporation holding office for a fifth term when the corporate constitution limited his right so to do to four terms," Mr. Gasch replied, adding:

"Under the circumstances we felt that Mr. Reeves and his associates (James C. Nabrit and George E. C. Hayes) representing the relator should have their day in court. That is as far as we have gone That is as far as we intend to go in this or any other comparable case."

Dr. Jackson was reelected to a fifth term at the annual meeting of the National Baptist Convention in Louisville, Ky., last September, after he ruled that a tenure provision in the constitution had not been legally adopted.

A number of Baptist ministers have written Mr. Gasch protesting his action. A special committee of the Board of Directors of the Convention sent him a letter, signed by 45 ministers, threatening a march of 10,000 Baptists to Washington to camp on the doorsteps of the United States Court House Building here, if necessary, to demonstrate their loyalty to Dr Jackson.

Capital Spotlight

Afro-American Baltimore Md. Sat. 8-17-57

By Louis Lautier

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DR. SHEPARD contends that a new constitution—and not an amendment — was adopted at the Chicago meeting.

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The facts from the opposing camps are pretty much the same. The differences are over interpretations.

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IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

World, p. 6 31a Negro

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Washington Correspondent, Atlanta Daily World and NNPA News Service

B'ham. Ala. Wed. 10-30-57

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The difference between North Carolina and the seven jim-crow states is that North Carolina officials believe that a segregated public school system can be best maintained by token compliance with the decision.

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If it had not been for the witless action of Gov. Orval Faubus in calling out the Arkansas National Guard to bar the entry of nine little colored children into the Central High School in Little Rock, informed sources say, the Southern Governors Conference was ready to seek a compromise with the N. A. A. C. P. whereby token integration would have been undertaken in several southern cities on condition that the NAACP would not press for desegregation in communities where local resistance is high.

Moreover, the view of Gov. Luther Hodges of North Carolina on school desegregation is no different from that of other southern governors. He is opposed to racial mixing in classrooms. But he says he will obey the law.

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IN THE NATION'S CAPITOL

By LOUIS LAUTIER — NNPA And Atlanta Daily World Reporter

British Discrimination

NOT THAT THIS lessens in any degree to K. A. Gbedemah, the Finance Minister of Ghana, former British African colony of the Gold Coast, who was refused service in a Howard Johnson restaurant in Dover, Del., but racial discrimination is practiced throughout the British Commonwealth.

The British, however, are more subtle at it than are their American cousins.

For example, in Accra, the capital of Ghana, there was a European club which bred Africans from membership until Ghana gained its independence.

In the hotel in Kampala, the leading commercial city in Uganda, a British protectorte in East Africa, the only African natives seen were those employed as servant.

In a swanky hotel in Singarpore, the only Malayans seen were the servants.

During the Ghana independence celebration, one of the press briefings was held at a downtown club. Members of the press were to be dinner guest at the club that evening.

It happened that on the same evening Vice President Nixon was throwing a part for the correspondents and photographers who were accompanying him. Naturally the American reporters and photographers went to the Nixon party.

When they arrived late at the club for the press briefing, the buffet supper for the press was over.

A group of American reporters went int ohte club's dining room to order dinner. They were refused service until they were properly vouched for by a member of the club as his guests.

Later, another group of American reporters walked into the dining room, sat at a table and tried to order. Again they were refused servcie until a member told a waiter that they were his guests.

AFRICANS BARRED

The point is that the rules still operate to bar Africans from becoming members of what are called "overseas" or "European" clubs, but the British are more subtle at it than American whites.

Moreover, the British are a minority in Asia and Africa and want to keep their present and former colonies within the British Commonwealth because, for example, they don't want Ghanaian cocoa growers or Ugandan cotton growers selling their cocoa and cotton on the open market but want these products to be marketed through British cooperatives so that Britishers may be the middlemen.

Dr. Frederick D. Patterson, director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund whose program is to improve housing conditions in New York City and encourage practical education for underprivileged people and Dr. Luther H. Foster, president of Tuskegee Institute, were in the White House the other day visiting staff members, including E. Fredric Morrow.

A lot of people were saddened by the death of Dr. Clarence Green, a brain surgeon.

Aside from his achievements in the field of surgery, Dr. Greene was one of whose who made merry in the gay days of the What Good Are We. He was a student in the Howard University Medical School then, and he never allowed play to interfere with his work.

PERSONAL LOSS

One should be philosophical about death, but, nevertheless, a feeling of sadness and a sense of personal loss must creep over those who see the ranks of their friends being thinned out. Within the year, Dr. Walter Garvin and Dr. Ira (Buster) Cornelius have died, now "Spoof" Greene.

The lone colored pilot on the U. S. S. Forrestal, an aircraft carrier, recently rode a jet plane into the water.

Pilots are supposed to jump out, but apparently he tried to get the jet to land and survived. It was considered quite a feat.

The Forrestal, on maneuvers, is due back at Norfolk at the end of the month.

AT BAPTIST MEETING

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For the NNPA News Service

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Human slavery still Saudi Arabia mode

Afro American Sat. 2-9-57

Baltimore, Md.

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA)—Human slavery still exists in Saudi Arabia, whose King President Eisenhower will personally greet at the Washington National Airport at noon Wednesday.

King Saud of Saudi Arabia is flying here from New York where he arrived Tuesday aboard the liner Constitution, guarded by four Arabs carrying submachine guns under their robes.

According to official records of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, slavery exists in Saudi Arabia.

* * *

THE REPORT of the secretary of the council on slavery and the slave trade quotes from the statement of the Anti-Slavery Society, a non-governmental organization with a consultative status in the UN, that "Many European residents in Saudi Arabia in the past 15 years, sympathetic to the ways of life of the inhabitants of that country, have testified in books written by them to that fact."

Despite the enormous oil royalties Saudi Arabia receives annually, as far as the people themselves are concerned, it is still underdeveloped to a point of misery.

Saudi Arabia, based on 1955 figures, will have received each month during 1956, the equivalent of about $2 million, in dollars, pounds and franc, paid to it by the Aramco Oil Co., which is owned by Standard Oil of New Jersey, Standard Oil of California, the Texas Co., and Socony-Mobil.

* * *

THE ANTI-SLAVERY Society also said:

"Eldon Rutter, who has spent a great part of his life in Saudi Arabia, in his book, 'The Holy Cities of Arabia,' and in a lecture which he delivered to the Royal Asian Society in London in 1933, said:

"'Slavery exists in every part of Arabia, except Aden, as a normal social institution, but I have only seen one slave market where slaves are displayed in a public place like merchandise.

"'That was in Mecca in a narrow street called the Suk el Abed. In all the other towns and villages, including the Persian Gulf towns, the slaves are sold privately.

"'**IN SOME** places there are dealers who keep a definite stock of slaves; in others there are merely agents who dispose of any slave whom a person may wish to sell.'

"Colonel Gerald de Gaury, who has received high honors from King Ibn Saud, says in his book, 'Arabian Journey,' published in 1950 (p. 89):

"'Slaves are still sold in Saudi Arabia ... The chief market is in the Sug at Wuaigua in Mecca (of which Eldon Rutter published a description), and the main route for them is to Mecca from the Yemen, to which they are brought in sailing boats from the opposite coast of Africa.'

"He mentions that he had heard on good authority that boys were still arriving on the Oman coast in 1947 from the Mukron coast of Baluchistan, and that girls are brought from Aleppo in Syria and sold in Arabia.

"These are unofficial sources of information, but there is also official information which confirms the existence of slavery in Saudi Arabia by implication."

* * *

KING IBN SAUD on Oct. 2, 1956, issued a decree entitled, "The Instructions Concerning Traffic in Slaves."

The text of the decree was reproduced in an annex attached to a memorandum entitled "The Abandonment by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of the Right to Manumit Slaves Presenting themselves at His Majesty's Legation at Jedda," sent by the British Government on March 8, 1937, to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations.

The decree prohibited the importation of slaves into Saudi Arabia from any country by sea, or by land routes unless the importer has a government document confirming that the person imported was recognized as a slave in the country from which he is imported at the time the decree was issued.

* * *

ALSO PROHIBITED was the enslavement of any free person in Saudi Arabia.

The decree gave to slaves in general, all the rights enjoyed by the members of a man's household or dependents as laid down in the Islamic law.

These included the right to be fed, clothed and housed, the right to be well treated and to be employed with kindness and consideration and without harshness, and the right to free medical attention.

The decree made it unlawful for the owner to separate two slaves who have contracted marriage in accordance with Islamic law, except under an order issued in accordance with that law.

* * *

C. W. W. GREENIDGE member of the Ad Hoc Committee which prepared the replies of governments to the United Nations Questionnaire on Slavery and Servitude, said in a memorandum:

"Slave-trading, in the sense of regular commerce in slaves has ... very nearly ceased ...

"The government of Saudi Arabia ... contributed to the suppression of this trade by making regulations in 1936 prohibiting the importation into Saudi Arabia of slaves by land or sea.

"It may be added, however, that reports indicating an ineffective application of the Saudi Arabian laws have been forthcoming, to the effect that slave markets of that country are still fed by slaves smuggled across the frontiers. Some of these victims are reported to be accompanying the pilgrims to the Holy Places ...

"The (Ad Hoc Committee on Slavery) has been informed from a reliable source that there was still a slave market as late as 1941 in Mecca, in which slaves were publicly exposed for sale."

Va. asks Supreme Court to help preserve segregation

Afro American Sat. 2-23-57 P. 2c

Baltimore, Md.

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON

The appeals of the State of Virginia to keep segregated the public schools of Arlington County and the City of Charlottesville reached the Supreme Court Monday.

The high court was asked to review the judgment of the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals at Richmond upholding the decrees of Federal District Courts at Alexandria and Charlottesville, ordering integration of the public schools of Arlington County and Charlottesville respectively.

Judge Albert V. Bryan in the Federal District Court at Alexandria ordered desegregation of the elementary schools in Arlington County effective last Jan. 31, and in the Junior and Senior high schools beginning in September.

Judge John Paul in the Federal District Court for the Western District of Virginia on Aug. 6 ordered the public schools of Charlottesville desegregated at the beginning of the school term last September.

* * *

THE ORDERS to begin desegregation of those two Virginia school systems were stayed, pending an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Immediately after the Supreme Court entered its decree of May 31, 1955, ordering a prompt and reasonable start toward desegregation, Arlington County school officials indicated that the schools in Arlington would be integrated.

But the Virginia General Assembly passed a number of laws designed to prevent integration of state public schools. In addition, voters of Arlington County were punished by being stripped of the right to elect school board members because the board had planned to end segregation in the schools.

* * *

BOTH WHITE and colored children were plaintiffs in the suit (filed in the Federal District Court at Alexandria on May 17, 1956) to enjoin racial segregation in Arlington schools.

The Arlington School Board moved to dismiss the suit on the grounds, among others, that the action was a suit against the Sate of Virginia in violation of the 11th Amendment to the Federal Constitution, and that the plaintiffs had not exhausted their Administrative remedies.

Judge Bryan on July 31 denied the motion to dismiss and enjoined the school board from refusing to admit any child to any public school under their jurisdiction because of race or color.

Judge Paul on Aug. 6 entered his order, effective at the beginning of the school term in September, enjoining the Charlottesville School Board from any action that would regulate the admission of colored children to Charlottesville public schools on the basis of race or color.

* * *

PETITIONS FOR review of the judgment of the Court of Appeals present almost identical arguments in the two cases.

The state of Virginia and the two school boards contend that the 11th Amendment to the Federal Constitution prohibits the colored children from maintaining their suits.

Although the 11th Amendment only expressly covers suits by citizens of another state or citizens or subjects of a foreign state, attorneys for the petitioners assert, it has interpreted as prohibiting suits against states by its own citizens.

The Arlington County and Charlottesville cases were brought against local school boards which are concededly agents of the state, they state, since local school boards and division superintendents are the means through which the state performs its function of maintaining public school systems.

* * *

COLORED CHILDREN, therefore, in the absence of state consent, the petitions argue, cannot maintain their suits because of the 11th Amendment.

Since those actions are suits against the state, for which consent has not been given, the petitions add, the suits must be dismissed as violating the 11th Amendment.

It also is contended in the two petitions that the colored children have failed to prove a case upon which the district courts could have granted injunctive relief.

The petitions set out what purports to be the theory upon which attorneys for the NAACP, in prosecuting the two suits, proceeded.

THE "PETITIONS" sent to the school boards by NAACP attorneys, the petitions state, called attention to the Supreme Court decision in the school segregation cases, construing it to require the early elimination of segregation in the public schools.

It was also demanded that immediate steps be taken "to reorganize the public schools under your jurisdiction so that children may attend them without regard to their race or color."

Later, the petitions say, the same attorneys filed their complaints in the Federal District Courts, alleging that the two school boards were maintaining and operating segregated public schools.

The attorneys for the state and the two school boards contend that a colored child must show that he is fully qualified and desires to attend a particular school.

He then, is qualified and has a right to transfer from one school to another, making known the particular school he seeks to attend.

* * *

THEY ALSO contend that it also must be shown both the school and the child's residence are geographically located to make his attendance practicable, that the physical facilities in the particular school will accommodate him, and that he is at least as well suited to attend as those already in attendance.

The attorneys for the state and the two school boards also contend that the colored children involved in the two cases have not exhausted their administrative remedies since they have merely filed "formal" petitions demanding the reorganization of the school systems.

In the Charlottesville case, the attorneys for the state and the school board argue that Judge Paul abused his discretion by ordering integration effective last September.

The petition asserts that he departed from the trend of the decisions found in the states with large colored populations by ordering immediate desegregation and, in doing so, imposed an almost impossible task on the school board.

* * *

EVIDENCE PRESENTED in this case, the petition states, shows that the school board

could not have desegregated Charlottesville public schools within the time required by the court without disrupting the school system to the detriment of all pupils.

Representing the state of Virginia in both cases are Attorney General J. Linsay Almond Jr., and, Henry T. Wickham, a special assistant to the attorney general. Attorneys for the Arlington School Board are Frank L. Ball and James H. Simmons, Arlington County lawyers.

Attorneys for the Charlottesville School Board are former Gov. John S. Battle and son, John S. Battle Jr., Charlottesville lawyers.

CAPITAL SPOTLIGHT

World Wed. 2-27-57

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

Washington Correspondent, Atlanta Daily World and NNPA News Service

B'ham, Ala.

Total revenues of Saudi Arabia have been cut about 30 per cent because oil has not been able to pass, as it did, out of Saudi Arabia through pipelines and through the Suez Canal. The flow of its oil has been cut down about 35 per cent.

P. 6

The Arab countries receive a total of about $83.8 million each month from the oil industries in the form of royalties, taxes, or other payments.

Saudi Arabia, based on 1955 figures received each month during 1955 the equivalent of about $24 million, in dollars, pounds and francs, paid to it by Aramco (Arab-American Co.) which is owned by Standard of New Jersey, Standard of California, the Texas Co., and Socony-Mobil.

When King Saud of Saudi Arab visited Washington at the invitation of President Eisenhower, it was hoped that the visit would strengthen the relationship which has existed between the United States and Saudi Arabia for some 20 years, when Americans were given the oil concession.

George Wadsworth, United States Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, says t ereharey Az o there are few changes in the political structure in the oil-rich monarchy, but change is coming on the socio-economic side.

"It is the result of the increasingly large income from oil," he says. "Put it this way: It was only 12 years ago that the oil company for the first time produced a million tons of oil in a year.

"Last year they produced 50 million tons. Over the intervening 12 years, then, the increase has been on an average of four million tons a year.

"We talk tons a year. You talk barrels a day. Fifty million tons a year is the equivalent of one million barrels of oil a day."

It costs about 40 cents to produce a barrel of oil. It is sold for $2 f. o. b. (free on board) tanker Ras at Tannura, a little more when it goes through the pipelines to the Mediterranean.

So that on every barrel of oil produced there is $1.60 profit. That profit is split 50-50 between Aramco and the Saudi Government.

In the same way that the volume of oil has gone up in the last 12 years so the revenue from oil has gone up to the point where last year the revenue from the oil was about $600 million, split 50-50 -- $300 million to Aramco and $300 million to King Saud.

Out of this oil venture in Saudi Arabia, the United States Treasury gets about $100 million a year in taxes.

On the Saudi Arabian budget side, there are minor taxes, customs, an embryonic income tax ond a century-old religious tax called the zakat, which every man must pay as his religious duty.

The total of all other sources of revenue last year, according to the to the Saudi Arabian Minister of Finance, was about $50 million.

This income was divided roughly three ways on the expenditure side of the budget -- one-third for defense, one-third for development projects, and the third to run the government.

Actually the third third is a bit larger because it carries with it certain special payments on political projects.

The King is the absolute ruler of the country. For example:

About three years ago there was the Onassis contract dispute. Onassis, perhaps the No. 1 individual oil tanker operator in the world, concluded with the former Minister of Finance an agreement under which it seemed he might eventually acquire the exclusive right to carry away all the oil produced in Saudi Arabia.

The United States Government and every maritime government in the world rose in horror at such a thought. The right of the buyer uuuuuusrsduCases to choose his carrier and the concessionary rights of Aramco seemed violated.

The answer of the Saudi Government was quite simple: "But what international undertaking have we violated? If you can show us that we have violated any international undertaking, we will correct it at once."

Russia Makes Good Use Of Racial Discrimination In U.S. Nixon Learns

by LOUIS LAUTIER

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia — (NNPA) — The use which Soviet Russia makes of racial discrimination in the United States was brought home to Vice-President Nixon at a press conference he held here Tuesday.

Ethiopia is a color conscious country. Its population, estimated to be between 15 and 20 million, is racially mixed with Semitic and Hamitic strains predominating. In hues, they range from dark brownskin or black to olive. The dark brownskin or black predominates.

When the question was raised respecting racial discrimination, Ethiopian newspaper reporters as well as American correspondents who are accompanying the Vice-President on his good will tour of Africa were present.

America and South Africa

An American correspondent rasied the question. He quoted from Pravda, the Soviet Communist newspaper, which said:

"It has long been noticed that racial discrimination in the Union of South Africa bears a strong resemblance to some aspects of American life.

"No matter how different are the historical roots of North American and South African ways of life, one thing is certain. In recent years the rulers of South Africa have obviously followed the American pattern in their policy toward the African and non-European sections of the population."

Mr Nixon declined to comment on the situaton in South Africa. But so far as the criticism leveled by Pravda against the United States on racial discrimination, he said the United States recognizes that there is a continuing responsibility on the Federal and state governments and people of good will throughout the country to work toward the day when equality of opportunity for employment, education and all other advantages become a reality for all Americans.

He added that "We shall never be satisfied with the real progress we have been making, particularly in recent years, in this field, until the problem is solved and the ideal to which I have referred is realized."

The Vice-President said critics in Pravda of the United States "are not basing their criticism on discussions with those against whom the discrimination is charged."

No Prejudice on Tour

He pointed out that on his staff for the African tour is E. Frederic Morrow, a member of the White House staff, and in the press group accompanying him were representatives of the colored American press.

"I would challenge anyone to indicate any instance where there has been discrimination or prejudice shown," he said, referring to the tour.

"To be fortright and honest," he said, "we in the United States are not satisfied with things as they are, but we do point with justified pride to the great progress economically that has been made by our colored American citizens in recent years, to the increased opportunities on a completely equal basis that are being provided, to the increased realization of political rights, and the opportunity for education that is being realized.

"We intend to continue to work along these lines."

The Vice-President talked with the Prime Minister of Ethiopia, the Foreign Minister, the Defense Minister and the Crown Prince Tuesday morning. In addition, he spent an hour and 20 minutes with Emperor Haile Selassie. He also talked with the Emperor at the state dinner given in the Vice-President's honor Tuesday night in the Gennete Leul Palace.

As has been customary on this trip, Mr. Nixon declined to indicate in specific terms the statements made by the Emperor or the discussions with him.

Discuss Several Subjects

The general subjects they discussed, the Vive-President said, included military and economic assistance programs of the United States to Ethiopia, the amounts of those programs, the delivery schedules, particularly regarding the military program.

Other problems discussed with the Emperor, Mr. Nixon sa d, included the development of the Nile River and Ethiopia's general interest in that particular problem because the Blue Nile passes through Ethiopia.

They also discussed, Mr. Nixon said, the boundary disputes in regard to the Somaliland area, the Eisenhower doctrine in the Middle East, and the development of independent countries in Africa and United States policy toward such developments.

The Vice-President said he indicated to the Emperor that James P. Richards, President Eisenhower's special representative in the Middle East, will be here shortly and will discuss in detail some of the economic problems which both the Ethiopian and United States government are interested in.

"The United States regards Ethiopia," Mr. Nixon said, "as one of the most stalwart and consistent allies we have in the world today.

"Ethiopia has shown its friendship to the United States in a number of ways .

"We are aware of the fact that our forces have fought side by side in Korea, and Ethiopia was the only non-NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) countries in the Mid-East area that contributed forces to that conflict.

Support To U. S.

"We are aware also of the support Ethiopia has given to the United States on many occasions in the United Nations, and we believe it is essential for our policy as well as Ethiopia's that our relations be close and friendly, and that we have mutual understanding.

"Consequently, I appreciate the fact that our conversations this morning were very frank, and it is my intention to report to the State on the various matters President and the Secretary of which His Majesty and his Ministers discussed with me."

In reply to questions, Mr. Nixon said:

1. The Suez Canal was discussed. It was emphasized in various conversations he had that Ethiopia had a very great stake in the opening of the Suez and its economy had suffered tremendously during the period the canal was closed.

2. The Vice-President would not state specifically whether the establishment of a United States air base in Ethiopia was discussed, but he admitted that the "negotiations and the discussion with

y in this area and to the United tary deliveries. It is important
States and other free nations in- that a better understanding be
terested in defending this area developed between the United
rom outside aggression or in- States and Ethiopia on this point
filtration from within that the as well as others on which there
economy of Ethiopia is strong are differences.
and its military forces are ade-
quate for any mission they may
have to meet.

regard to United States activities
n Ethiopia was one of the sub-
jects for discussion." But he pre-
ferred not to pinpoint what type
of activities were discussed.

3. He is confident that the aid
furnished to Ethiopia, both mili-
tary and economic, will be ef-
fectively used.

4. There is some disappointment
He also is confident that it is among friends of the United States
important to the cause of stabili in Ethiopia with regard to mili-

In The Nation's Capital

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The NAACP, the Elks' Civil Rights Department, the National Alliance of Postal Employees, and the American Council on Human Rights should immediately withdraw from the so-called "Leadership Conference" because of conflicts of interests brought out by the civil rights fight.

The NAACP is one of the dominant groups in this alliance. The other dominant groups are labor, represented by spokesmen for Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers, and James B. Carey, president of the International Union of Electrical Workers, and Americans for Democratic Action.

Louis Lautier

The principal objectives of these dominant groups are quite different. The chief purpose of the NAACP is to gain first-class citizenship for the colored people of this country.

ADA is a Democratic part-front organization. Its purpose is to recruit political strength among liberal elements in this country for the Democratic party. It represents itself as non-partisan. But it has been closely allied with the Democratic party ever since its organization.

Takes Crack at Ike

It is critical of the conservative southern wing of the party and supports the program advanced by the liberal wing. It occasionally supports recommendations of President Eisenhower but remains critical of the President himself.

An example of this strategy is the appeal made to Senators to support the President on the foreign aid program. At the same time it took a crack at Mr. Eisenhower.

"The Administration has presented its program ineptly, and the President himself has wobbled between bluff and backdown," Robert R. Nathan, president of ADA, wrote Senators, adding:

"But, if the Senate concurs in the House cuts, the Congress will be punishing not the President, but the friends and allies of the United States, and the United States as well."

Liberals Direct Policy

ADA exercises no influence except with a small group of liberals. This group includes Senators Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota and Wayne Morse of Oregon and ex-Senator Herbert Lehman of New York, who are vice chairmen. But a number of Democrats high in the councils of the party regard an endorsement for office from ADA as a kiss of death.

That ADA is dominated by New Deal and Fair Deal Democrats is shown by the membership of its national board, which includes Charles F. Brannan, President Truman's Secretary of Agriculture; Mrs. Maurine Neuberger, wife of Senator Richard L. Neuberger, of Oregon; Monroe Sweetland, former Democratic National Committeeman for Oregon.

Mrs. India Edwards, former director of the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee; Mrs. Sadie T. M. Alexander of Philadelphia, a member of President Truman's Civil Rights Commission and wife of Raymond Pace Alexander, and Reuther are members of the Executive Committee.

Carey is a member of the National Board. Other members of the National Board are Senators Joseph S. Clark, Democrat, of Pennsylvania; B. F. McLaurin of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Howard H. Murphy, business manager of The Afro American Newspapers.

In addition to the Reuther and Carey unions, the "Leadership Conference" includes representatives of a number of other labor organizations, such as the Textile Workers, the Transport Workers Union, and the United Steelworkers Civil Rights Committee.

Go Separate Ways

The chief object of labor organizations is to serve the interests of their members. That is not to say that men like Carey and Reuther are not sincerely interested in human rights problems. They are. Both were supporting the NAACP long before there was a "Leadership Conference."

But, whenever there is a conflict of interests among colored people, the Democratic party and organized labor — the NAACP, ADA and organized labor go their separate ways, each group pressing for what it believes to be to its best interest.

That has been true in past fights for civil rights. That was true in the fight for enactment of what started out as the Eisenhower Administration's civil rights bill.

For example, the AFL-CIO Executive Council on May 21 called upon the Congress to enact the bill "without crippling amendments."

On July 30, the AFL-CIO Executive Council said the bill had been seriously weakened "by the elimination of Part II which was aimed at the guarantee of equal protection of the law in the broad field of constitutional rights," and declared that if it was to be a real right-to-vote bill, "it must not be burdened with a crippling 'trial-by-jury' amendment."

But on Aug. 13, after the bill had been further weakened by a Senate amendment requiring a jury trial in all criminal contempt cases in Federal courts, including those arising out of labor disputes, the AFL-CIO Executive Council, by resolution, said:

"We urge the Congress to adopt this year the bill as passed by the Senate."

It is not difficult to surmise that conflicts of interests led to the statement issued by the so-called "Leadership Conference" on Aug. 7—a few hours before the Senate voted on passage—backing the weak bill.

The NAACP has no more business backing ADA than it has backing either the Democratic or Republican party. But it does seem that where minority groups and labor have common interests, the NAACP and organized labor can support those interests without an entangling alliance which may prove embarrassing to the NAACP.

CAPITAL SPOTLIGHT

By LOUIS LAUTIER — NNPA and Atlanta World Reporter

Questions Rights Compromise

IF THE CIVIL RIGHTS bill becomes law in the form in which it was passed by the Senate, a fraud will be perpetrated upon the colored people of this country.

In order to make colored people believe that it will afford a little protection of the right to vote, the old adage has been dug up that "A half loaf is better than no loaf."

Applied to civil rights that is questionable. Should there ever be a compromise on rights guaranteed by the Constitution?

Every individual in the United States is entitled to the full and immediate enjoyment of all rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

The action of the Senate in stripping Part III from the bill assures the South that it may violate the rights of colored persons guaranteed by the 14th Amendment, without interference from the Federal Government.

The first section of the 14 Amendment was intended to establish the full constitutional right of all persons to equality before the law and to prohibit legal distinctions based on race or color.

At the time of its adoption in 1866, its opponents wanted it to have as limited effect as possible -- just as the Dixiecrats have emasculated the civil rights bill to make it as weak as possible.

QUOTES SUMMER

Senator Charles Summer of Massachusetts, a leader in the post-Civil War Congress, expressed the view that the Reconstruction Amendments (13th, 14th and 15th) had established the sweeping principle that--

".....all persons without distinction of color shall be equal before the law. Show me, therefore, a legal institution, anything created or regulated by law, and I show you what must be opened equally to all without distinction of color.

"Notoriously the hotel is a legal institution, originally established by the common law, subject to minute provisions and regulations; notoriously, public conveyances are in the nature of common carriers subject to a law of their own; notoriously, schools are public institutions created and maintained by law; and now I simply insist that in the enjoyment of those institutions there shall be no exclusion on account of color."

The 14th Amendment was declared to have been ratified in a proclamation by the Secretary of State July 28, 1868.

The Supreme Court has interpreted and applied the 14th Amendment in a long list of cases, beginning with the Slaughter-House Cases in 1873 and ending with the decisions outlawing racial segregation in public schools and on city buses.

Instead of states in the deep South complying with these decisions as the supreme law of the land, they have sought to nullify them. For example:

In April, 1955, Governor Hugh White of Mississippi signed into a bill which provides a fine and imprisonment for whites who attend a state supported school with colored students.

In a similar move,, the Georgia State Board of Education has ordered that all teachers who support, condoner agree to the teaching of mixed classes will have their licenses revoked "forever."

RIGHT TO VOTE

The 15th Amendment provides that "The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

Both the 14th and 15th Amendments give Congress the power to enforce them by "appropriate legislation."

Congress has done nothing to enforce these two amendments since enacting the Civil Rights Act of 1875, which was held unconstitutional in 1883 on the ground that the 14th Amendment prohibited only state and not individual action.

Yet, when the Senate had an opportunity to give the Attorney actions to enjoin threatened violations of rights guaranteed by the 14th Amendment, 52 Senators — 34 Democrats and 18 Republicans—

voted to strip the section from the bill.

They substituted language purporting to give to aggrieved persons the right to sue for damages after their civil rights have been violated.

Colored persons have had the right to sue ever since Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1886 over the veto of President Andrew Johnson.

The representative that they were being given that right was false and a fraud.

THE BIGGEST FRAUD

The jury trial amendment, in its entirety, was a fraud. There is no requirement in the Constitution for a jury trial in contempt of court cases. Nobody was being deprived of any right by Part IV (to protect the right to vote) as it passed the House.

The jury trial amendment was inserted because the Dixiecrats knew from long experience that lily-white juries, or juries with one or two colored persons on them, will not convict a white person in a southern community for violating the civil rights of a colored person.

The Justice Department knows that, and has followed a policy of not prosecuting civil rights cases in southern communities unless it believes that the crime was so heinous that it has a chance of getting a conviction if it sends a southern attorney employed in the Department in Washington to prosecute the same.

Another fraud was perpetrated when it was made to appear by the jury trial amendment that colored persons were being afforded the right to serve on Federal juries. They already have that right and have had it for a number of years--even in Federal courts in Mississippi.

Senator Wayne Morse, Democrat, of Oregon, a former law school dean and the lone northerner to vote against passage of the bill, in opposing the jury trial amendment during Senate debate, said:

"Compromise is all very well. But, can we compromise the orderly administration of justice? Can we compromise the power of courts to vindicate their own authority.

"I say no. As Fiorello LaGuardia used to say: "There is no such thing as a little pregnancy".

"There is no such thing as a little weakening of the courts' authority to protect orderly legal process."

IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

31a

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

Washington Correspondent, Atlanta Daily World and NNPA News Service

"Leadership Conference"

THE NAACP, the Elks' Civil Rights Department, the National Alliance of Postal Employees, and the American Council on Human Rights should immediately withdraw from the so-called "Leadership Conference" because of conflicts of interests brought out by the civil rights fight.

The NAACP is one of the dominant groups in this alliance. The other dominant groups are labor, represented by spokesmen for Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers, and James B. Carey, president of the International Union of Electrical Workers ,and Americans for Democratic Action.

The principal objectives of these dominant groups are quite different. The chief purpose of the NAACP is to gain first-class citizenship for the colored people of this country.

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It is critical of the conservative liberal wing. It occasionally supports the program advanced by the liberal wing. It occasionally supports recommendations of President Eisenhower but ramains critical of the President himself.

APPEAL TO SENATORS

An example of this strategy is the appeal made to Senators to support the President on the foreign aid program. At the same time it took a crack at Mr. Eisenhower.

"The Administration has presented its program ineptly, and the President himself has wobbled bluff and backdown, "Robert R. Nathan, president of ADA, wrote Senators, adding:

"But, if the Senate concurs in the house cuts, the Congress will be punishing not the President, but the friends and the allies of the United States," and the United States as well."

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LABOR REPRESENTATIVES

In addition to the Reuther and Carey unions, the "Leadership Conference" includes representatives of a number of other labor organizations such as the Textile Workers, the Transport Workers Union, and the United Steelworkers Civil Rights Committee.

The chief object of labor organizations is to serve the interests of their members. That is not to say that men like Carey and Reuther are not sincerely interested in human rights problems. They are. Both were supporting the NAACP long before there was a "Leadership Conference."

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Today in National Affairs

Baltimore Sun

Favoring of Racial Groups Held of No Election Value

New York Herald Tribune

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON, July 8.—The biggest "phony" in American politics—the idea that, if you favor particular racial or ethnic groups, you win their votes in the next election—is one of the main fallacies behind the so-called "civil rights" controversy in Congress. Actually, every scientific poll taken shows that the Negro vote in the United States follows the pattern of economic influence as it usually affects other groups of comparable income.

Lawrence

Despite the attitude of the Southern Democrats, a heavy majority of the Negroes in the North cling to the Democratic party. Even in the face of the Republican effort to take credit for Chief Justice Warren's leadership in formulating the desegregation decision handed down in 1954 by the Supreme Court, the Negro voters in the 1956 Presidential election gave the bulk of their support to the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket.

Notwithstanding also all the fanfare of Republican speakers who pointed to President Eisenhower's prompt measures in putting "integration" into effect in the schools of the District of Columbia and other acts and speeches on his part between 1952 and 1956 avowedly opposing segregation, the Negro voters gave the Eisenhower ticket in last year's election only 36 per cent of their vote, according to a post-election study and poll made by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan and published last March. It backs up the Gallup news release of Jan. 16 last, which showed the Republicans as having obtained 39 per cent among Negro voters in 1956.

Had 35 Per Cent in '48

While both these studies recorded a marked gain over 1952 for the Republicans, it is significant that, according to the University of Michigan study, the Republicans in 1948 had 35 per cent of the Negro vote, while in 1956 they got 36 per cent—only one more percentage point than eight years before. In fact, the research staff of the Republican National Committee in its summary report of the 1956 election issued in May of this year says:

"In spite of considerable improvement in the Republican vote among Negroes, indications are that more than three-fifths of the Negro voting population continued to vote Democrat in 1956."

Why isn't all the "civil rights" agitation by the Republicans more successful in winning Negro votes? The answer is to be found in looking at the same Michigan study with respect to low-income groups as a whole. It shows that those voters earning below $2,000 a year—both white and Negro—went from 39 per cent Republican in 1948 to 58 per cent in 1952 and then to 60 per cent in 1956.

But in the wards in and around Chicago which are composed predominantly of Negro voters with low incomes, the election statistics show the Republican percentage of the vote to be 23 per cent in 1952 and about 32 per cent in 1956. This was a substantial gain, but still the Democrats got 68 per cent in 1956.

More Normal Division

Looking, however, at the wards with Negroes of higher incomes, the Republican percentage was 40.1 per cent in 1952 and 43.7 per cent in 1956—a more normal division for a labor group. The Gallup poll shows union labor throughout the country as 39 per cent Republican in 1952 and 43 per cent Republican in 1956.

The reason the percentages for the Republicans among the lower-income Negro voters are below the lower-income group in the nation as a whole is because a higher proportion of individuals with lower incomes is to be found among Negroes than among whites. There is still a feeling, moreover, among Negro voters that the New Deal was an economic emancipation for them. The W. P. A., for instance, and the vast relief appropriations happened to do more for the Negroes than for any other single group.

Back in 1936 this correspondent interviewed in Pittsburgh the late Robert L. Vann, editor of the largest of the Negro newspapers of the country and director of Negro political activities in Pennsylvania for the Democratic party. He told me why he had switched to F. D. R. and I asked him if the Negroes were aiming at "social equality." His reply was:

For Economic Equality

"My goodness, no. We have our own pride of race."

"Then is it economic equality?" I asked.

"That's it, that's it," he replied. "Equal pay for equal work, and equal opportunity in jobs is what we really want."

The political party that improves the economic status of the Negro worker will gain far more than the party that doesn't. The "civil rights" issue is important to the Negro voter, but it will not swing an election for the Republicans in times when there is a recession or depression. That's why, even with the handicap of the Southern opposition to "civil rights," the Negro voters in the North are still betting on the Democratic party as their economic savior.

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DAVID LAWRENCE

Star 7-11-57

Red Letter Day for Human Rights

Mon. 7-1-57

Acts by Pl'resident, Pope and Dulles Mark June 28 as Momentus Date

Washington, D.C.

Three momentous demonstrations of moral force that can help the cause of human betterment in the world have just been made. Though not in themselves interrelated, nevertheless all three had as their common denominator the ideals and rights of man. History will record that on the same day — June 28 — these three developments occurred:

1. President Eisenhower took off his shoes in accordance with Oriental custom as he entered the new Islamic Center in Washington and paid his respects to the 270 million Moslems of the world. He said: "America would fight with her whole strength for your right to have here your own church and worship according to your own conscience."

This is a message that will resound throughout Asia and the Middle East where too long an erroneous impression has prevailed that Western nations are intolerant of any other religions except their own.

2. Pope Pius XII, one of the great statesmen of modern times, told the American Jewish Committee that he was with them in their fight for the rights of man. He deplored racial discrimination and the persecution of Jews in various parts of the world. The visiting delegation, after leaving the Vatican, said they had found "a great friend" in the Pontiff.

One Catholic prelate, according to a New York Times dispatch from Rome, said afterwards that "a new chapter" in the Vatican's attitude toward Jewish problems had been opened. No precedent for a formal address by the Pope to a Jewish group in the 18 years of Pope Pius' pontificate could be recalled by Vatican officials.

While the group from the American Jewish Committee had just visited Israel, it is itself non-Zionist. Its main function is to urge respect for the civil rights of Jews everywhere. The Pope's comments will have far-reaching effects in every country where Catholic influence against intolerance can be substantial.

3. The Secretary of State of the United States, John Foster Dulles, gave expression to American idealism in a remarkable speech at San Francisco outlining point by point why the United States refuses to extend diplomatic recognition to Red China.

This was one of the greatest addresses any American has ever delivered on the underlying principles that govern the policies of the United States in international relations. It should be read and reread before every civic organization in America and abroad wherever public policies are discussed. For it counters the materialistic pressure for trade in war materials and the appeasement of a gangster government in Peiping on the ground of "practicality." It notifies the whole world, including our allies, that American idealism is not to be sacrificed on the altars of materialism.

Perhaps the most poignant section of the speech was the Secretary's explanation of why a gangster regime like Soviet Russia is "recognized" while the one in Peiping is not. He traced in detail the manner in which the United States, after waiting 16 years, finally set forth in 1933 certain conditions for recognizing the Communist government at Moscow. These conditions were then accepted by Moscow, he said, but have since been flagrantly violated. Mr. Dulles added:

"It can, I think, be said with confidence that recognition would not have been accorded the Soviet Union even in 1933 had there been clear warning that the Soviet promises given in that connection were totally unreliable, that aggressive war would soon become an instrumentality of Soviet policy, and that it would be neutral toward Japanese aggression in Asia.

"In the case of Communist China we are forewarned. That regime fails to pass even those tests which, after 16 years, the Soviet regime seemed to pass."

Mr. Dulles proclaims unceasing opposition to the admission of Red China to the United Nations. He cites the many aggressions committed by Red China, including the war in Korea which cost so many American lives. He says America will never succumb to the argument of "inevitability" of recognition. He places his faith in certain "fundamental beliefs" and one of them is "the future of human freedom." Mr. Dulles notes that inside and outside China the aspirations of the Chinese people to be free are being constantly expressed and there is a growing confidence in the ultimate overthrow of the materialistic rules of communism with all its attendant tyrannies.

The significant manifestations at Washington, San Francisco and Rome—all in support of the cause of human rights—constitute an encouraging advance for the role of moral force in a troubled world where the threats of little and big wars still stir the apprehensions of mankind.

Today and Tomorrow

By Walter Lippmann

Voting and Integration

ONCE AGAIN, as with the budget, the President has let it be known that he is not sure he is fully in favor of a major measure which has been put forward by his Administration. Indeed, in the case of the civil rights bill, it appears that he has had a quite misleading impression of what is in it. Thus, at his press conference on July 3, he said in reply to a question, that while he is not a lawyer and did not "participate in drawing up the exact language of the proposals," he did know "what the objective was that I was seeking." It was "to prevent anybody illegally from interfering with any individual's right to vote if that individual were qualified under the proper laws of his state."

Lippmann

Protecting the right of Negroes to vote in elections for Federal officials is, in fact, the objective of Part IV of the bill but the objective of Part III is to strengthen the Federal power to enforce all the civil rights laws, including the law which calls for integration in the public schools. The President has certainly been misled, in fact it is hard to see how he can have read the bill, if he thinks that it is directed solely, or predominately, at securing and protecting the right to vote. For, as the text shows clearly, the bill is a comprehensive measure for the better enforcement of all these civil rights, which exist in the laws but are in fact denied or nullified in various parts of the country.

THE PRESIDENT'S lack of understanding of the bill enabled Sen. Russell of Georgia to score heavily when he charged that the bill was an "example of cunning draughtsmanship," and that it was promoted by a "campaign of deception."

It certainly is puzzling to find the President so inadequately informed about the objectives of the bill. But whatever the reason for his misunderstanding, there has been no cunning deception. The text of the bill makes it quite obvious that much more than the right to vote is involved. The Attorney General, Mr. Brownell, during the hearings in the House committee and in a memorandum, dated April 9, 1956, specifically included integration in the public schools among the Federal activities to be promoted by the bill.

THERE IS NO DOUBT, therefore, that the objectives of the bill are much wider than to secure and protect the right to vote. This raises great questions of principle and of national policy. For while the right of qualified adults to vote and the right to have their children attend unsegregated schools are both civil rights, there are important differences between the two kinds of rights. Sen. Russell himself recognized this in his speech of July 2 when he said that "the American people generally are opposed to any denial of the right of ballot to any qualified citizen" but that even "outside the South there are millions of people who would not approve" of the use of force to compel integration.

In principle, it is the duty of the Federal Government to use its legal powers to secure and protect the right to vote. But to promote integration it is its duty to use persuasion in order to win consent. The two objectives — voting and integration — ought not to be lumped together, and the wise thing to do now would be to accept an amendment to the bill which separates them.

NO DOUBT there would still be a die-hard opposition in the Deep South. But a bill which did only what the President thinks that this bill does, would be much harder to defeat. It would be hard to filibuster against it for any long time. For there are indeed millions of Americans outside the South who think that it is high time that the right to vote was respected. They do not think, however, that integration in the public schools can be or should be enforced more rapidly than local sentiment will accept it.

Insofar as the right of southern Negroes to vote can be secured and protected, they will acquire powerful means for establishing all their rights. I am not sure whether Sen. Russell's remarks, which are quoted above, really mean that Southerners of his eminence are now prepared to concede the right to vote. But if they do mean that, they mark a very great advance for the cause of civil rights.

A disfranchised minority is politically helpless. Let it acquire the right to vote, and it will be listened to.

LOUIS MARTIN

Defender p 10

Dope And Data

Chicago, Ill

A well dressed, young, dark brown Negro, who reminded me a little of Rufus Clement of Atlanta university, addressed the Texas legislature in Austin, Texas on Thursday, March 28, as an honored guest. This gentleman of color who was given a standing ovation following his speech by the Texas legislators was George Washington Westerman, the official delegate to the United Nations from the Republic of Panama.

Speaking English with a British accent Ambassador Westerman told us all about it in Chicago last week where he visited with his old friend Bindley Cyrus, the Chicago attorney and insurance executive.

The young Panamanian is one of many thousands of Negroes whose parents came from the British West Indies to work in the Canal Zone and who now are becoming integrated into the life and culture of the Spanish-speaking Republic of Panama. Ambassador Westerman is a living symbol of the progress and achievements of this Negro minority of British West Indian descent which has begun to play an important role in Panama.

Ambassador Westerman first began to assert himself in public affairs as editor of the Panama Tribune, an English - language newspaper which has many of the characteristics of the Negro Press in the United States. He is also a businessman who is keenly interested in trade and commerce and the economic life of his native country.

He explained that the discriminatory pattern of the double standard for whites and blacks in the U. S. owned Canal Zone is on the way out and the Republic of Panama under its new constitution guarantees first class citizenship for all. Of course the Canal Zone is a ten mile strip right across which is a ten mile strip right across the Isthmus is essentially a U. S. military base, English-speaking and American-ized. The Republic of Panama, on the other hand, is Spanish in language and culture and traditions.

The vast army of West Indian Negroes who over the years came to work in the Canal Zone finally settled in large numbers in Panama upon leaving the Zone. Since the latter is a military base the workers must leave when they are no longer working for the U. S. government. Some of the West Indians returned to their island homes but the majority settled in Panama. Because they spoke English and adhered to British traditions and concepts, many of the West Indians found it difficult to become oriented to the Panamanian way of life.

Ambassador Westerman represents the new generation of native born Panamanians of West Indian descent who not only speak Spanish but know the traditions of both the Spanish and English speaking cultures. Over the next few decades it is expected that these Panamanians of West Indian descent will play increasingly important roles in the affairs of the Republic and become fully assimilated in the Latin culture.

Today Ambassador Westerman holds one of the most coveted posts of his country, delegate to the United Nations, and he is, from what I have been able to learn, performing his important task with great credit to Panama and himself. I was interested in one thing he brought out in his speech before the Texas legislature. That is the contribution of Latin America to our own national well being. Here is what he said:

"There are times when we, in Latin America, entertain the feeling that the United States takes us too much for granted and dismisses us with but the slightest of consideration. Thus while the United States spends billions for help to Europe and the Middle East, in an attempt to rehabilitate those powers which only yesterday ruthlessly massacred young Americans, little economic aid is made available for the development and growth of the countries south of the border which, as faithful allies, helped to defend American youths against enslavement."

He cited these facts too: "In the 20 Republics of South America the United States has more investments than in all other parts of the world with the exception of Canada . . . A total of 75 per cent of all the food products the United States imported for World War II such as coffee, sugar, meats and vegetable oils, came from Latin America. These countries furnished the United States with 40 per cent of the strategic minerals and metals necessary to operate its factories and foundries."

Ambassador Westerman who was named for George Washington is the kind of friend America needs not only in Panama but everywhere.

Defender Chicago, Ill, Sat. 5-25-57

LOUIS MARTIN

p 10

Dope And Data

A world championship bout between Billy Graham and the Devil is taking place in Madison Square Garden in New York. I don't know what the latest odds are on Broadway but, knowing New York, I am putting my dough on the Devil.

Billy Graham's prowess as an evangelist and revivalist has been building up ever since he converted actress Jane Russell and other movie queens out in Hollywood in 1949. In the intervening years he has "conquered" most of America and a great part of Western Europe.

For some strange reason he has never, up until now, tackled the towering ramparts of our 20th century Babylon on the east bank of the mighty Hudson.

The New York Crusade has a budget of $900,000 for the six-week stand and, according to the Wall Street Journal, "Saturday night national telecasts, which are being financed separately, will push the New York outlay to at least $1,300,000."

The Billy Graham advance men scouted the citadel of sin to discover the strength and weaknesses of the opposition. They spent six months checking up on juvenile delinquency and other social and moral problems and at the same time "checked subway and bus schedules, and charted church and theatre attendance in various months."

Their findings led the Graham finance boys to allocate $255,000 of the six-week Crusade budget for advertising and publicity. Placards are up in subway stations and 580 billboards proclaim the good news that Billy Graham is in town.

It is estimated that $360,000 will go for rent at Madison Square Garden and $27,500 has been earmarked for hotel accommodations.

When interviewed regarding the build-up for the Graham Crusade, Jerry Beavan, the publicist for the evangelist, said:

"Now you take the Ringling Brothers circus at the Garden now. That's a well-organized, well-advertised operation. Surely God deserves as good as the circus. That's what we try to give to Billy, to Christ and to the church, the best organization we can."

In this connection the Wall Street Journal reports the following details regarding the Crusade's genius for advertising:

"Thousands of black and orange bumper stickers that glow in sunlight or in the glare of auto headlights will advertise the crusade. The stickers which cost about four cents each, were chosen only after exhaustive tests showed them easier to attach than bumper placards fastened with hooks, strings, elastic or clips."

W. G. Haymaker, the general manager of the crusade, organized two choirs, each with 1,500 voices, to sing on alternate nights. Only two and a half minutes are required to take up the collection.

Mr. Haymaker explained this as follows:

"We have two ushers for every 100 people. They just work their own section, seating people, passing out song books and taking the offering. We need only two and a half minutes to take the offering because it is all done simultaneously."

God loves efficiency according to Billy Graham and he told reporters, "The Bible says all things should be done decently and in order. It is a bad reflection on our Christianity to have anything but top efficiency in our work."

One of his aides commented: "We try to use the most modern business techniques and still leave room for the Lord to operate."

As I said in the beginning, I still don't think Billy has a chance in New York. He is simply too tame for Gotham. Even the late Aimee McPherson couldn't budge the devil in New York. She, of course, had more glamour than Billy.

Once Aimee dressed as a traffic cop and, according to the news story, roared into her Foursquare Gospel Hall in Los Angeles astride a Motorcycle. She leaped off, flung out a white-gloved hand, screeched on a police whistle and shouted, "Stop, you're all speeding to hell."

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

31a Negro

We Still Aid the Communist Cause

Courier P. 8

WHAT Governor Faubus in Arkansas in early September gave Communist propaganda a tremendous boost. It gave them a big handle of truth on which to hang their propaganda. I am sure that every Communist newspaper in the world carried the Arkansas story on its front page. I am also sure it was on the front page of friendly countries. The Governor's action can be interpreted only one way—he set the sovereignty of the State of Arkansas up against the sovereignty of the Federal Government.

Mr. Mays

It cannot be interpreted otherwise. The case integration was to take place on Tuesday morning, Sept. 3, and the Governor called out the National Guard on Monday, Sept. 2. Governor Faubus cannot argue that he did it to keep the peace because when he ordered out the National Guard no peace had been broken. The very fact that the National Guard kept Negro students from entering the school is proof that the National Guard was called out to stop integration of the school. The function of the National Guard should not have been to block the Negro children from entering the school, but to protect them in their right to enter. This is as clear as day.

Pittsburgh Pa. 8-2-57

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THIS EPISODE not only hurts us in the eyes of the Communist, but it makes it exceedingly difficult for the colored people of Asia and Africa to believe that we are sincere when we preach democracy to the peoples of the world.

The Arkansas situation proves again the low state of morality in many sections of the United States. What we fail to see is that the race problem in the South and in America is not a political issue. The Negro is used as a political football and immoral men hungry for office play on the race question in order to get elected. But when we analyze the situation and give it the right name, it is a sign of moral deterioration at the very fabric of American life. Some sections of America have become so immoral that there will be no efforts to justify anything that anybody does if it is done in the name of maintaining the legal segregation of the Negro.

■

THE HEART, mind and soul of a good bit of this nation are diseased and rotten with prejudice, hatred and bias. A social order so constructed and so diseased can no more endure forever than the Empire State Building could endure if its foundation were rotten.

Social orders and civilization can decay without war, without famine and without floods. This is hard for most people to believe. But Rome was in the process of decay long before the barbarian hordes swept across its borders.

My View

Courier P. 8

By Benjamin E. Mays

Sat. 8-10-57

How Inconsistent Can We Be?

Pittsburgh Pa.

THE WHITE PEOPLE in the Deep South who express themselves publicly on the school situation are in favor of continuing segregation. This is certainly true of the politicians who want to make the home people believe they are courageous heroes. These segregationists are against integration in the public schools anywhere in the South, and if they had their way they would prevent it in the North. They are against it in Clinton, Tenn., and yet in order to justify their behavior in the Senate they point with some pride to the conviction of the seven pro-segregationists in Clinton, Tenn.

Mr. Mays

The white South that expresses itself on the subject, wants only jury trials in civil rights contempt cases. They want jury trials because they know that in the deep South, hardly any jury would convict a white person who refused voting rights or any other rights to a Negro. It isn't jury trial they are trying to protect. They are determined to protect the South's traditional behavior of dealing with the Negro as any Southern white man, or group of white men, sees fit to deal with him.

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THERE IS an element of dishonesty in it all. The people who oppose desegregation on any front, now hail the Clinton convictions as proof of the fact that an all-white jury will convict white people in civil rights violations. Senator Russell has used it as evidence against Part II of the Civil Rights Bill.

An editorial in the **Atlanta Journal** under date of August 24 says this of Clinton:

"In finding seven of 11 defendants guilty on three counts of Southern congressmen for the all-white jury has produced what should be a nation shaking demonstration that justice in the South is not, necessarily a hybrid of prejudice, emotion and convenience.

"Thus the Clinton jury has added solid weight to the pleas of Southern congresmen for a jury-trial provision in the Civil Rights Bill now under debate."

IN THE FIRST place, Clinton is not typical. Through violence, Clinton had taken on national significance. The eyes of the world were upon Clinton. In the average case of civil rights violation in the deep South, it would be so obscure the local people would not be pressured by the national eye. Secondly, Tennessee is not the deep South. The state government in Tennessee is better than that in the average Southern states.

Finally, if jury trial is permitted, the South would still oppose civil rights legislation and if it is confined only to voting, the South would oppose. There is not only inconsistency in the South's argument, there is, also, an element of dishonesty. I pray God that the time will come when we will produce statesmen and not politicians.

My View

Courier 31a

By Benjamin E. Mays

Sat. 8-31-57

South's Strategy

Pittsburgh Pa. P. 8

THE SOUTHERN Senators in opposition to a Civil Rights Bill were not one hundred per cent successful, but they were easily 80 per cent successful. They succeeded in winning the majority of the Senators to their point of view. They succeeded in having Part III of the Civil Rights Bill deleted altogether. That section made it possible for the Justice Department to step in and enforce school integration as well as to protect and guarantee one's right to vote. They won hands down on this one. The South's next victory was to succeed in amending the Civil Rights Bill so that there must be trial by jury in criminal contempt cases involving voting. If an election official disobeys a Federal judge's orders to refrain from denying a Negro the right to vote, the judge may persuade the officer to comply or may impose penalty, but if the official insists on denying the Negro the right to vote, the offending offcial must be tried by jury. The Federal judge does not have the final authority in getting his orders carried out.

Mr. Mays

■

BEFORE THIS article is printed the matter will have been settled. It will be further amended to confine the jury trial to voting only in which case it will be a form of class legislation, thus giving the Federal judge the final authority to enforce his decrees in all contempt cases except cases involving the Negro's right to vote. Though it may be a slight forward step in protecting the Negro's right to vote, it is a piece of class legislation that stinks to high heaven.

But whichever way the matter goes, the South will win. If the bill gets balled up in committee and no civil rights legislation in this session of Congress, the South will win one hundred per cent, for the South wants no Civil Rights Bill of any kind. If the House accepts the Senate's version, the South will win. If the bill is amended to include only voting, the South will win; under any condition, the South will emerge from this struggle 80 to 100 per cent successful.

■

THE SOUTH'S success lies in the fact that Southern Congressmen know exactly what they want. They know that they want the Negro to remain in a subordinate role. They know that they want the Negro to remain a second-class citizen. They are not willing for the Federal Government to pressure any Southerner to give the Negro first-class political citizen rights. This is proven by the fact that after getting all the amendments, they fought for the Deep South Senators still voted against the bill. Many of the Northern Senators are on the fence when it comes to the Negro. Being on the fence, many of them cannot stand up against the Southerners who knows what they want.

My View

Courier P 8
Pittsburgh Pa.
Sat. 8-1-59

By Benjamin E. Mays

They Play Ball With the South

BY THE time this article is printed, something, perhaps, will have happened to the civil rights bill now before the Senate. An effective bill would have been passed or it will have been so emasculated that it will not be worth the paper on which it is printed.

Mr. Mays

A jury trial of any kind would emasculate the bill, and a jury trial guaranteeing Negroes on the jury will not strengthen it. Senator Thurmond of South Carolina summarized the position I have taken all along. He is quoted to have said that the strategy of the South is to amend the civil rights voting bill, to weaken it and then defeat it. That's it! It meant that from the beginning. The Southern Senators have been against any kind of legislation designed to improve the civil rights status of Negroes. Anyone who does not know that is stupid. And yet, there are evidently many stupid people.

■

I SUPPOSE a man in public office always plays some politics. There are not many bills that are sponsored in Congress without the sponsor's bid for votes. This is sad but I am sure it is true. I am sure Vice President Nixon and Senator Knowland believe in safeguarding the civil rights of Negroes. But I believe both of them are conscious of the fact that their stand on civil rights will help them with Negro votes if they are candidates for the presidency in 1960.

I suppose Northern Senators who play ball with the Senators from the South on civil rights are playing politics too. I suppose they are expecting the Southern Senators to go with them when they want something done. If this is so, many of the Northern Senators are for sale. It must be this way because as a rule the Northern Senators who play ball with the South are from Eastern and Western states where there are only a few Negro votes. They must expect the South to help them in some Eastern or Western project. The Southern Senators are shrewd. They pluck off those Northern Senators who have nothing to fear from the Negro votes.

■

FOR EXAMPLE, Anderson of New Mexico and Aiken of Vermont, and with some assistance I believe from Case of South Dakota, sponsored the fight that defeated Section 3 of the civil rights program. O'Mahoney of Wyoming is advocating the jury trial amendment that would guarantee jury trial for anyone accused of criminal contempt of court for deliberately violating a court order against a violation of voting rights. Now Senator Church of Idaho is trying to amend the voting bill by guaranteeing to Negroes the right to serve on jury. All of these amendments will emasculate the bill. The South knows this and Senators Anderson, Aiken, O'Mahoney and Church know it too.

It seems to me that these men work on the basis of expediency rather than on the basis of principle or what is the right thing to do.

My View

Bla Courier

By Benjamin E. Mays

Further Reflections on the National Baptist in Louisville

I WROTE one article on Louisville, Oct. 5. I had not planned to write another one, but further reflections urge me to do so. Courier

I wish the election of president had been conducted in a different manner. Firstly, I wish the election had been held on Thursday, the traditional day for the election and not on Wednesday. This change leads people to believe it was unfair scheming. It would have been better if the election had been on Thursday, as in the past.

Mr. Mays

Secondly, I wish the president of the convention had not, himself, ruled that that part of the constitution dealing with tenure was invalid and unconstitutional. The president of the convention had a right to place his interpretation on the constitution, but it would have been much better and it would have left a better taste in everybody's mouth if he had given his views on the constitution and tenure and then permitted the delegates, voting by states, to sustain his interpretation or vote it down.

THIRDLY, I WISH what happened immediately after the president declared that there was no tenure in the constitution had not happened. It was planned because outside of the main auditorium, people representing practically every state in the Union had assembled with large pictures of the president saying that the various states were for Jackson. Immediately after the president ruled on tenure they marched in. A mass demonstration began and it was in that period of confusion that a motion was made that the rules be suspended and that the president be elected by acclamation.

This was a most unfortunate incident. No fair election could be held under those circumstances. I wish the president had refused to accept election by acclamation and insisted that the delegates be polled by states and that the voting take place by states. It is unfortunate enough to elect a president by acclamation when there is harmony among the brethren. It is unwise to do it when there is confusion and ill-will among the brethren. Of all times, the delegates should have been given the opportunity to vote by states.

■

MANY PEOPLE have said that they wish they had elected the president by states. If the president had done that, there is no doubt in my mind that he would have won many friends and gained greater stature. The president did not have to resort to tricky methods to be elected. If the procedure suggested here had been followed, Dr. Jackson might have still won the presidency. Now it will always be said that he took unfair advantage of the situation.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

Bla Courier

Atlanta Study

RECENTLY the Atlanta newspapers carried a series of articles on the study resulting from the testing of the Negro and white children in Atlanta. The papers played up the fact that Negro children fall way behind the white children. There is nothing astonishing about this. Atlanta got its first Negro high school in 1924. Only within recent years has Atlanta or any other area of the South attempted to bring the Negro schools up to the level of the white schools. For decades, upon decades, two, three, four and five times as much was spent per capita upon the white child as upon the Negro child. For decades upon decades the boards of education and superintendents of schools were not seriously concerned with the educational qualifications of Negro teachers. Only within recent years has this been of real concern. Even now little attention is paid to the qualifications of Negro teachers in some of the more backward areas of the South.

Mr. Mays

Sat. 10-12-57

I MAKE BOLD to go a step further. Many of the boards of education and superintendents of schools are putting up excellent buildings for Negroes, but many of them are still unconcerned about the quality of education that goes on in these Negro schools. If the Negro principals and the Negro teachers are not determined to see Negroes in segregated schools thoroughly educated, they will hardly receive any pressure from the superintendents of schools and the boards of education. The quality of education that the Negro students receive is in the hands of the Negro principals and the Negro teachers.

These studies seldom point out the reason and they do not say that if you compare a group of handicapped Mississipp white students with those of New England, the Mississippi white students would fall far below the New England students nor do they tell you that in almost every situation, there will be a few Negro students that will measure up as well as any of the best in the white group. They do not give the full picture.

■

AND YET WE MUST face the facts. Whatever the reasons might be, if Negro children on the whole do not measure up as well as white children we must be concerned and we must strive to do something about it. If Negro students come from homes where reading is not a habit and where books are not available, those Negro students must be encouraged and stimulated to work as hard as they can to overcome this handicap. The man who is behind must work faster than the man who is in front.

Teachers, themselves, have got to be more concerned about academic excellence than they are about being socially acceptable. I see no other way but hard work for the Negro college president, scholar, lawyer and business man. I see no way out except hard work. The competition will not be less but it will increase with the years.

My View

Courier P. 8

By Benjamin E. Mays

Sat. 3-4-57

Pittsburgh Pa.

Finally Africa

THE United States Government, the governments of Europe, the missionaries of America and the missionaries of Europe for many, many decades ignored Africa. It was considered the dark continent. We were more interested in India, China, Japan, and other Asiatic countries. It will be interesting to compare the missionary endeavors in Asia with those in Africa and see how the percentages of help and interest stack up. It would have been good for the world if we had turned to Africa much sooner. And yet, it is better late than never. I hope it isn't too late.

Mr. Mays

■

VICE PRESIDENT NIXON'S visit to Morocco, Ghana, Liberia, Uganda, Ethiopia, Sudan, Italy, and Tunisia will go a long way toward centering more attention on Africa. I suppose this is the first time that a man in Nixon's position has done this for Africa. According to a copyrighted article by the New York Times, printed April 6, Vice President Nixon proposes a broad program for assisting the African countries in their struggle for economic and political advancement.

The Vice President argues that Africa has become an important target of international communism and therefore requires new attention from the free world. The New York Times article states that Mr. Nixon declared that the future course of African development "could well prove to be the decisive factor in the conflict between the free world and international communism."

The Vice President speaks of aid from the United States both from Government and private funds in order that the African countries might be able to lift their standards of living. He urged that the calibre of United States representatives be strengthened. And interestingly enough, he points out that continued racial discrimination in the United States is a handicap to the United States' influence throughout Africa. He argues that we should assist Africa not only in the national interest but for moral reasons as well.

■

THEN HE GOES on to say that the United States must take steps that will guarantee orderly progress toward the elimination of discrimination in the United States. The Vice President is reported also to have made this significant statement: "We cannot talk equality to the people of Africa and Asia and practice inequality in the United States."

For once we have a Vice President who has been of real help and assistance in his travels about the world because I think he has made friends for the United States. If Mr. Nixon was not and is not qualified to be President of the United States, he is definitely moving in that direction.

It is unfortunate, though, that we must move in Africa and other parts of the world mainly because we fear communism.

My View

Courier P. 8

By Benjamin E. Mays

Sat. 5-18-57

Pittsburgh, Pa.

What Next in Georgia?

THE State Board of Education on Monday, April 22, banned from Georgia schools all student organizations which invite Georgians to interracial meetings at either state or national level. It isn't clear just what that action means, but it seems to include such groups as Future Teachers of America, 4-H clubs, which hold national conventions outside the South, and such organizations as the YWCA and YWCA. A statement in the Atlanta Constitution states that the resolution arose from a plan of the YWCA to hold a mixed, nine-state meeting this summer in Blue Ridge, N. C.

Mr. Mays

The resolution states specifically that no student group with extra-curricular status shall be allowed to invite Georgia members to mixed meetings. The resolution goes on to require that organizations be required to affirm their intention to comply with the provisions of the resolution and to pledge not to plan or allow any racially mixed meetings which involve the public school students of Georgia.

■

THIS RULING has wide implications. It means that no public school student can have any interracial contact as representative of an organization in the public schools, whether that meeting be in Atlanta, New York, London, Paris or Berlin. Although they confine it to the state and national levels, the implication is that they must not have any interracial contact anywhere in the world. If it is bad for a Georgia boy to have interracial contact in New York, it is equally bad for him to have it in Paris.

I hope that the more enlightened people of Georgia will condemn this resolution. I hope that there will be leadership in the public schools to condemn it. I hope the ministers of Georgia will condemn it. But during all my years of living in the South I have never heard any public outcry from newspapers, church leaders and other people high in society make public denunciation of the illicit relations that have gone on between white men and Negro women for lo' these many decades. All this talk about the complete separation of the races is nonsense.

■

I WISH the State Board of Education was as deeply concerned about the equality of education in the schools as they are about barring kids from attending interracial meetings. It seems that we are pretty determined to build good physical plants, but are we equally concerned about the quality of education that goes on in the class rooms? This attempt to control the mind, the thinking of these people by prohibiting them from attending interracial meetings is incredible. What will we do next? The thing that we seem to forget is the fact that the future is not now, and never has been, in the hands of man. It is in the hands of God.

My View

Courier P. 8

By Benjamin E. Mays

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dr. Weatherford Has Done It Again

Sat. 6-1-57

DR. W. D. WEATHERFORD of Berea College has made another significant contribution to our thinking in his new book, "American Churches And The Negro." Dr. Weatherford is author of several books on this subject and his writings, and he as a person, command respect. Those who do not know what the attitude of the American churches was toward the Negro in slavery in the first half of the nieteenth century and after, should read this book. Those who know what that attitude was should refresh their memories by reading it. Those who would like to know what the present attitude of the churches is and what their attitude ought to be should read Dr. Weatherford's book, "American Churches And The Negro." It is a historical document tracing the churches' attitude toward the Negro from the early slave days to the present time.

Mr. Mays

■

NO ONE can read the book without receiving valuable information and no minister can read it without his conscience being stirred and without being challenged to apply the Christian Gospel in the area of worship and church membership. The author is forthright. He makes no apologies for a segregated church and boldly states that the hour demands a Christian church which is open to all peoples irrespective of race or color.

It is interesting to note that Christian fellowship was much more real in several churches during the days of slavery than it is in most churches in the South today. In many instances, masters and slaves did worship together side by side. Commenting on this point, Dr. Weatherford says: "In other words, the ante-bellum white Christian looked upon the Negro as a possible son of God who had a right to every privilege of the church and it did not offend them to see him partaking of all these privileges; but, politically and economically, the slave rested under a curse and had no standing. We, of the present time, have reversed the attitude. We claim that the Negro has full rights to economic, civic and political freedom, but we are sure that socially and religiously he must be completely separate and segregated.

■

WE NOT only would not call a Negro pastor to our church, however able and brilliant, but in most churches it would be at the cost of his position that a white pastor invite a Negro minister to fill his pulpit." At another point Dr. Weatherford says: "It is probably impossible for any white person to put himself completely into the position of a Negro, or for a colored person to completely understand and put himself into the place of a white man. But it ought not to be impossible for a white Christian to understand how a colored Christian must feel when he faces the many frustrations of daily ..."

My View

Courier P. 8

By Benjamin E. Mays

Pittsburgh, Pa.

I Salute the Presbyterian Church In the United States

Sat. 6-8-57

ON APRIL 30 the Southern Presbyterian Church voiced the most powerful indictment of all forms of racial segregation that has come out of the South by a church body. A group of ministers from all over the South met in Nashville April 23-25. They were equally forthright but they were ministers from many faiths. The meeting in Birmingham was the voice of the Southern Presbyterian. It is not only significant that they did it, but it is equally significant that they did it in Birmingham. When it comes to conservatism, Birmingham stands pretty much at the top of Southern cities.

Mr. Mays

You do not expect much liberalism to be uttered in Birmingham, even though the people come mostly from other places. The strongly-worded document was approved with only a scattering of negative votes as the Presbyterian Church in the United States closed its 97th general assembly.

■

THE ASSEMBLY defended the interracial Koinonia community at Americus, Ga. It condemned the Ku Klux Klan and warned church-goers

against joining it. It denounced the White Citizens Councils and condemned discrimination in education, employment, religion and politics. The 4,000-word document warns Southerners against "trying to destroy those who dare to live by their Christian convictions, even though they may differ from them in their opinions." In its condemnation of the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils, the pronouncement said: "In this nation where Christianity and democracy are bywords, it is unthinkable that a Christian should join himself to Klan or Council whose purpose is to gain its point by intimidation, reprisal and violence, or that he should lift no voice of protest against those who appeal to prejudice and spread fear."

■

SPEAKING OF discrimination in education, the document asserted that the Christian faith "has never countenanced racial discrimination and the supreme law of the land requires that it no longer be practiced in the public school system."

The assembly called upon the members of the Southern Presbyterian Church to work in their respective communities for honest and durable adjustments. I think the most significant statement in the document is the following: "When a particular church or denomination recruits its membership from one stratum of society it mistakes social compatibility for Christian fellowship."

These are courageous words, but the difficulty will be one of implementation on the local level. Most ministers, be they Negro or white, are not willing to risk their position, their social acceptance and their security by going against what their congregation wants.

My View

Courier p. 8

By Benjamin E. Mays

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Success in Defeat

Sat. 8-3-57

TOM ALEXANDER, an Atlanta businessman, ran for alderman from the Seventh Ward, a city-wide election. Three men were in the race for the May primary. Mr. Alexander and Mr. Summers had to stage a run-off which occurred on May 22. Mr. Alexander lost the election to Mr. Summers. Mr. Summers' total was 32,710 votes, and Mr. Alexander's was 22,455 votes. Though defeated, Mr. Alexander was successful. It is the first time since 1871 that a Negro has sought election to the city government. That was 86 years ago. That fact alone made the campaign significant. For a Negro to poll 22,455 votes in the first effort in 86 years, is a successful effort, especially since he did it under criticisms from some of his friends.

Mr. Mays

■

UNFORTUNATELY, Governor Marvin Griffin did a mean, low-down thing. He issued a public statement asking the voters of Atlanta to vote for Jack Summers. The Atlanta Journal quotes the Governor as saying: "At this critical period in our affairs, it is no time for the white people to witness the election of a Negro as a member of the Board of Aldermen in Atlanta, the largest city in the state.

"It is the duty of every true patriot in Atlanta to lay aside all business, if necessary, to go to the polls to see that Mr. Summers is elected."

The Governor went on to say: "It is high time that white voters did some 'block voting' themselves. You may be sure that Negroes will vote virtually as a unit."

It is unprecedented for the Governor of Georgia to enter into the politics of a local election. He would yell to high heaven if the President of the United States interfered in a gubernatorial race in Georgia. And in that he would be right. It is equally unfair for Mr. Griffin to break precedent and interfere with an aldermanic election in Atlanta. The Governor's interference was mean and low again because he called for the defeat of Mr. Alexander for no other reason than he is a Negro.

■

HE INJECTED the race issue into the campaign. As a result there was an unprecedented vote for a run-off election in Atlanta. Furthermore, in the final days of the campaign the newspapers and the radio did not help Mr. Alexander. It was constantly kept before the voters that Mr. Alexander was a Negro and although the papers and the radio may not have intended it, the constant reference to the fact that he is a Negro and the first one to seek office since 1871, said to the prejudiced-minded white people that they should vote for the white candidate.

If all of the 28,646 registered Negro voters had voted, Alexander might have won, even though some whites voted for Alexander and some Negroes voted for Summers. Ninety thousand Negroes in Atlanta are qualified to register. Why don't they?

Books

Author Traces Attitude Of Church Toward Nearo

Journal + Guide P. 9

Sat. 8-3-57

AMERICAN CHURCHES AND THE NEGRO

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Dr. W. D. Weatherford, of Berea College, has made another significant contribution to our thinking in his new book, "American Churches And The Negro." Dr. Weatherford is author of several books on this subject and his writings, and he as a person, command respect. Those who do not know what the attitude of the American churches was toward the Negro in slavery in the first half of the 19th century and after, should read this book. Those who know what the attitude was should refresh their memories by reading it. Those who would like to know what the present attitude of the churches is and what their attitude ought to be should read Dr. Weatherford's book, "American Churches And The Negro." It is a historical document tracing the churches' attitude toward the Negro from the early slave days to the presen time.

Dr. Mays

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COMMENTING on this point, Dr. Weatherford says: "In other words, the antebellum white Christians looked upon the Negro as a possible son of God who had a right to every privilege of the church and it did not offend them to see him partaking of all these privileges; but, politically and economically, the slave rested under a curse and had no standing.

We of the present time have reversed the attitude. We claim that the Negro has full rights to economic, civic and political freedom, but we are sure that socially and religiously he must be completely separate and segregated. We not only would not call a Negro pastor to our church, however able and brilliant, but in most churches it would be at the cost of his position that a white pastor invite a Negro minister to fill his pulpit."

* * *

AT ANOTHER point, Dr. Weatherford says: "It is probably impossible for any white person to put himself completely into the position of a Negro, or for a colored person to completely understand and put himself into the place of a white man. But it ought not to be impossible for a white Christian to understand how a colored Christian must feel when he faces the many frustrations of daily life."

Most men become conservative with the years and do not take courageous positions—not so with W. D. Weatherford.

My View

Courier 1-8

By Benjamin E. Mays

Pittsburgh Pa. 31a

President and Civil Rights

Sat. 1-26-57

I AM STILL expecting the Southerners to filibuster the Civil Rights program to death or to emasculate it in such a way that it will be absolutely useless. As long as the Negro is voteless in the South, he will remain a helpless tool in the hands of political demagogues. And seems that Senator Eastland, Senator Russell of Georgia, and others are determined to keep the Negro helpless by virtue of their fight against the President's Civil Rights program. Some Northern Democrats will play ball with them and maybe a few Republicans.

Mr. Mays

At any rate, I fear that the Southerners are more determined that the Civil Rights program does not become law than the Administration forces are determined that it shall become law. It will be a test of endurance. And when it comes to the Negro, the Southern Congressmen have an unlimited supply of endurance. It is not their intention to fight for the Negro to have the right to vote without intimidation in their own state. In all the talk about civil rights not one has said that the states ought to provide the guarantee and protection of the Negro's right to vote. Their only point is to keep it from being done at all.

■

IF THE SOUTH would learn one lesson, it would help us all. If they could make up their minds that they will treat all citizens alike, irrespective of race or color, they could say to the Federal Government, stay out. But this they do not want to do and this they will not do.

I commend the President in his insisting that his program is a moderate one and in speaking against the plebiscite which Senator Russell proposed. But there is one thing the President said which startles me. The press reported the President as saying that there were phrases in the Civil Rights Bill that he did not understand. It is a little disconcerting to me that the President would make a statement like that when it is the Administration's program and a program that he is defending. The bill has been under discussion for a long time and it has passed the House of Representatives and surely the President of the United States should be familiar with every phrase and every clause in the Civil Rights Bill and he should understand it.

■

I HOPE THIS does not mean that the President is weakening and that he is ready now to perfect some compromise on the bill. We will wait and see. The President is sometime accused of indecisiveness when it comes to problems on the home front. He will gain great strength and great admiration if he continues to stick with the program. He still has more prestige than any one man in the United States. It is time, now, to destroy the Senate gag rule.

My View

Courier 1-8

By Benjamin E. Mays

Pittsburgh Pa. 31a

Civil Rights Battle in Washington

Sat. 1-26-57

IF PREDICTIONS come true, they will be fighting the "Battle of Civil Rights" in the Senate when this article is printed. The South lost the Civil War, which war was fought mainly over the slave question. Although the war was fought to save the Union, slavery precipitated the whole thing. The South lost that war and it has been determined ever since that it would not lose another fight where the Negro is involved. The South owned the Negro as a slave, now it wants to own him as a citizen. They have always wanted to have the last word where the Negro concerned. It is paternalism to the nth degree. This isn't true of all Southerners, but it is true of the vast majority of the Southern politicians in Congress—both in the House and in the Senate.

Mr. Mays

■

WHEN THE Southern Senators argue that the President's civil rights bill will mean that Federal troops will be in the South again, and that it is a sly way to force integration in the public schools—when they say that, they know it is an exaggeration. They also know that it will hardly happen. The supporters of the civil rights program are mistaken indeed if they think that this is what the Southerners fear. The Southern Senators do not wish the Federal Government to have anything to say about how Negroes are treated in the South. As proof of this I appeal to history since the Civil War.

A move is on foot to amend the civil rights bill to the extent that it will be narrowed down to deal only with the question of voting. Such an amendment will possibly get through, but it will not stop the Southern Senators from filibustering. Even if the bill is amended and so phrased that it has only to do with the Negro's civil right to vote, the problem will be the same. And if there is any supporter of the bill who thinks otherwise, he is politically naive and doesn't understand the Southern mind. If the bill cannot be passed as it is, it will not be passed when it is amended to deal only with voting.

■

IF THE Administration wants a civil rights bill it must muster up enough strength to pass it over Southern opposition. It is as clear as day on a cloudless sky that the Southern Senators want no civil rights bill at all. And as I have said in this column before, there hasn't come a single word from a Southern Congressman saying, in effect, that if the Federal Government stays out of this thing, I will go back to my native state and do everything in my power to guarantee the right to vote to every citizen, irrespective of race. They have not said this, and they will not say this.

My View

Courier

By Benjamin E. Mays

Pittsburgh Pa.

We Salute Althea Gibson

Sat. 8-3-57

IT WAS REPORTED in the press that Miss Gibson was cheered by some English people when she made a mistake in her tennis competition with Miss Hard from California, but jeered when she played exceptionally well. This is difficult to explain except on a racial basis.

Mr. Mays

Miss Gibson was not competing with an English woman, but with Darlene Hard of California. Both are Americans. Why should the English people care who won the women's singles tennis championship at Wimbledon since one American was playing against another? If the report I read in the press is true that Althea Gibson was jeered by the English, it can be explained on the basis of color prejudice and color prejudice alone. Although it has been 20 years now, I experienced racial prejudice in London. I understand that there is less of it than there was in 1937 when I met it in hotels and when they denied me a tour trip on an American Express tour.

■

IT SEEMS that Miss Gibson was a good sport, took the jeers and won the championship. On the other hand, I am sure this is only part of the story because I feel quite certain that thousands of English people cheered Miss Gibson as she displayed tremendous skill in defeating her competitor, Miss Hard.

At any rate, the jeers did not matter to her, she won the title by defeating her rival, 6-3, 6-2. To be the women's champion in the women's ten-

his match is worth being jeered if that's the price. And if she was jeered, I am sure that is not the spirit of England at its best. I understand that the trophy was presented to her by Queen Elizabeth II. This was a tremendous event for Althea Gibson.

One can expect New York to do the right thing on an occasion like this, for after returning to New York the tennis star was given the traditional ticker tape welcome.

■

EVERY IMPORTANT victory, whether in sports, in diplomacy, in education or in religion, is good for the Negro and good for the cause. As I have said in this column before, races and nations are known in history and respected by what the exceptional individual does and what the exceptional individual contributes to mankind. It is the outstanding person who lifts a nation to a position of world respect and renown, and it is the work of individuals that lifts a race to a position of renown and respect.

As in tennis and in baseball, more records will be broken and more victories won if the circumstrictions of race are removed. Given a full chance, it does not yet appear what Negroes might contribute to civilization and American life. We sincerely hope that these bars will be rapidly removed. Miss Gibson has contributed her share, and this writer salutes her.

'Walk With Dignity, Pride,' Mays Urges

DURHAM, N.C.—Dr. Benjamin Mays, speaking to a 10th Founder's Day convocation at N. C. College on Nov. 4, urged his listeners to follow the example of NCC's founder and first president, the late Dr. J. E. Shepard, and "walk with dignity and pride unafraid."

"No man can be at home in the earth unless he can walk in the world unafraid," Dr. Mays said. He was the main speaker on a day that saw students, alumni, NCC President and Mrs. Alfonso Elder and the J. E. Shepard Memorial Foundation, honor NCC's founder.

Dr. Mays emphasized to his hearers, composed of a large delegation of local and out-of-town visitors and some 750 students, the desirability of emulating Dr. Shepard's "enthusiasm and aspiration."

* * *

HE ALSO RECOMMENDED Dr. Shepard's love of dignity and freedom, which he said, are necessary assets today for youth.

"I liked Jim Shepard because he proves my thesis that a man is what he aspires to be. In the midst of jim crow and segregation, ideal - chasing Jim Shepard was the embodiment of high ideals. Though segregated, he didn't cringe. Though jim-crowed he didn't kowtow.

"Though discriminated against, he never accepted an inferior role in his mind. He stood with his head high, his shoulders erect and he walked with dignity and pride unafraid.

"AT 72, JIM SHEPARD had enthusiasm of a man 30. He dreamed great dreams, thought great thoughts and challenged youth to stand on their feet and be men."

Participants in the auditorium rites were President Elder, Dr. J. N. Hughley, Student Government President J. L. Chambers and the NCC choir.

At graveside rites at Beechwood Cemetery, the Rev. R. L. Speaks was in charge. Music was offered by the choir and buglers from the band sounded taps.

Traditional wreath laying was done for the students by Chambers and for the alumni by W. A. Marsh, Durham lawyer, and national alumni head.

A meeting of the J. E. Shepard Foundation, headed by Dr. J. M. Hubbard Sr. was held Monday. J. T. Taylor, executive secretary, reported on interim activities since 1956. Dr. Helen G. Edmonds was chairman of the Founders Day committee.

'Put best foot forward,' Dr. Mays tells students

RALEIGH, N.C. — "I challenge you, and urge you, to learn to distinguish between values and then put your best foot forward," said President Benjamin E. Mays, Morehouse College to St. Augustines College students last week.

Harkening back to the period of his high school and college career, the speaker compared his financial plight as a student with that of present-day college youths who are finding it more and more difficult to remain in school.

Dr. Mays challenged students to become engineers, architects, journalists, doctors, lawyers, artists, master teachers, counsellors, and what-have-you.

* * *

"IN THESE special fields, I don't want you to be remembered just for your fine Cadillacs, just for your ranch-type homes, just for your bonds, just for your furs, and just for your diamonds," Dr. Mays added.

Students should strive to be known 25 years from now, he concluded, for their skilled surgery, bridges they build, inspiration they give students as teachers and for new church and social movements

'Little Rock had to be,' says Dr. Mays

ATLANTA.—"We did not have to have this Little Rock, but we had to have a Little Rock," Dr. Benjamin E. Mays told the Atlanta University Town Meeting Wednesday night.

The Morehouse College president said that since 1896 the South had been deliberately and wilfully ignoring the supreme law of the land and getting away with it. The crisis in Federal -state relationships was inevitable and, if it had not occurred in Arkansas, it would have occurred elsewhere.

Dr. Mays and five students formed a panel for the discussion of the Little Rock crisis. The town meetings are sponsored by the political science department of Atlanta University in cooperation with the colleges in the Atlanta University Center.

* * *

ONLY GOVERNOR Faubus really knew why this happened at Little Rock, Dr. Mays said, but he believes the southern governors agreed that the Federal Government had to be stopped from integrating the schools and that a so-called liberal state was the best place to make the attempts.

They were given encouragement because President Eisenhower had made it clear that he would not use Federal troops to enforce the Supreme Court order.

Dr. Mays disagreed with those who think that the violence and use of Federal troops at Little Rock will set back the cause of integration.

More progress is often made when situations have become tense he said. Although integration will be temporarily slowed in the deep South, it will go faster in the border states and Little Rock will probably not be repeated.

Students on the panel were Miss Lois Banks, Clark College; Mrs. Sara B. Geer, Morris Brown; Miss Dollie Glover, Atlanta University; Wilbur Leaphart, Morehouse and Miss Eva Wallace, Spellman.

My View

Courier p. 8

By Benjamin E. Mays

Sat. 4-27-57

Is That Sin Against The Holy Ghost?

Pittsburgh, Pa.

THERE ARE passages in the Bible which state, in substance, that every sin will be forgiven except sin against the Holy Ghost. These passages have been grossly misinterpreted. There is nothing theological in the interpretation. As I understand it, it is psychological rather than theological. A person sins against the Holy Ghost as was true in the case of some of the Scribes and Pharisees when they called good, evil, and evil, good, in whatever circumstance that suited their purpose. It is the case of a person knowing that something is evil and yet he insists that it is good, or knowing that something is good and insisting that it is evil. It is a case of moral perverseness. Moral perverseness has become a permanent situation. This is the meaning of sinning against the Holy Ghost.

Mr. Mays

■

IT SEEMS to me tht we have something like this in the case of the grand jury of Sumpter County in its investigation of Koinonia Farm. Koinonia is a 40-member community where Negroes and whites work and live together somewhat after the fashion of the early Christian community. They hold things in common and share. The farm has been in existence about 15 years. If there is any group that is trying to literally practice what they understand to be the teachings of Jesus, these people are trying to do it. According to the press, the farm has been branded as a Communitst-front organization and the members of the community themselves have done the violence in order that they might receive sympathy and money from over the nation. It hardly seems reasonable that a community would destroy its own activities in order to get sympathy. Banks will not let them have credit any more and the community will not buy their farm products. It is my opinion that the grand jury knows that Koinonia did not do the shooting and bombing and they know that if Koinonia is a Communist-front organization it would have been discovered before now, since they have been there about 15 years. Is this a case of sinning against the Holy Ghost?

■

SOMEONE ARGUES that the trouble at the farm began when Clarence Jordan, a graduate of the University of Georgia, endorsed the application of Negroes who were applying to enter the Atlanta division of the University of Georgia. I cannot prove this statement, but it would be interesting to know the source of this sudden outbreak of violence against the Koinonia Farm. I hope I am wrong in my inference here, but I would like to see a more objective investigation of the situation than is possible for the Sumpter County grand jury to give.

My View

Courier p. 8

By Benjamin E. Mays

Sat. 4-20-57

It's So Strange

Pittsburgh Pa.

FOR A long time there was an alligator on the campus of Albany State College in Albany, Ga. I understand that the alligator died not long ago of old age which overtakes both man and beast. I did not go to the campus often but when I did go, I paid my respects to the alligator. I went by to see him although alligators are horrible looking creatures. I suppose I went by out of curiosity. It is a little unusual to find an alligator on a college campus. Someone told me that years ago Dr. Holly brought the alligator from Africa.

Mr. Mays

The alligator had a wire fence of about four feet around him. There was a pool of water in the center. The alligator stayed there and did not get out. As long as there was water and he was fed, the alligator was comfortable and satisfied and saw no need to get out. Experts on alligators tell me that if the wire fence had been removed and a fence of cotton threads had been constructed instead, the alligator would have still remained. He had been conditioned.

■

NEGROES HAVE been conditioned too. We have been segregated so long that we remain segregated after the barriers have been removed. Maybe time will heal this fear and timidity. Let us hope so.

I travel rather widely throughout the nation. Segregation on interstate railroad travel has been outlawed for some time now and yet I find that many, many Negroes continue to ride segregated across state lines even when there is no resistance to their doing so. It is also true that segregation for interstate passengers in waiting rooms has been outlawed. Several cities are determined to violate the ruling of the Interstate Commerce Commission by enforcing the city's segregation laws. This is prevalently seen in Mississippi, for example. I understand that interstate passengers have been arrested in the Terminal Station in Birmingham, Ala. On the other hand, there are many, many cities in the South that have complied fully with the ruling of the Interstate Commerce Commission and where Negroes are not intimidated at all when they exercise their right to use waiting rooms unsegregated.

AND YET, I am sure that the vast majority of Negroes traveling interstate in the South continue to segregate themselves in the Negro waiting rooms. This is particularly noticeable in a place like Atlanta where only now and then do we find Negroes taking advantage of the new opportunity to avoid being segregated and being branded as second-class citizens. One way to break down segregation is to take advantage of the opportunity where segregation has been abandoned or outlawed.

The argument has been repeatedly made that Negroes want to be segregated and that they love it and that only a few radicals are trying to break it down. Behavior such as I have described tends to prove this.

My View

Courier p. 8

By Benjamin E. Mays

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Isn't That Strange?

Sat. 5-11-57

THE SUMTER COUNTY grand jury, a short while back, pictured the leaders of Koinonia as associates of Communists, profiteers, draft dodgers and tax evaders. The people at Koinonia have been accused of precipitating violence for the express purpose of getting sympathy and money from the outside.

Mr. Mays

Of course, Koinonians said that they are God-fearing people who are trying to live the life of Christians across all lines of race and color. The farm has been there for about 15 years. If I had to take my choice between what the Sumter County grand jury says and what the leaders of Koinonia say, I would choose to believe the leaders of Koinonia.

Every effort has been made to break up the farm. Banks refuse to give Koinonia credit. They cannot sell their goods in the community.

■

IT IS SO STRANGE that when a group takes the Christian religion seriously and tries to live it, it can be accused of association with Communists. All of this goes on to show how radical the gospel of Christ is. If practiced and lived, it is the most radical doctrine that has been expounded by man. It is so radical that if anyone in this day and generation set out really to follow the life and teachings of Christ, he will either be considered insane or accused of being a Communist.

The truth may never be known, but if it could be known, I am willing to wager that there are no connections between Koinonia and the Communist party. Any community that really tries to be Christian would stir up, at least temporarily, racial tension.

■

A FEW days ago I read an article in the Atlanta Journal. I quote from that editorial: "The farm's appeal for non-Southern aid and understanding was a great mistake. Again, with the past as guide, outsiders only make the situation worse when they presume to referee our troubles.

"Outside activities on the part of the farm's leaders have prejudiced their cause. If they had confined their activities to their domain, all still might be well with them."

The implication is that if Koinonia had not appealed to outsiders, all might be well with them. It is good that the editorial said that all still "might" be well with them. Past experiences do not sustain the implication of the editorial.

■

WE IN the South have constantly said that if outsiders would leave us alone we would solve our own problems. It was crooked thinking to say that if outsiders had left Mississippi alone, the men who killed Emmitt Till would have been brought to justice. Everybody knows that if a Negro is accused of insulting a white woman in Mississippi his days of living are numbered. Everybody knows that. Outsiders or no outsiders, there would have been violence at Koinonia.

My View

Courier p. 8

By Benjamin E. Mays

Pittsburgh, Pa.

What Good Did the 'Prayer Pilgrimage' Do?

Sat. 6-22-57

BEFORE the prayer pilgrimage many people argued that it would do no good. I suppose this is the reason why so many people were opposed to the march or were indifferent toward it. Many ministers opposed the prayer pilgrimage. The ministers who opposed it must have felt it would do no good. And yet, it is very difficult to see how a minister would object to prayer. He's supposed to believe in prayer. If it had been just a march on Washington with a lot of ballyhoo designed to harass the President and Congress, I could see how most ministers would have objected to a pilgrimage of that kind. But this was a prayer pilgrim-

Mr. Mays

age. I am sure that prayer is always in order if people are honest and sincere in their praying. I have faith in the leadership of the pilgrimage and believe that their motives were right.

■

EVEN AFTER the pilgrimage proved a success, some of the Southern press tried to play it down and it was heralded over the radio and in the press that only 5,000 people were there. Those who were present know that there were many, many more than 5,000 people, those who saw it on television, and those who saw the picture of the crowd in the Washington Post know that there were many more than 5,000. Most of the estimates I have seen put the group at between 15,000 and 25,000. Even since the pilgrimage a few ministers have criticized it.

What good did the pilgrimage do? No one is wise enough to know what good the pilgrimage did or will do. This is not something you can put in a test tube and weigh and measure. No one can know what that pilgrimage will do to the conscience of President Eisenhower and other administrative leaders. Only God can know that. To say that the pilgrimage has done no good and will do no good is for one to take upon himself the role of an omniscient God. It is the opinion of this writer that every righteous protest, if done in the right spirit, does good. Every voice lifted against injustice helps. Every pen lifted against tyranny does good.

■

FOR MANY decades men lifted their voices against slavery before any thing concrete happened. Who would say that the protest against slavery of men like Beecher, Philip Brooks, Fox, Garrison, and Woolman did no good? For hundreds of years women were dominated by men, denied the right to an education and denied the right to participate in government. Voices were raised against the domination of women many decades before the chains were broken from their ankles and wrists. Did these protests do any good?

I move on faith but it is my belief that every righteous protest does good.

My View

Courier P. 8

By Benjamin E. Mays

Sat. 6-29-57

No Easy Road to Freedom

Pittsburgh Pa.

ANY INTELLIGENT man who knows a bit of history knows that there is no easy road to freedom and independence. This is true whether that nation or race be white or black, yellow or brown. There is something basically evil in man and it is more basic in racial and national groups when they taste power and positions of authority. There is hardly a case to be found in history where one nation that dominated another voluntarily ceased dominating that nation. Freedom seldom, if ever, comes to a dependent nation without bloodshed or years of agitation and turmoil. We may preach brotherhood, love and justice all we please, but this is the lesson of history that men gain their way in the world the hard way. It has always been so and as far as I can look into the future, it always will be that way. As a rule, you get in this world what you work for, fight for and hustle for. This is the lesson that the naive and the coward seldom if ever learn.

Mr. Mays

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THE NEGRO'S freedom from slavery was not willingly given. What civil rights he has gained were not freely given, the abolition of segregation in interstate travel, the abolition of the curtain in the dining car, the move to equalize salaries in education, the move to equalize educational facilities, the opening of doors to Negroes in Southern universities, and the attainment of the ballot were not freely and voluntarily given. India was freed without a great revolution, but thousands upon thousands of Indians died in the non-violent campaigns which Gandhi waged. When I was in India in 1953, I learned that half of the members of Parliament had served time in jail in their non-violent efforts to be free. There is no easy road to freedom and independence.

■

AS WE WATCH the battle in Washington that is going on now over Mr. Eisenhower's civil rights program, it is clear as day that the Congressmen from the Deep South have no intention, no plan, no desire, to make it possible for Negroes to vote free of intimidation in many areas of the South. The Southern Congressmen who insist that there be jury trial rather than trial by the judge when the Negro's voting rights are violated, are not concerned about democracy or justice or Christianity. It is their way of trying to defeat the move to guarantee the Negro's right to vote. These men are not honest in their fight.

My View

Courier 3/a

By Benjamin E. Mays

Pittsburgh, Pa.

They Encourage The Mob

Sat. 7-6-57

A FEW WEEKS AGO in Montgomery, Ala., two white men were acquitted of the charge of bombing a Negro church. Four churches, the homes of two pro-integration ministers and a Negro taxicab stand were bombed in two outbreaks of terrorism following the end of bus segregation in Montgomery. According to the Associated Press, the defense asked for a verdict that would give encouragement to "every white man, every white woman and every white child in the South who is looking to you to preserve our sacred tradition." The Asscociated Press article stated further that the attorneys for the defense spent much of their time in their closing arguments in attacking Montgomery Negro leaders and even charged Negro leaders with having bombed their own churches in order to win sympathy and outside financial help.

Mr. Mays

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IT IS TOO BAD that a lawyer can make slanderous statements in court without being made to prove his assertion. Is this lawyer immune? Is he free to run off at the mouth and make statements he cannot prove? The state's attorneys introduced evidence of signed confessions from two men—Britt and Livingston—but the defense argued that this was the result of coercion, intimidation and police brutality. Who would be so naive as to believe that down in Montgomery, Ala., white policemen would beat or coerce a white man to confess that he bombed a Negro church. No sane man could believe that could happen in Montgomery, Ala.

The terrible thing about the trial, according to the press, is that when the jury returned the verdict of not guilty, the crowd burst into applause and cheered loudly the acquittal of the two men.

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WHAT DOES THIS MEAN? It means that the jury that acquitted these two men has encouraged mob violence and it says to the white man who is prejudiced and who hates Negroes that you can bomb their churches, their homes, and even murder them, and we will acquit you and see that nothing happens. The acquittal of these men means that that jury, representing the thinking of many white people in Montgomery, does not want any precedent set that white people will be punished if they do violence to the person or property of Negroes.

I do not have too much faith in mass revivals, but I think Billy Graham might center his attack on the most crucial areas of the Deep South. I make bold to assert that conversion is just as much needed, or more so, in a place like Montgomery than it is in New York City.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

3 Courier

They Stood Firm

Pittsburgh Pa.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER stood firm in his desire to have a strong Civil Rights Bill that would guarantee voting rights to every citizen. At one time in the civil rights discussion it looked as if the President was wavering. He may have on Part Three of the bill guaranteeing each individual the right to exercise the ballot. On this particular point there was no way for anyone to misunderstand where the President stood. The nation should be grateful for the President's leadership at this point.

Mr. Mays

Sat. 9-21-57

EQUALLY MERITORIOUS was the stand taken by Representative Martin of Massachusetts and Senator Knowland of California. They too, stood firm and had it not been for the stand taken by Knowland and Martin, the disgraceful bill which emerged from the Senate would have become the law of the land. The President, Senator Knowland and Representative Martin stood up against the press of the nation and against some Negro leaders.

It was disturbing to me to read so-called liberal papers in the North and Negro papers urging the House to accept the disgraceful bill which the Senate had watered down to mean almost zero. What these writers and leaders did not understand was the fact that any civil rights bill passed now, whether weak or strong, would be on the statute books for a long time—possibly a quarter of a century. After all, it has been 82 years since we had any legislation in the area of civil rights.

THE SENATE version of the bill called for only jury trial in case one was indicted for denying a citizen the right to vote and that would mean that nobody would ever be convicted. The House strengthened the Senate's bill by making it possible for a Federal judge to impose sentence up to $300 or 45 days in jail without a jury trial. This amendment put teeth in the bill and makes it possible for the Federal judge to exercise power and to execute the court's decree without recourse to the jury.

Those people who wanted some kind of civil rights bill regardless to how weak it was did not realize that if no bill at all had been passed, it would have been better than the thing which the Senate passed. In the latter case, the civil rights question would have come up again at the next Congress and a stronger bill would have been enacted.

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 1-5-57

Case of Horace Ward

HORACE WARD applied to enter the the University of Georgia Law School in September, 1950. I believed he sued in 1951 after his application had been turned down. During the week of Dec. 17, the case was argued in the United States District Court under Judge Hooper. It was a revelation to sit through the arguments and to hear what the two sides had to say.

Dr. Mays

Horace Ward has an A. B. degree from Morehouse College with a major in political science and a master's degree from Atlanta University in political science. The Board of Regents and the officials of the University of Georgia denied Ward admission to the university on conflicting grounds.

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THE REGISTRAR testified that he refused Ward admission to the law school of the University of Georgia because Morehouse and Atlanta University are not members of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. It was immediately established by an official of the Southern Association that although Morehouse and Atlanta University are not members of the Southern Association, they are approved and accredited by the Southern Association and have been on the approved accredited list. The interesting thing is that Morehouse and Atlanta University are not members of the Southern Association for the same reason that Ward cannot enter the University of Georgia. There is discrimination there based on race. In fact none of the Negro colleges up to now can be members of the Southern Association, but they are approved and accredited by the Southern Association.

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THE BOARD of Regents gave another reason for not admitting Mr. Ward. When the committee appointd by an officer of the Board of Regents interviewed Mr. Ward, they felt that he did not have the necessary qualities to make a lawyer. It is interesting to note that Mr. Ward is at this moment studying law in Northwestern University and they did not question his academic standing from Morehouse and Atlanta University and they did not come to the conclusion that he would not make a good lawyer.

When Mr. Ward applied for admission to the law school of the University of Georgia, they required that the applicant be from an approved school of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools—a graduate or at least two years of college work. The judge quickly pointed out that the requirements for admission to the law school of the University of Georgia in 1950 did not say that the student had to be from a college that was a member of the Southern Association, but only that it had to be approved by the Southern Association. He also pointed out that in none of the communications did they tell Mr. Ward that he was turned down because Morehouse and Atlanta Universities are not members of the Southern Association

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 1-12-57

I Salute the Negro Lawyer

I SALUTE the Negro lawyer. There was a time when Negro people for the most part had no faith in Negro lawyers. The white people had no faith in the Negro lawyer. In the deep South he often faced a hostile court, a hostile judge, a hostile jury and hostile lawyers on the other side. The struggle on the part of the Negro lawyer to gain recognition and respect among the people of both races and the struggle to gain the respect of the court has been a long tough battle. It was trebly hard for him in the South.

Y. 8

Dr. Mays

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FORTUNATELY the situation has changed and is changing. I believe that the brilliant way that Negro lawyers have handled civil rights cases in the Federal Courts of the country and particularly in the Supreme Court has done a great deal to give Negro lawyers the respect that they deserved—not because they are Negro lawyers, but because they know the law like anybody else.

I have believed for a long time and I am convinced now that even in many cities in the deep South, the Negro's chance of getting a favorable verdict is about as good as that of the white lawyer. The main thing is for the man to know the law and to be able to marshal his facts and present them convincingly.

After all, the judge must try very hard to be objective and when the law is presented to him he cannot successfully evade it. If the Negro lawyer is able to pile up the evidence, it is not easy for a jury to ignore the evidence. It isn't a question of whether the lawyer is Gentile, Jew or Negro. The question is does the man know the law, is he skilled in the law, and is he able to present his case with precision and with conviction.

It is not necessary for a person to turn to a white lawyer just because he is white. More and more decisions will be handed down on the evidence presented and on the ability of the lawyer to marshal his facts and present the case.

■

THIS WAS brought home to me very forcefully a few days ago. I sat in the superior court in Atlanta while Attorneys Walden, Hollowell, Moore, Robinson and Powell argued the case for the NAACP against the State of Georgia. The association is being indicted by the State because it has not paid income tax and because it has not filed an application for exemption from income tax. This was brought home again when I sat in court for three days listening to the arguments of Walden nad Hollowell in Ward's six-year battle to enter the University of Georgia.

This should be very encouraging to young Negroes who are aspiring for the law and it should stimulate them to study to become skilled in the law.

My View

Courier Y. 8
By Benjamin E. Mays
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 1-26-57

Pictorial History of the Negro in America

LANGSTON HUGHES and Milton Meltzer have rendered a great service in their "Pictorial History of the Negro in America," published by the Crown Publishers, Inc., of New York. The book is a picture story of the Negro in America, from the arrival of the first slave ship to the present time. It carries more than 1,000 reproductions of pictures, paintings, drawings, etc.

Dr. Mays

If anyone believes that the Negro did nothing to free himself from physical bondage he should read this book. It shows that Negro abolitionists played as conspicuous a part in the emancipation of the Negro as did white abolitionists. Their biographies of the persons chosen are short but so dramatic that one will not forget. For example, Harriet Tubman, who could neither read nor write, but who led more than 300 slaves to freedom, her aged parents among them, carrying a pistol saying to a faltering slave who wanted to go back to slavery: "You'll be free or die!"

■

NO NEGRO CAN read the book without gaining added respect and new appreciation for the sacrifices that Negroes themselves made to free themselves from slavery. No white person can read it without increasing sympathy for the Negro in his long struggle to be free to walk the earth with dignity. The story is simply but movingly and profoundly told.

The book fits the times. Many of the characters in the book fought for physical freedom. Other characters of contemporary time are fighting to be free from segregation and discrimination based on race and color. The work of the NAACP and that of the Negroes in Montgomery is a continuation of the fight waged for freedom by Harriet Tubman, Douglass, Garrison and Stowe.

■

THE BOOK indirectly says two things: Negroes have achieved mightily in the United States in spite of handicaps, better perhaps to say because of handicaps. It also says that many white Americans, such as Washington and Jefferson, had an uneasy conscience about slavery and many others fought for the emancipation of the slaves. Today, thousands of white Americans have an uneasy conscience about segregation and discrimination and are united with the Negro in his efforts to be free.

The authors tell their story in love and objectivity. Once you start reading, you want more.

It is unfortunate that the publishers claim too much for the book and the authors seem to acquiesce in it. The publishers say: "There are pictures of every famous and important Negro . . ." It is impossible to include the picture of every important and famous Negro. Nevertheless, this is an important book and commends itself to every reader.

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

31a negro

King of Arabia

IN THE interest of freedom and peace, we are going to have in our country the fabulously wealthy monarch of slavery and strife from the do-it-as-you-please autocracy of Saudi Arabia. Saud Ibn Aziz Al Saud, whose pappy grabbed off all of the Arabian peninsula he could, then reached north and "aggressed" for Jordan, will be guested, feasted, flattered and cajoled by representatives of the greatest democracy in the world.

Mr. Prattis

This will mark the first visit of the Arabian slavemaster to this country. If the plane bringing him here flies over the Statue of Liberty, the sight of it ought to be enough to turn him back. The historic invitation to the poor and the oppressed of the world engraved on the statue should be an affront to this dictator ruler of a desert land which keeps its gates closed to the "free and the brave" of the rest of the world.

Pittsburgh Courier
Sat. 1-19-57

THIS IS the monarch whose father was set up in business by the British. He is the absolute ruler who receives a million dollars in cash each week for oil which belongs to the people of Arabia. He spends much of it with General Motors for you know what—Cadillacs.

This is also the monarch who tells the United States Government that you can't send Amer-

ican soldiers into "my" country if they happen to be Jews.

He is also the last recognized ruler of a slaveocracy. Even as of today, Africans are being tricked into Arabia, under the guise of making the pilgrimage to Mecca, and are then sold off as slaves.

Of course, our good President who must induce this slavemaster to stand with us against the Russians, will tactfully refrain from questioning this handsome Oriental despot about restrictions against Jews, enslavement of Africans, or the size of his harem. You don't ask guests embarrassing questions.

■

FURTHERMORE, Ibn Saud might gather up his robes, his retinue of slaves and advisers and walk out of the White House in a huff. He's a mighty haughty potentate. Instead, the President will seek to enlist the autocratic power of Ibn Saud against the evil encroachment of the Communists. Perhaps one must condone this in terms of seeking the greater good at the expense of the lesser evil.

Although there may be no American Jews or American Negroes on hand to welcome the Arabian knight (?), there ought to be an airport full of them to tell him good-bye and good riddance when he leaves the "land of the free" for the "land of the slave."

My View

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

What a Pity

Courier P. 8

PRESS reports stated on Dec. 29, that Mississippi State College withdrew from the Evansville College invitational basketball tournament in the championship game. The reason for the withdrawal was that Evansville College had Negro players on its squad. Mississippi State had played and defeated the University of Denver and the University of Denver had Negroes playing on its squad. I suppose Mississippi State College could not play a team with Negroes on it with the possibility that the Evansville team, with Negroes on it might beat them. Then they would have to go back to Mississippi admitting that they had been beaten by a team with Negroes on it.

Dr. Mays

Sat. 1-19-57

AFTER MISSISSIPPI withdrew, Don Ping, Evansville College athletic director, read a statement to the crowd stating that the Mississippi State team had been ordered home by the school administrator. The press release stated that President Ben Hilbun said that the withdrawal was ordered by Athletic Director C. R. Noble. The president stated further that he had nothing to do with the action and that there was no order from the State Legislature that would prevent the state from playing against Negroes in games outside Mississippi. The press reports them as saying that they do wish to play elsewhere as they play at home.

Being a college president myself, I do not see how the athletic director could make such an order without presidential consultation and without presidential sanction. Despite what the president of the Mississippi State College says, it is quite clear that what was done was done with his authority. Athletic directors do not take that kind of position without consulting their chiefs.

■

THE STATEMENT by Evansville Mayor, Van Hartke, is quite good and I quote: "Apparently our Southern brethren have learned very little from the game of basketball. They fail to learn either good sportsmanship or fair play. Basketball is a prime example of judging a man by his ability—not by the color of his skin. Some day, perhaps, we all will come before one great judge. I hope our Southern friends then learn what justice really is."

It is a pity and a shame that white supremacy must be upheld by failing to meet in competition with Negroes. Mississippi will probably be the last state to join the union of democratic action.

My View

Courier P. 8

By Benjamin E. Mays

Sat. 2-9-57

How Ridiculous Can a Legislature Be?

Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE Georgia Legislature is in session now. Along with good bills being sponsored, bills equally silly are being sponsored. The Governor, in his argument for what amounts to dictatorial power in handling the budget, is reported in the Atlanta Constitution of Jan. 23 as having said, "that the proposal to 'strip' the chief executive of his fiscal powers are 'part and parcel' of a 'vicious scheme' to destroy constitutional processes in Georgia." He said further "the 'inherent authority' of the Governor as the state's chief fiscal officer is 'indispensable' to maintaining the color line in Georgia schools and colleges." This, to the Governor, is as important or perhaps more so than any other item before the state.

Mr. Mays

■

A STATE SENATOR is sponsoring a bill to ban interracial sports and entertainment aimed at stopping Negroes from playing baseball with whites. He referred to the Columbus, Ga., team which has three Negroes on it, claiming that a lot of people, meaning white, won't go to see them play on that account. Senator Leon Butts Jr. is quoted as saying: "'Next thing you know they'll be in the Southern Association if something isn't done about it.'" Specifically, the bill would prohibit "'interracial dancing, social functions, entertainments, athletic training, games, sports or contests and other such activities.'" It would go further. It would make segregated seating mandatory in meetings and would require separate drinking fountains and sanitary facilities. It provides that violators be punished by fining them from $100 to $1,000 and imprisonment of 60 days to one year.

■

HOW RIDICULOUS can legislators be? They are trying to maintain a color line which white men have ignored for centuries. All through history white men have crossed the color bar to have illicit relations with Negro women. They still do and have no intention of stopping. If Negro women would speak, there would be a revelation.

Separate drinking fountains are advocated. Negroes have worked in the homes of white people for centuries tending their babies and often nursing them from their breast. It is no wonder that a state that deals in such matters is backward in so many areas.

It is hoped that enough sanity will prevail among the majority in the Legislature to defeat such silly bills as this one. It seems that for the time being they have abandoned the idea of abolishing the compulsory school law. In order to keep a white child from going to school with a Negro the plan is to abolish the compulsory school law as soon as integration begins. If this is done it will boomerang.

My View

Courier

By Benjamin E. Mays

Sat. 3-16-57

A Look at the Ga. Assembly

Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE following bill was presented recently to the Georgia Assembly by Senator Butts of the 12th District.

The bill: To be entitled an act to prohibit all interracial dancing, social functions, entertaining, athletic training, games, sports or contests and other such activities, to provide for separate seating and other facilities for whites and Negroes; to provide penalties for the violation of this act, to provide a date on which this act shall become effective, and to repeal all laws or parts of laws in conflict herewith.

Mr. Mays

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SECTION 1: That all persons, firms and corporations are prohibited from sponsoring, arranging, participating in, or permitting on premises under their control, any dancing, social functions, entertainments, athletic training, games, sports or other contests and other such activities involving personal and social contacts, in which the participants or contestants are members of the white and Negro races. Provided, however, nothing in this section or in this act shall be construed to prohibit any mixed religious gathering called for the purpose of transacting religious business where such assemblies in the past have been held by custom and tradition of any religious body.

■

SECTION 2: That at any entertainment or athletic contest, where the public is invited or may attend, the sponsors or those in control of the premises shall provide separate seating arrangements, and separate sanitary, drinking water and any other facilities for members of the white and Negro races, and to mark such separate accommodations and facilities with signs printed in bold letters.

■

SECTION 3: That white persons are prohibited from sitting in or using any part of seating arrangements and sanitary or other facilities set apart for members of the Negro race; and members of the Negro race are prohibited from sitting in or using any part or seating arrangements and sanitary or other facilities set apart for white persons.

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SECTION 4: Any person, firm or corporation violating the provisions of this act shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction shall be fined not less than $100 or more than $1,000 and imprisoned for not less than 60 days or more than one year.

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SECTION 5: This act is passed in the exercise of the state police power to regulate public health, morals and to maintain peace and good order in the state and shall be so construed. This act shall become effective immediately upon the signature of the Governor.

Although this bill did not pass the Georgia Legislature, the members did something just as ridiculous, or more ridiculous

My View

Courier P. 8

By Benjamin E. Mays

Sat. 2-16-57

Why Support the NAACP?

Pittsburgh Pa.

RECENTLY Roy Wilkins spoke in Atlanta. He said, in that address, that 1956 was the best year that the NAACP had had so far as membership goes. This is as it should be. When several states in the South are doing all they can to destroy the NAACP and when many so-called liberal white people in the South are in sympathy with the move to kill it, it becomes necessary for every lover of freedom to support the NAACP. I shall state a few reasons why they should do so.

Mr. Mays

First of all, it is not a subversive organization. It has fought communism as hard as any organization in America. Years ago the NAACP withdrew from the Scottsboro case because it was Communist-controlled and dominated. All through the years the NAACP has fought subversive organizations and has not permitted communism to infiltrate the movement. Those people who brand the organization as subversive means that it is subversive because the NAACP is opposed to segregating a man because of color and race.

■

THE NAACP should be supported in the second place because it moves wholly within the area of constitutional government. The Constitution guarantees equal protection and opportunity for every citizen of the United States. When these rights are violated, the person or group has a right to appeal to the Federal Court. When the Supreme Court speaks on an issue of civil rights, it is the final court of appeal and it is the law of the land. The NAACP has no other way of working. It is patriotic, loyal, and non-subversive. If an oppressed group relies on this method to achieve its end, the nation should applaud that method and that group.

The NAACP should be supported thirdly because without some organization like the NAACP, the Negro will be circumscribed for a long long time. Unfortunately, people do not voluntarily confer rights and privileges upon those who are denied them. If the Negro does not use the machinery of the law to be free, he will be a third-class citizen in some areas of this nation for the next hundred years.

■

THIS LEADS me to say that every self-respecting Negro should support the NAACP, church groups, the Southern Regional Council and all other agencies that are working in a non-violent way to improve democracy in America. Any Negro who does not do his bit to be free does not deserve freedom and when it comes, he should be ashamed to enjoy it if he has not helped to bring it about. The more some forces fight to destroy the organization, the more we should give our money and time in supporting it. If Negroes will hold out, we will win this battle. The better elements in America are with us and justice and right are on our side.

My View

Courier P. 8

By Benjamin E. Mays

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 2-23-57

If President Eisenhower Should Speak

I am quite convinced that if President Eisenhower does not speak out forcefully, courageously and enthusiastically for his civil rights program which is now beginning to be batted about in Congress, the program will be defeated. The Southern boys are ready and more than willing to filibuster for months if necessary to defeat the civil rights program.

Mr. Mays

They will dodge behind states rights but they will have only one thing in mind, and that is they must be left alone to deal with the Negro as they see fit. The South, on the whole, is not going to protect the civil rights of the Negro and it is determined that the Federal Government shall not protect them. And yet, everybody knows that the Negro's right to vote should be guaranteed and protected in areas of the Deep South where Negro voters are intimidated and kept away from the ballot.

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UNLESS THE Federal Government steps in this will be continued in some sections of the South for many decades to come. If President Eisenhower speaks out courageously for the passage of the civil rights legislation, the chances are good that these measures will be passed. Will the President speak out?

The President has been conspicuously silent about the violence that has been launched against Negroes, such as the bombing of Negro churches and homes in Alabama and the rioting in school situations. It is the opinion of this writer that the President's silence on issues of this kind is being misinterpreted by the reactionary forces in the Deep South. The fact that the President does not speak out against the activities of the pro-segregationists leads them to believe that the President has such great sympathies for their cause that they can continue to circumvent the decision of the Supreme Court without Presidential criticism and condemnation.

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IT IS difficult to understand the position of a man in high office and we should be careful about criticizing what a person in high office does. But I cannot help but feel that if the President had given leadership in the area of school desegregation immediately after the Supreme Court handed down its decision on May 17, 1954, the situation would have been better in the South. But unfortunately enough, the President has given very little leadership in that direction. He has called for moderation, but moderation is tantamount to gradualism, and gradualism in the South means to stand still.

My View

Courier P. 8

By Benjamin E. Mays

Sat. 3-2-57

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Morehouse After Ninety Years

THERE is something unique and fascinating about the founding of what is now Morehouse College. A slave-valet, Richard C. Coulter of Augusta, Ga., went to Virginia as a valet with his owner, who had joined the Confederate Army. Just how it came about is not clear. But soon after reaching Virginia this Negro slave made up his mind to seek freedom. Makhis way to Washington he found work but, fearing the approach of the Confederate Army, he moved on to Philadelphia. After the Emancipation Proclamation was issued, Coulter wanted to return to his native Georgia. He stopped again in Washington to earn some money and while there attended the National Theological Institute which had been organized in Washington in 1864 by Rev. Edmund Turney for the education of the freedmen. This institute was merged with the American Baptist Home Mission Society in 1867.

Mr. Mays

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COULTER RETURNED to Augusta in the fall of 1866 with a letter from Turney authorizing him to organize a school in Augusta or anywhere else in the South that seemed advisable. Coulter, feeling himself unable to organize the school, turned the letter over to William Jefferson White, a cabinet maker who accepted the responsibility. So 90 years ago Morehouse began as a night school in the basement of the Springfield Baptist Church in Augusta, Ga., with 38 pupils.

We have changed from a night school to a day school, from a grade school to a college and seminary; from no property to 22 buildings and 11 acres of land which would cost the college easily five million dollars to replace; from no endowment to a small one of approximately 2½ million; from a student body of 38 grade school students residence of Augusta to the present enrollment of 700 college men representing 30 states, the District of Columbia and five foreign countries; from a denominationally controlled college to a church-related, privately owned college; from an institution established wholly to train Negroes to an institution willing to admit all qualified students who may apply; from an institution with an untrained faculty in 1867 to a highly trained faculty in 1957, holding A.M.'s, B.D.'s and Ph.D.'s from leading universities in this country and Europe; from an institution without rating to one fully accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

■

WE POINT with pride to these 90 years. Some of the nations top preachers and educators have gone from these walls.

Looking back over these 90 years of hardship and success we can exclaim, as did Samuel when the Lord had given the Israelites victory over the Philistines: "Hitherto the Lord has helped us."

My View

Courier P. 8

By Benjamin E. Mays

Pittsburgh Pa.

How Mistaken Can a Great Man Be?

Sat. 2-9-57

AN ASSOCIATED Press article in the Atlanta Constitution under date of Feb. 19, quoted Omar Carmichael, superintendent of schools in Louisville, Ky., to the effect that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is responsible for the Southern chaos over desegregation. He was speaking before the Education Writers Association in Atlantic City, N. J. He was quoted as follows: "I do not think we would have the chaos we have in the South if the NAACP had recognized the magnitude of the Supreme Court victory and had given things time to come to a head. Our turmoil in the South comes from the over-eagerness of the NAACP to push too fast. It will take two or three years for public opinion to catch up with the ruling."

Mr. Mays

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IT IS SO amazing and so disappointing to hear Mr. Carmichael say a thing like that. All the more surprising since the Louisville public schools have been dsegregated without incident. And it was done without the NAACP interfering at all. The greatest violence and chaos have come out of Montgomery, Ala. The NAACP did not precipitate the Montgomery boycott. The NAACP took two or three years or more trying to get the doors of the University of Alabama opened. There has been chaos in Or-

angeburg County, South Carolina, simply because the parents of some of the children petitioned the school boards to desegregate the schools. Despite the ruling of the United States Supreme Court, Clarendon County, South Carolina, is still segregated and so is Prince Edward County in Virginia. As far as I know, a desegregated school is not to be found anywhere in the deep South. Where is the NAACP being over aggressive? Certainly not in Georgia, not in South Carolina, not in North Carolina, not in Virginia nor Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Florida. All of these states are still highly segregated and very few suits if any are pending and almost three years have passed since the Supreme Court handed down its decision.

■

HOW ILLOGICAL can a great mind be? Mr. Carmichael ought to know that the South has defied the May 17, 1954 decision of the Supreme Court from the beginning. Papers like the Richmond News Leader came out immediately after the decision saying that the South would litigate 50 years before accepting desegregation. I think that paper led the movement for interposition. Other states passed nullification acts in defiance of the court's decision. So did state attorney generals. The 100 Congressmen who signed the Southern manifesto said that they would do everything within their legal power to get the decision set aside. Southern newspapers denounced it. Southerners took to television and radio to denounce it.

My View

Courier 3-1a

By Benjamin E. Mays

Sat. 3-23-57

Pittsburgh Pa.

A Warning to the Lazy Student

A very important article appeared in Time magazine, Feb. 14, highlighting what we already know, and that is that we are going to have more students in the years ahead than the colleges can accommodate. Colleges are going to have more students than they can house and they are going to have more students than they can furnish teachers to teach. This will be a good thing, and it will be a bad thing.

Mr. Mays

Eastern colleges are already feeling the impact of increased enrollment. If a school can take only 500 freshmen and 2,500 apply, 2000 will be turned away from that college. Many of them will get in some other college, but many of them will not. There are students today who would pay any price to get into a medical school. Is the time not far distant when parents will be trying to bribe college registrars, deans and presidents to take their sons and daughters?

The Time magazine article states that one father offered a university $3,000 if they would take his son. The article also states that Dr. Robert Pitt of the University of Pennsylvania received in one year phone calls and telegrams from ten governors and as many Congressmen and a host of board chairmen, all pushing candidates for entrance to the University of Pennsylvania. What is going to happen?

■

IT IS clear as day what will happen in many instances. When the schools have a wide choice, when they have 300 places for the freshman class and 1,000 to pick from, they are going to try to get the 300 that stand at the top academically and the 300 whose character references are good. How could it be otherwise? The school will have only 300 places for freshmen. It would be foolish to take a boy with an average of C when you can get 300 with averages of A's and B's. On the other hand, it would be foolish to take a boy with an average of A whose character references are not good, and refuse a boy with an average of B whose character references are good.

■

THE SCREENING is going to be terrific! Schools will not only screen the boy's intellectual ability, but they will screen his character and they will try to decide whether John or Mary will make a good citizen in the college community. What will the lazy student do? What will the college loafer do? What will the student do who is always squawking about the lessons being too hard and the assignments too long?

Since this is a tough, hard, competitive world, if I were a youngster in 1957 I would become determined to meet this competition. I would read, study, think and work. Only the student who makes the maximum use of his abilities will land on his feet. Let the lazy, the trifling, the ambitionless and the indolent beware.

My View

Courier P.8

By Benjamin E. Mays

Pittsburgh Pa.

Sat 4-6-57

Will They Do It Again?

SOUTHERNERS are the most determined group in Congress. And when it comes to the Negro they are the most powerful group in Congress. It is a matter of record that few things that pertain to the Negro have ever gotten by in Congress that the Southern Congressmen did not want. The Senate has never been able to invoke cloture because the Southern bloc has not wanted it. Northern Republicans and Democrats frequently trade with the Southerners on something they want—so cloture has never been invoked.

Mr. Mays

Will the Southerners in Congress defeat the President's civil rights program? They have already succeeded in weakening the program. If there can be no case brought against local authorities who prohibit Negroes from voting until the individual takes the initiative, against the local authorities, very few cases will ever be brought against them. Threats and intimidation will be launched against the Negro to the extent that he will be afraid to initiate the charge. There will be communities where, if he did take the initiative, he would be killed.

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IF THE CIVIL RIGHTS program gets through Congress it will be so weakened and watered down that it will not amount to much. Then, too, there will be the filibuster. It is highly possible that delaying tactics on the part of Southerners will be so terrific that it will be too late for the civil rights proposals to be voted on.

It may be that the two parties bidding for Negro votes will make it possible for a watered down program to get through. The Democrats want to get in and the Republicans want to stay in. Both parties know that Negroes can no longer be taken for granted politically.

And yet, it is my prediction that unless President Eisenhower comes out swinging and fighting for his civil rights program it will never get through Congress in this session. I hope I am wrong. If so, I will happily apologize. Those close to the President and those upon whom he depends should urge him to come out strong for the enactment of his civil rights proposal.

■

IF THE SOUTHERN men in Congress were fighting against this measure because they would rather safeguard the Negro's rights in each Southern state, it would be fine. But the past gives no such assurance. The Southerners will strive to defeat this measure and if they succeed, they will not turn their little fingers to protect the Negro's right to vote in communities where that right is denied.

My View

Courier P.8

By Benjamin E. Mays

Sat. 4-13-57

Pittsburgh Pa.

Eyes of the Nation Will Be on Atlanta

WHEN President Clement of Atlanta University won a place on the Atlanta School Board four years ago, it was the first time since reconstruction that a Negro had been elected to public office in Atlanta. Mr. Clement not only received a large percentage of the Negro vote but he received more votes from the white citizens than from Negroes even though the percentage of Negroes voting for Mr. Clement was higher than the percentage of white voters. Any way you look at it, it was a mighty significant thing that in Atlanta more white people voted for Rufus Clement than Negroes.

Mr. Mays

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HE HAS SERVED well the Atlanta community and I predict that he will succeed himself by a healthy margin in the May 8 election. Although we can take nothing for granted, the election this time should be easier than before. Certainly if people vote for the best qualified person for this post, there is no doubt in my mind that we will be represented again in the Atlanta School Board. The important thing of voting for a qualified man is the fact that you do not have to vote for him because he happens to be a member of a particular racial group. Atlanta made history four years ago in the election of Mr. Clement. We have an opportunity now to make more history.

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T. M. ALEXANDER, a successful business man, has entered the race for alderman from the Seventh Ward. Mr. Alexander is not only a successful business man but he is well trained. He is a college graduate and he knows about as much as any alderman when it comes to the needs of the city and he has interest in the welfare of all the people. Here again we are fortunate in Atlanta to have a person running for alderman from the Seventh Ward for whom we all can vote without having to say vote for him because he is a Negro. No Negro has entered the aldermanic race and no Negro has served as alderman in Atlanta since 1871. Seventy-seven years are a long time when we consider the fact that one-third of the population in Atlanta is now and has been for decades, Negro.

■

WE HAVE THIS in both Rufus Clement and T. M. Alexander. One way to improve race relations in the South is to get competent Negroes represented in every phase of our civic and political life. A Negro on the School Board and a Negro as alderman will do more to create goodwill and harmony between the races than many speeches and many articles. Atlanta suffers as most Negro communities, so few Negroes register and so few vote. Atlanta has about 26,000 Negroes on the voters' list and there should be 90,000. The eyes of the nation will be on Atlanta May 8.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

Courier 3 a News

Pittsburgh Pa.

For This, Her House Was Bombed?

Sat 12-7-57

THE PRESS states that the residence of Mrs. Claudia Thomas Sanders of Gaffney, S. C., was bombed after her chapter appeared in the book, "South Carolinians Speak." Mrs. Sanders is one of the 12 South Carolinians contributing to the volume.

Mr. Mays

She was born in Charleston and trained in the public schools of Charleston and at Ashley Hall. She did her college work at Hollins College in Hollins, Va. She is married to a physician and is an Episcopalian. The following are some of the things she said:

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"AS A follower of Christ, I believe that God is my Father and that all men are my brothers. I know that I do not behave consistently as a Christian, but in spite of repeated failures I hope to grow closer to the ideal because I so firmly believe in this ideal. There are stumbling blocks which I must recognize and overcome . . .

"Prejudice would be the overall term which lumps them into one mountainous obstruction, but let us consider some of its component parts. It is made up largely of fear and ignorance: fear of the change of social patterns and the fear of race mixture, my ignorance of the feelings of others and their ignorance of my ideals and objectives. There is also a sad lack of intellectual intercourse among members of the white and Negro races which prevents an appreciation of each other's attainments."

"Is there a South Carolinian who is ignorant of the situation that has long existed in our colored schools? We have simply condoned poorly prepared instructors teaching in scandalously inadequate buildings.

"I want for my child and for every child of God the right to lift his eyes and to say within himself, 'There is a place for me in America, in South Carolina if I choose. There is work for my hands and brain. There is happiness and achievement waiting for me if I am true to the best that is within me.'

"I do not want the color of his skin to kill that dream or a lack of educational opportunity to place chains upon his spirit more terrible than the iron chains that shackled the limbs of his forebears.

"Gradual desegregation in the schools accomplished by starting with the first grades would seem logical to me. Children are not born with prejudice.

"In conclusion, we must bring to this problem of human relations all the knowledge we can gather about the causes of prejudice and the strategies that are effective. We must move slowly because we are dealing with human beings within the framework of democracy. We must move surely because our social conscience and Christian ethics leave us no alternative."

■

THIS IS a beautiful statement and only a person of courage and strong Christian convictions could write like this. As long as there are white people in South Carolina who think this way, the future is hopeful.

My View

Courier

By Benjamin E. Mays

Pittsburgh Pa.

College for What?

Sat 9-7-57

WITHIN a few days thousands of freshmen will enter college. Some will be brilliant and some will be dull. The vast majority of them will have average ordinary minds. Some of them will be honest and sincere. Unfortunately, there will be others who are not honest and will be lacking in sincerity of purpose. All too many will be sent to college without any real desire to go to college. Others will follow their friends. They will go because it is the popular and expected thing to do in this area. Some will succeed and others will fail. A high percentage will have to work summer and winter in order to get enough money to make it through.

Mr. Mays

Despite these mixed motives, the most promising men and women of the future will enter college this fall. Twenty-five or 30 years from now some of these freshmen will have flowered forth into outstanding men and women. Future Presidents, Governors, Federal judges, physicians, dentists, lawyers, ministers, teachers, scientists and others will enroll in colleges this fall.

■

WHATEVER THE profession of these entering freshmen maybe, I hope the majority of them will use their time to prepare themselves to make not only a good living, but a good life. To make a good living is not enough. Gamblers, dope peddlers, thieves, robbers, and honest selfish men can make a life. It doesn't take too much to earn enough money to feed, clothe and house the family, and educate the children. A man who does these things is making a living. But if to make a living is the chief aim of a college education, it is hardly enough. I hope there will be thousands to enter college this fall who want to prepare themselves to assist in the elimination of poverty, to eradicate race prejudice, to uproot the seeds of war, to bring about peace among the nations, to find a cure for cancer, heart disease and high blood pressure and to find ways of making men and money more God-like. I hope thousands of these youngsters will become possessed with high aims such as these just mentioned.

■

IF THEY BECOME thus possessed, they will not only make a living, possess stocks and bonds, houses and land, secure fat bank accounts, but they will find happiness and joy which they can find in no other way. The older I get, the more I am convinced that the rich, rewarding life is the life of one whose chief aim it is to serve others. It is only by giving one's self to some great cause, some great truth, some worthy institution and some noble profession, not for himself mainly, but for others, that one finds true happiness and real joy. It has always been true and it always will be true that only he who loses his life will find it. I salute the freshmen.

My View

Courier

By Benjamin E. Mays

Pittsburgh Pa.

Freedom Dinner

Sat, 12-7-57

IT WAS a beautiful affair, held in the Hotel Roosevelt in New York City. The people came from as far-away as California. Thirteen hundred and fifty people came to a freedom dinner in honor of Branch Rickey and Duke Ellington.

Mr. Mays

Rickey is the man who broke the color bar in big league baseball. In addition to a baseball manager, Rickey is a great orator, a courageous thinker and a man who lives without prejudice; and Duke Ellington is one of the leading musicians in his field. People in all walks of life respect Duke Ellington for the high type of his performance. It was altogether proper and fitting that people would come rom all over the nation to pay honor to the Duke and to Branch Rickey. That was indeed wonderufl.

■

MORE THAN that it was a tribute to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Here is an organization that is being persecuted and prosecuted in almost everysection of the Southland. It is under fire in Texas, Alabama, Louisiana, South Carolina, Georgia, Little Rock, Arkansas—in fact all over the Southland. It is under attack because it spearheaded the movement that led to the May 17, 1954 decision of the Supreme Court outlawing segregation in the public schools. Its methods are democratic and American. Its procedure is through the courts. It abhors violence and bloodshed. And yet, it is this organization that is under constant attack—not the White Citizens Council and not the Ku Klux Klan.

■

THE NOV. 22 Freedom Dinner is a tribute to the NAACP because it proves that there are outstanding Gentiles, Jews and Negroes who believe in the NAACP and who are more determined to support it now than ever before. The attacks on the NAACP may weaken it temporarily in the South, but in other parts of the nation it will grow stronger. Every two persons at the dinner represented $100 as down payment on a $500 Life Membership. And this as it should be. One does not have to agree with everything that the NAACP does in order to support it. If that is the basis of support, we would not support our Government, because we certainly cannot agree with everything that our Government does. We would not support the church because I cannot agree with everything that the church does. I cannot even agree with everything that is done at Morehouse College. If complete agreement is the basis of support, we would support nothing, not even our children and wives.

We talk about moderation and the middle road. An organization that uses the machinery of the law and the Federal Constitution to achieve the rights of Negroes is a conservative organization. Really, it is the way of moderation.

My View

Courier 31a nov

By Benjamin E. Mays

Pittsburgh Pa.

Reflections on the National Baptist Convention

Sat. 10-3-57

IT IS terrible when the Republican and Democratic parties resort to unethical tricks to get their party in power. It is awful when the Governor of a state uses his office to stir up hatred between the races or stir up ill-feeling between the races in order to get elected or perpetuate himself in office. It is downright immoral when nations resort to unfair methods in order to subdue one another but it is much worse when ministers of Christ God do the same thing as state or national politicians and maybe in some instances do much worse.

Mr. Mays

It is easier to understand when there is no moral health in a politicians who wants to be elected to public office. After all, a politician does not claim to be a representative of God on the earth. He only claims to be a representative of his party or a representative of the nation or a representative of the white people in his particular state. He never claims to be a representative of God. But ministers claim to be God's representative on the earth and called by Him to preach.

■

I AM SURE there is no more religion, no more ethics, no more morality in what goes in the National Baptist Convention than there is in what goes on in a Democratic or Republican convention or in a state Democratic convention of Georgia, Mississippi or South Carolina.

I am inclined to think that the state and national politicians are more honest in their crookedness than we Baptists when we assemble at the national convention. Both sides scheme and connive and resort to underhand methods just as Democrats and Republicans do. Both sides lie on each other just as the Democrats and Republicans do; but the Democrats and Republicans are not preachers. They do not pray long prayers to be seen and heard. They do not constantly call upon the name of the Lord.

■

IF WE Baptists are going to continue to carry on in our National Baptist Convention as we have carried on in the past, I think we should carry on our convention without reference to God and without reference to Jesus Christ. As I observe, listen and analyze what goes on, I am quite sure that God nor Christ is in the convention. It is a great body—more than four million strong—but we don't produce enough constructive work to justify four and one-half million people. Great good could come out of the National Baptist Convention, Inc., and hope that the present administration will make this increasingly more possible.

How long must we wait for a convention that is so efficiently organized and has a program so constructive and challenging that every fair-minded man will be compelled to support the program of the convention?

My View

Courier 29

By Benjamin E. Mays

Sat. 9-14-57

Why Don't They Stop It?

Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE JOINT Committee on Atomic Energy recently released a summary anlysis of its eight days of public hearings on the nature of the contamination of the atmosphere by explosion of A-Bombs and H-Bombs and its effect on man.

Some 50 experts "covered the breadth of scientific knowledge from physics to pathology." In October their testimony will be published.

Mr. Mays

The scientists mostly agree that fall outs are dangerous. They disagree only on the extent of the danger. They agree that all nuclear explosions produce some radioactive materials. They agree that radiation, no matter how small, increases the rate of change in a population; but the experts differ as to whether a small dose of radiation would produce such things as leukemia, bone cancer or produce a decrease in life expectancy. They all agreed that these is a limit to the amount of radioactivity that a man can tolerate. They all agreed that future tests would have their effects but differed as to how great. They agreed, too, that testing over the next generation on the level of tests during the past five years would be hazardous. They agreed that an attack by 200 or 300 bombs of a total yield of 2,500 or 3,000 megatons—the equivalent of 2½ to 3 billion tons of TNT could destroy half or more of the population of the continental United States. They agreed further that such a devastation would affect survivors and generations to come.

■

ALTHOUGH THESE 50 experts differ on details, they all agree that testing of atomic and hydrogen bombs is dangerous. They also agree that whole nations can be wiped out. What more do we need?

Why don't they call a conference of the scientists of the countries that have these weapons and let them put down the things they do agree on and make reports to the governments and to the people? Here is something the Christian leaders should insist on.

The National Council of the Churches of Christ in all countries and the World Council Churches should call upon the governments of the world to get together and stop the testing and manufacturing of atomic and hydrogen weapons before it is too late. We know that we cannot keep this business up forever and survive. It is silly and foolish to keep on moving toward destruction and that is just where we are headed.

■

THE NEGRO spiritual is probably wrong. God will not have to set this world on fire. Man in his wickedness will do it for God. And the way we are going, it will not be many decades before man will detroy himself from the face of the earth.

When the testimony of the 50 scientists is published in October, I hope every paper, magazine, radio, television and every pulpit will tell America what this means. Maybe if that's done, we will get action.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

31 nov

Freedom Fund Campaign

NOV. 22, at the Roosevelt Hotel, will be held the Freedom Fund Dinner. Jackie Robinson is the national chairman. Branch Rickey Jr. and Edward Duke Ellington will be honored. We are expecting 1,000 people to take out a life membership in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. One hundred people are requested to get ten life members. The minimum initial payment on a life membership is $50. One thousand people should be there. It should be easy to get 1,000 new life members for the NAACP. Why should it be easy?

Pittsburgh Courier

Pittsburgh Pa

Sat 11-23-57

Mr. Mays

1. The NAACP has done more than any other single organization to bring civil rights to America, and particularly to Negroes, by getting the white primary abolished, making it impossible to enforce the restrictive covenant, its success in getting public school teachers' salaries equalized, making it possible for Negroes to attend state universities on a non-segregated basis, the abolition of segregation in interstate travel, and now the May 17, 1954 decision making segregation in the public schools unconstitutional. This is enough to bring the support of all Americans who want equality and justice for all.

2. The very fact that the conservative, reactionary forces are trying to destroy the NAACP is proof that the organization has succeeded and the fact that they are trying to kill it should rally the friends of freedom to its support. Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and other states are trying to destroy the NAACP. Lovers of freedom must support it.

■

I HEAR by way of the grape vine that other racial groups are supporting this dinner much better than the Negroes. I hope this isn't so. If it is true, it is a great reflection on us. Support of the NAACP from Negroes should be so great that we should never have to beg or urge people to support it. We should be proud and happy to support the one organization that is dedicated to freedom for all America.

The effort to destroy the organization will not subside. In fact, the effort to kill it is likely to increase. The philosophy of the South is to prolong segregation as long as possible—forever if possible, but certainly for five, ten, fifteen, twenty, or twenty-five years. There is an ll-out battle to kill the organitazion because the people who are against the movement for freedom are blind enough to believe that if they destroy the organization they will destroy the Negroes' desire to be a full-fledged American citizen. They are wrong but they do not understand history. The Negro's desire to be respected and to walk the earth as a man is inherent in the human breast and is a part of a world-wide revolution, and nothing can stop it.

My View

Courier

By Benjamin E. Mays

Pittsburgh Pa.

Doesn't Senator Russell Know?

Sat. 11-26-57

I HAVE never been, and I hope I never will be, a deeply prejudiced person. It is hardly possible for a prejudiced person to be objective in dealing with people against whom his prejudice is directed. Prejudice makes people tell untruths. I listened the other night to the international broadcast moderated in London with speakers participating from Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; Paris, France; Johannesburg, South Africa; Atlanta, Ga.; and New York City. The panelists in Brazil, France and South Africa were questioning Senator Javits of New York and Senator Russell of Georgia on the Little Rock crisis.

Mr. Mays

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I WISH Senator Russell had not said that Negroes are treated fairly in the South and that the white people he knows want justice and fairness for Negroes. Some do. I wish he had not said that Negro and white teachers get equal pay. Salaries are not uniformly equal. I wish he had not referred to justice in the courts. When a white person is involved, it is hard for a Negro to get justice in the courts, and he seldom does. I wish he had not given the impression that the local authorities in Arkansas could have handled the situation which made the mob inevitable. I wish he had not

said that all qualified Negro citizens of Georgia vote or are permitted to vote.

■

DOESN'T Senator Russell know that in many small towns and rural areas of Georgia Negroes are intimidated and threatened if they attempt to vote? Doesn't he know that local officials in some areas plan it so that only a handfull of Negroes can vote during the entire election day? Doesn't he know that Negroes on the whole do not have an equal chance in the courts? Doesn't he know that even if a Negro was starving and had a million dollars in his pocket, he could not be served in a "white" restaurant in downtown Atlanta? Doesn't he know that howevet decent a Negro may be he cannot get accommodations in any hotel in Georgia? Doesn't Mr. Russell know that Negroes are discriminated against in employment? Is it justice when a Negro is castrated in Alabama? Russell says the Supreme Court's decision is unconstitutional. When Senator Russell opposes integration in the public schools because, as he says, it will lead to the mongrelization of the races, doesn't he know that through illegal and illicit means, mongrelization has been going on almost since 1619? All one has to do is to look at the Negro people in America and see that mongrelization is an established fact. The color of Negroes ranges all the way from coal black to lily white. For the most part it resulted from illicit cohabitation between white men and Negro women. Doesn't Senator Russell know that?

How can a man of Senator Russell's stature be blind to these facts and how can he say to the world that Negroes are treated justly in the South?

"Be Unafraid," Dr. Mays Warns NCC Students

DURHAM, N. C. — Dr. Benjamin Mays, speaking to a 10th Founder's Day convocation at N. C. College on Nov. 4, urged his listeners to follow the example of NCC's founder and first president, the late Dr. J. E. Shepard, and "walk with dignity and pride unafraid."

Journal

He was the main feature in a day during which students, alumni, NCC President and Mrs. Alfonso Elder, and the J. E. Shepard Memorial Foundation, honor NCC's founder.

p. 13 Norfolk, Va.

DR. MAYS emphasized to his hearers, composed of a large delegation of local and out-town visitors and some 750 students, the desirability of emulating Dr. Shepard's "enthusiasm and aspiration." He also recommended Dr. Shepard's love of dignity and freedom, which he said, are necessary assets today for youth.

DR. BENJAMIN MAYS
Speaks

"I liked Jim Shepard, because he proves my thesis that a man is what he aspires to be," Mays said. "In the midst of jim-crow and segregation, ideal-chasing Jim Shepard was the embodiment of high ideals. Though segregated, he didn't cringe. Though jim-crowed he didn't knowtow.

Sat. 11-16-57

"THOUGH discriminated against, he never accepted an inferior role in his mind. He stood with his head high, his shoulders erect, and he walked with dignity and pride unafraid.

"At 72, Jim Shepard had enthusiasm of a man 30. He dreamed great dreams, thought great thoughts, and challenged youth to stand on their feet and be men."

Participants in the auditorium rites were NCC President Elder, Dr. J. N. Hughley, Student Government President J. L. Chambers, and the NCC choir.

* * *

AT GRAVESIDE rites at Beechwood Cemetery, the Rev. R. L. Speaks was in charge. Music was furnished by the choir and buglers from the band sounded taps.

Traditional wreath laying was done for the students by Chambers and for the alumni by W. A. Marsh, Durham lawyer, and national alumni head.

Dr. Helen G. Edmond was chairman of the Founder's Day Committee.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

31a Negro

Better Late Than Never

ON NOV. 3, 80 Atlanta ministers issued a statement on race. They set forth six basic principles.

Courier

1. Freedom of speech must at all costs be preserved.

p. 9

2. As Americans and as Christians we have an obligation to obey the law.

Mr. Mays

In this context they meant the Supreme Court's interpretation of the law.

3. The public school systems must not be destroyed.

4. Hatred scorn for those of another race, or for those who hold a position different from our own, can never be justified.

5. Communication between responsible leaders of the races must be maintained.

6. Our differences cannot be solved in our own strength or in human wisdom.

Pittsburgh Pa.

ON THE whole it is a good statement. I wish, though, that these ministers had issued a statement shortly after May 17, 1954. They might have done more good then than their statement will do now. Some of us urged in 1954 that leaders in government, religion and education speak out immediately after the Supreme Court decision. We kept so conspicuously silent that the forces of reaction took the initiative. I wish the signers of this document had come to grips with the moral aspects of segregation itself. To segregate a man because of his color is either morally right or morally wrong. I wish the statement had taken an unequivocal position on the question of the morality of segregation as imposed by law. The weakness in most utterances on this question lies here. All laws rest on a moral foundation.

Sat. 11-30-57

I EVEN wish President Eisenhower had stood on moral grounds as well as on legal constitutional grounds. I am sorry to note that one or two men who signed the statement have declared themselves publicly in favor of segregation even in God's church. If these men plead for obedience to the mandates of the Supreme Court, I wish I could believe that they would take the leadership in their respective churches for people to worship God together without segregation.

There are two statements that the ministers made that seem to this writer to be very interesting, and I quote them: "To suggest that a recognition of the rights of Negroes to the full privileges of American citizenship, and to such necessary contacts as might follow would inevitably result in intermarriage is to cast as serious and unjustified an aspersion upon the white race as upon the Negro race."

The other statement follows that one: "Believing as we do in the desirablility of preserving the integrity of both races through the free choice of both, we would emphasize the following principles." These six principles we have already stated.

NEED FOR CHANGING

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

By John H. McCray

Sat. 1-5-57

Right Under Our Nose

We passed over the holidays nationally with mixed emotions.

We were pleased over the excited anxiety of our youngsters and the delight of our friends over what gifts came to them; but we were also saddened over the plight of so many citizens of Hungary who were fleeing their homeland, having lost the battle to escape Russian suppression.

For us colored Americans, there was, and is now, additional anxiety, fear and concern over the millions of our people who are waging a battle the best way they can to escape a suppression, no less despicable than that in Hungary, or elsewhere abroad.

* * *

AS MONTGOMERY, Ala. citizens began effectuation of a recent Supreme Court ruling permitting them to sit anywhere they wished in city buses, two burly white men cornered a little 15-year-old colored girl at a bus stop and beat her with their fists.

At Birmingham, Ala., at least 2 other colored Americans were slammed in jail because they dared to sit anywhere their fares entitled them on a city bus.

Alerted city police in Mobile, Ala. and at Tallahassee and Miami, Fla. waited to jail others of us there. Declarations from the White Citizens Council and Ku Klux leaders shout defiance, bombings and violence upon us. A Birmingham minister's home was bombed Christmas night— reminiscent of the murdering of the Harry Moores at Mims, Fla. five years ago.

* * *

RECENTLY, in South Carolina whites have taken to burning down churches of colored people, as though it is now that the two races shall not worship and pray before the same God.

These burnings come a few years after the deposed klan leader Tom Hamilton traipsed about the state preaching "They (colored) are doing more than you think behind their church doors."

Many of us contributed to the fund for the Hungarians; we sympathize with suffering people. We know what it is to suffer.

* * *

YET, WE cannot but wonder if, and when our own national government is going to provide some kind of security and sympathy for the oppressed under some of its own sub-divisions, particularly in the southern states.

We dance in a frenzy, we expand volumes of words of pity and make pleas for mercy to many millions most Americans know only from news reports, or history books. Right under our own noses, right next door, hate-mongerers bomb to death some of our own and we take the attitude that "Time and patience" will aright the wrong.

Why don't we do the same to those thousands of miles away, if this is the proper thing to do? We don't because we know deep down in our hearts such kind of talking would bring down upon our necks the rebuke of freedom-loving and freedom-seeking people around the world.

NEED FOR CHANGING

Afro-American Balti., Md.

By John H. McCray

1-12-57

U.S. Court Brainbuster?

Such Southern newspapers as The Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier, and such Southern politicians as Senator J. Strom Thurmond (D., S.C.) set up a huge clamor when the Supreme Court returned its school rulings in 1954 and 1955.

This group wanted local Federal judges in the South to be vested with authority to decide when, where and if to integrate. That was the procedure adopted, not unusual whenever the Supreme Court reaches decisions of such general effect as were the school cases.

* * *

ALTHOUGH THERE may not be any connection between what they wanted, and rulings of two of South Carolina's three Federal judges on civil rights issues since the school decrees, their latest opinions and orders are a bit of brain-busting.

Last Monday, Judges Ashton H. Williams and George Bell Timmerman, the majority of a three-judge court, which included Circuit Court Judge John J. Parker, dissenting, returned decisions in what is termed the Elloree (S.C.) Teachers' case.

The 17 teaches, ousted last spring when they refused to sign sworn statements disclosing segregation views and NAACP membership status, were heard by the court last October. Judge Parker agreed in open court that they were being victimized under the First Amendment.

He held, by the way, that the majority action wasn't necessary and preferred that the court issue a ruling —now.

* * *

BUT THE S.C. members of the court wanted the case given to local and state education administrators, thence to state courts. The Federal court, they ordered, would retain jurisdiction and at some time in the distant future, if ever, would take up the case again.

Judge Timmerman preferred outright dismissal, holding that it was not clear whether the plaintiffs sued because of the NAACP clause or the clause requiring their views on segregation. He settled for sending the issue into state school boards and courts.

Aside from the angle that courts traditionally try to make dispensation of justice easier and simpler, there has been considerable effort recently to have Federal courts rid themselves of increasing backlogs of cases.

* * *

IF, AS THE court concedes itself, it had jurisdictional power in the Elloree Teachers' case, why does it elect to duck out of its duty? Why does it put off ruling on an issue it expects to come before it, and must be acted upon, finally, after the round of offices and state courts?

Because the court specifically retains jurisdiction, the Elloree case cannot be appealed until the jurisdiction is lifted.

We cannot look back lightly at the manner in which Mr. Williams handled the Edisto Beach state park case, especially that when it came into his court he used his bench to warn colored citizens against making speedy use of the integration school ruling, even though matter be settled "with all deliberate speed."

* * *

WE DO NOT consider lightly either that at the same time he gave a bench blessing to an organization whose members, a few weeks later, shot up the parsonage of the Rev. J. A. DeLaine and forced him to flee his home in Lake City.

Dismissing civil rights cases has been the perfect record of Mr. Timmerman since the Clarendon case hearing in 1951. The Supreme Court overturned him there. Judge Parker's Circuit Court overturned him two years ago when he dismissed the first appearance of the Sara Mae Flemming Brown Columbia bus case. It did the same thing in his second dismissal last November.

If there is a relationship between what newspapers and Southern politicians said after local Federal judges got the power, between the apparent thinking thus far and the Elloree case, then one of two things are paramount:

Either Federal judges, who have expressed anti-integration views disqualify themselves, or be removed from such cases by regulation, or, as is said in one well known poem, we'll "settle down to a long winter's nap."

It is generally known that Southern states hope to set up such a maize of illegal laws, redtape and regulations as to make integration extremely expensive and long-drawn-out. If Federal judges cannot see through this camouflage, then they ought to go into retirement.

NEED FOR CHANGING

By John McCray

The Dishonor Roll Grows

The warning by Gov. Collins of Florida that white Southern leaders are making more enemies than they imagine outside of the South touches upon a subject with far more local forebodings than is readily discernible.

Mr. Collins' Armistice Day message obviously dealt with the increasing feeling of disgust against Southern white supremacists who, begging for understanding, patience and time in one breath, resort to bombings, floggings and other atrocities in the next. He was concerned mostly with white Americans outside of the South, but inside the United States.

* * *

BESIDE HIM stand many other persons of importance, both inside and out of the South, who see the present race battles as having reverse effects among peoples around the world being wooed to the side of America and democracy.

But of more vital concern to Southern white leaders, and some of their followers and paid hate-spreaders, is the attitude among the people pressing for human equality — the colored people in the South.

Unless this group is satisfied, or at least appeased, there can be no comfort or peace for white Southerners, no matter what a white New Yorker, or a blonde Englishman might think.

* * *

TO GET something of the colored Southerner's thinking, we went back into Clarendon county during the week and talked with both parents and school children involved in that action.

In Summerton, center of the school dispute which led ultimately to the U.S. Supreme Court's key case in the cases decided in 1954, in Paxville, at Manning, in the St. Paul's and Davis Station communities, the opinions were all the same.

Balt. 11-30-57

Whatever the threatened reprisals, whatever further punishment whites may inflict, Clarendon's colored citizens as a whole want the public schools integrated.

A Summerton mother said: "They (whites) might talk a lot about what they'll do. A few of them might even try it, but it (integration) will work out all right." She has two children who would be affected.

* * *

A PAXVILLE farmer and his wife both agreed that "whites will do a lot of big talk but they don't want the kind of trouble they say there would be. They don't have the nerve to buck the (U.S.) Government or to get us on their backs."

* * *

BUT THE most remarkable fact around all these people was that the numerous punitive efforts in and out of the county haven't deterred them.

In fact, many of them are now more determined to integrate, and more of the Clarendon people are "sore" with white segregationists than ever before. We've found the same true in all other areas around the South we've visited during the past year.

Gov. Collins wasn't, perhaps, referring to this state of affairs when he, in an indirect manner, appealed for common sense and some effort to be honorable and humane.

He is aware as must be all other thinking Southerners, that the Dis-honor" list of white Southerners is growing, and that this trend cannot but lead to an unhealthy and unnecessary state of affairs, leaving untrod a commonsense path now so despicable to demagogues in the south.

NEED FOR CHANGING

By John H. McCray

Now To Make It Work

If the President signs the compromise civil rights bill the next job is to make it work, make it more than just some more, nice-sounding words on the law books.

Here, the job falls squarely on the shoulders of those citizens whose rights the legislation aims to protect. It was they who complained, who sought relief. It is now up to them to make good use of that relief.

We bring up this subject for the reason that, down here in the Deep South, again and again, we've seen and heard our people complain, get up committees and go to authorities for what they contend, and rightfully so, is their inclusion into such things as local playground setups, police and fire departments, and various agencies dispensing public service.

* * *

IN MOST INSTANCES they get the relief, or some of it; but that seems to end the matter. In our own town for example, (Columbia, S.C.), there were loud wails some years back to get our men on the police force, in the fire department and to get a swimming pool just as had been furnished for whites.

We got these things. And what happened? We've never had enough applications to fill possible colored assignments in either the police or fire departments: each season our swimming pool runs in the red, far behind the white pool.

Some time ago this situation was called to our attention by a city official. We went to some of those demanding and getting the services for help at arousing the people. The collective response was summed in these words from one person: "I'm not interested in helping the city out. That's their job."

THIS BUSINESS of citizenship, of rights and the enjoyment of these, is not the government's business, alone. Rather, it is basically the business of every citizen to secure and protect the rights of every other citizen. Failing to do so endangers the rights and citizenship of everybody else.

When, and if the civil rights legislation becomes the law, it is going to have normally tough sledding down South. Federal Judges, U.S. Attorneys and politicians are going to be wooed, dared and coerced into circumventing it.

* * *

HOW BEST to make the best use of the new laws? First step is to get together, get united, put nothing else above a solid line of unity from the vast plains of Texas to the swampy marshlands of the Carolinas and Florida.

We haven't been as close together, as helpful and cooperative in the past as befits a race battling uphill for rights and privileges of the human beings. Never mind that now. Let's look ahead; let's resolve upon unity.

Once achieved it will swell our number of votes and put as much fear back home in the hearts and minds of white supremacists and southerners had in congress the past week when they found congressional votes united against them.

NEED FOR CHANGING

By John H. McCray

How Long Is Long Enough?

Nearly 100 years ago, this country decided, with blood and tears, that chattel enslavement of human beings is wrong. Today, it battles again over the same issue, reduced somewhat to encompass economic, political and social enslavement of a single race.

The glorious history of the Abolition period and the Civil War is tarnished somewhat by the rather subtle endorsement of slavery by the shining figure of that crucial moment, President Abraham Lincoln who, after issuing the Declaration of Independence, attempted to soothe the vanquished slaveholders by saying his proclamation considered as only incidental the question of slavery.

"IF I COULD have saved the Union without abolishing slavery, I would have done so," Mr. Lincoln is quoted by one author as having said. In recent years, the stature of the "Man from Illinois" has dwindled in greatness among those who, at first, had believed that deep down in his heart he opposed slavery as a moral and national wrong.

The most prominent Republican President since Lincoln to be confronted with the issue of racism in the United States is Mr. Eisenhower, who, although not entirely the fact, is credited with having dealt the heaviest blow towards cutting the chains which have held us in economic, political and social enslavement.

Mr. Eisenhower inherited the machinery for integration of races in public services and agencies which had been set in motion by the late President Roosevelt, and sped up by former President Truman.

BUT ON THE overall question of race, Mr. Eisenhower is either taking a cue from Mr. Lincoln, or is not yet convinced that the evils of segregation impose great suffering and handicaps upon a race which has hopes, feelings and ambitions, just as other citizens.

He also overlooks the efforts of the victims who, farther back than Plessy v. Ferguson, fought in courts for full citizenship status.

So, actually, when Mr. Eisenhower says Southern whites are suddenly faced with the issue he is in great error.

* * *

THEY'VE HAD this issue before them since Plessy v. Ferguson in one form or another and that they have not, in more than 50 years, undertaken to face it in a humane and honest manner, even after the Murray, Sipuel and Sweatt cases, even after the school cases of 1954, is proof that they deserve no sympathy, unless one is to feel sorry because they've lost the right to engage in racism.

One should keep in mind, too, that the South belongs more to the colored man than the white Southerners, for its chief products were the contribution of colored sweat and tears.

Ike, evidently, doesn't yet know that we colored Southerners have endured more patience and understanding than he can ever endure. And we've decided that we've stood it all long enough.

NEED FOR CHANGING

By John H. McCray

An Old Southern Custom

If the information given us this week is correct, we'll have to go back a year and revise the story which attracted national attention about the presumed Ku Klux Klan beating of Guy Hutchins, a white former high school band instructor at Camden, S.C.

Newspapers reported that Mr. Hutchins was waylaid one night and savagely beaten because he allegedly had made pro-integration statements to a group of colored people. The bandmaster vigorously denied the accusation.

This week, by chance, we met a brother of the bandmaster, C. Hill Hutchins, an insurance man, who gave a different version and urged us to contact his brother, now employed at another school, with a hefty salary increase.

"MY BROTHER and I never understood why the newspapers said he was beaten because of some racial remarks," Mr. Hutchins said.

"My brother told me that the only thing the men said while they were beating him had to do with his refusal to join a church some men had once asked him to join.

Six men, arrested in the beating, won freedom when a Kershaw County grand jury twice refused to indict them, acts which infuriated both the solicitor (district attorney) and trial judge.

That the race issue was inserted in the beating may be best explained as a sort of rallying point for support by the guilty parties, who used it to gain approval for an offense which would not have been forgiven had the truth come out.

IN RECENT months we've run across several colored people, who have been successes in business and not known among their own people as active in civic affairs, who have suffered the same fate as Mr. Hutchins.

They have been subjected to pressures and terrors, not because they were NAACP members or outspoken advocates of freedom, rather, because they had done better than most of those maligning and attacking them.

There is the case of one man whose store, with the best trade among his people in the county, who was stunned to find himself on the White Citizens Council list.

* * *

TRACKING DOWN the case brought this remark from one man: "He's too biggety. He has all the colored people buying from him and they wouldn't do it if he wasn't in the NAACP."

That the white South still tells whoppers to cover up some of its dirty work is evident in the Hutchins case.

NEED FOR CHANGING

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.
By John H. McCray
Sat. 2-9-57

Whooping It Up In Dixie

President Eisenhower's stock, white southwise, took a healthy upward lunge last week. Across the racial fence Ike left an assortment of raised eyebrows and puzzled faces.

The reason Klansmen and White Citizens Councilers were so "sold" on the Republican chieftain was that he again asked Congress for a Federal-aid school program which would recognize and bow to racial segregation.

Southern newspapers, let go with rebel whoops and yells, which had they come before last November's general election, would have given Mr. Eisenhower a clean sweep of the territory.

* * *

"WHAT HAPPENED?" confuses those on the other side of the racial fence. Some—an average of 18 percent so finds Mr. Gallup—swung over Republican last fall, believing that under Republicans they had a much better chance of facing the issues around Montgomery, Tallahassee, and generally, throughout the South.

Now, in the face of the position of the Supreme Court, the personal hardships inflicted by church and home bombers among segregationists, the head of our community dares to pray to our common God on Sunday and, on Monday, undertake to overthrow the very things we're asking God to make possible.

Ike's recommendation on Federal school aid is both legally and morally wrong.

THE NATION'S highest court has disallowed the very thing the nation's highest officer recommends. This difference lends encouragement to the Clinton, Tenn. culprits, those in Alabama, the hate-mongerers of America.

Ike must have been asleep when this project was adopted, or is it that he prefers yet to hold his arms around the shoulders of the James F. Byrnes, the Jimmy Eastlands, the Marvin Griffins?

Morally, as a nation, we're committed worldwise to helping the Hungarians, and all other people under the heels of suppressors. That is, everywhere but inside the United States.

* * *

WHY SHOULD we pay the way for people three, four or five thousands of miles away to freedom when we have millions next door who suffer just as badly?

NEED FOR CHANGING

Afro-American
Sat. 2-23-57
By John H. McCray
Baltimore, Md.

The South in Retreat

A good indication that Southern racists teeter on defeat and are in retreat, continually crops out.

Two recently adopted bits of strategy white southern racists are developing include:

First, a complete flip-about of the old anti-outsiders theory; now any and everybody outside the South with views of race prejudice, or who can be tricked into sympathy and weeping for the discriminationists, is more than welcome.

* * *

UNDERWAY, SOUTHWISE, partially backed by the White Citizens Council, is a propaganda campaign in behalf of Southern racism, the likes of which even the Communists—creators of the technique—have yet to see.

James F. Byrnes left the discard and obscurity to which he has been relegated by the Democratic Party, which made him, and on Feb. 9 spoke in behalf of "outside help" before the Illinois State Bar Association in Peoria.

* * *

THE SOUTHERN daily press printed texts of his speech and lifted him up editorially as "having presented the (white) south's case well."

An analysis of the speech, however, shows it to be based mainly on "moot" questions or "res adjudica" (things already decided), not allowable in any court. This doesn't show or speak well for a man who once sat as a Justice on the Supreme Court.

* * *

HE ARGUED that Congress should have wiped out segregation, if it were to be wiped out. Yet, his and several other states, at that very moment were readying agents to appear before a House subcommittee to delay and, if possible, defeat proposed legislation which would rid the South of the plague — the race question.

Not elusive to half-truths, Byrnes told the Illinoians: "The (white) people of the South respect the written Constitution."

Two days before, the Georgia legislature had passed a resolution demanding that the 14th and 15th Amendments be deleted. Not many months ago, Southern states were adopting "Interposition" resolutions which, in substance, would invalidate rulings of the Supreme Court and delete one-third of the national government as created by the Constitution.

Byrnes rehashed an old tale at Peoria, about the amount of progress the two races have made, and can make down South.

What the Illinois Bar Association, and everybody else ought to learn and know is that the "progress" Southern racists point to belongs exclusively to colored people, citizens who have managed to fight their way up from under the burdens heaped upon them.

The new school buildings, the school buses Byrnes takes credit for actually belong to colored parents and patrons in Clarendon County. The state government hoped that by equalizing school facilities—something Byrnes said in his inaugural address was about 75 years behind—segregation could survive.

NEED FOR CHANGING

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.
By John H. McCray
Sat. 3-23-57

The Smear Tactic Weakens

The "expose" of White Citizens Council leader John Kasper by an investigating group in Florida last week as a recent fraternizer and associate of colored Americans, against whom his WCC hate campaign is aimed, whacks away another leg from under the white South.

Kasper admitted under questioning that he had danced, attended parties and held friendships with colored girls; promptly, the white supremacy leaders in Florida denounced him.

Kasper and such other racial antagonists or the weak-kneed "uncletoms" the white South has been depending upon for propaganda fodder appear now to have served whatever usefulness they might have offered by way of general resistance against, and delay of the ultimate outcome of the Supreme Court's segregation rulings.

* * *

THUS FAR, it has been a feeble case the South has come up with in "witnesses." Without exception, the "colored witnesses" whose utterances have been circulated as endorsing and happy under segregation, have petered out as opportunists, fakes are even "tombstones" as was the case with an Orangeburg woman S.C.'s Gov. George Bell Timmerman Jr. once used.

The New York "bishop" who a few months ago hustled down to Alabama to issue a pro-segregation and anti-NAACP statement, is now doing a stretch in Federal prison in Florida for using the mails to defraud his people in some kind of racket.

A star witness in Louisiana hearings last week turns out to be an already discredited liar by a congressional loyalty commission who, some time ago, gave false statements concerning Dr. Ralph J. Bunche.

* * *

LAST SUMMER, a newspaper letter of a "colored minister" was widely circulated in support of segregation. Investigation disclosed that the man was not a minister of the gospel.

He was the equivalent of a local preacher, whose educational background was such that he wouldn't understand most of the language in his letter, let alone spelling the words.

He had dictated his letter, he said, to a white stenographer and hadn't reread it. The WCC lifted a collection for his personal use. His pastor and members of the congregation sought to have him ousted from church membership. Yet, from the white South's assertions, he spoke for a group of people.

* * *

TIED IN WITH this propaganda campaign has also been one of legislative, and frequently judicial hysteria. After almost 50 years of existence, the NAACP has suddenly become a state-indicted subversive group, committed to stirring up racial discord and warfare in the South.

Under the protection of a help-whites umbrella, the old practices and techniques of the klan have re-appeared under a new name. There are in printed literature and speeches, deliberate execution and admonition of boycotting merchants, workers and races, a violation of trade and merchandising liberties. The attack on the 14th Amendment has been re-directed against the First Amendment.

* * *

AND NOW the walls begin to tumble. Now, the Kaspers and the uncletoms faint and die or wind up in jail or beg bread.

The smear, lying, mischievious and despicable campaign against our goals has weakened. The next step? For a desperate people we can only guess and wait.

NEED FOR CHANGING

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.
By John H. McCray
Sat. 3-30-57

Some of Them Now Know

If you haven't, and can manage to do so, try to get hold of copies of a weekly newspaper published at Petal, Miss. And, if you can, get subscriptions to it into as many white Southern homes as you can.

For some time we've been hearing about "The Petal Paper" of Petal, Miss., and its young Mississippi-born editor. During the week, through some fashion, we received and read our first edition of "The Petal Paper."

It gave a great lift down here, "Deep in the Heart of Hell," as one minister-friend once described the South.

* * *

YOUNG EDITOR P. D. East has developed mastery over the white South, which has begun to turn upon him. For a long time the KKK, the White Citizens Council and other hate elements thought his satire was in behalf of white supremacy. Of late, and almost unbelievably so, the KKK and WCC boys have wisened up.

We've never met editor East except through stories and his single edition we've read. However, from our knowledge of the racists down South and the extra woes of a small publisher, his situation is unique and also a challenge to those of us who try to remain constant on the Rights front.

Editor's pet peeve is his own U.S. Senator James Eastland, whose name he refuses to print with capital letters. He has come up with some "beautiful and classic" satire.

FOR EXAMPLE, one of his favorite witticisms relates how, when three men volunteered to lighten the load of a European bound plane in the mid-Atlantic Ocean, an Englishman announced: "God save the Queen" and then jumped to death. After a second man announced a similar loyalty and jumped, a third man declared "Remember Emmett Till," stepped back and kicked two colored passengers out to plummet to death.

In March of 1956, and again this month, "The Petal Paper" published gratis a full page advertisement in satire against the WCC. Among slogans in the item are: "Freedom to interpret the Constitution of the United States to your own personal advantage," . . . "Freedom to yell 'n---r' as much as you please without your conscience bothering you." The "Citizen's Clan," as he describes the WCC, assures, among other things, "No n---rs allowed! (Not even 'good' n---rs can join this superior clan)."

* * *

A COUPLE OF klan members who first read the ad, mistook it for support, paid subscriptions and announced they would help the struggling young editor.

In addition to our other "necessary" newspapers, it seems to be a sensible, generous and helpful thing were as many of us as possible to see that P. D. East's "Petal Paper" gets around on both sides of the fence.

For our side, it provides a humorous and satirical approach, replete with truth and common sense which does a finer job of pointing up stu-

pidity of racists perhaps better than has yet been done in our own press.

* * *

AT THE SAME time, were it distributed widely enough about the South, it would shock into reality many of the whites who have been taken behind a sort of iron curtain by their daily and weekly newspapers.

Then, from what we understand, editor East's paper has been shorn of many former white advertisers, and all because he dares to stand for what he thinks is right and the truth.

This has always been the pattern of Southern racists. They have always slain or starved to death, or into agreeing with them, those who have been on the right side. What do we do for those who know?

NEED FOR CHANGING

Afro-American
Sat. 4-6-57
By John H. McCray
Baltimore Md.

Our National Disgrace

For a people who place so much emphasis on impressive funerals and, on glory, recognition and final attainment of our dreams and rightful place in the life after death, we are generally grossly a contradiction or pretend what we don't actually believe and feel.

There are two things closely associated with our profession of impressive and stately funerals, and our so oft-repeated hope for the Beyond.

These are our cemeteries, in which the remains of our loved ones are buried—more often than not the sole reminder that any of us did once live on earth; and

Our old people, parents, relatives and others among us, who, near helplessness and infirmed, are slowly walking to the cemetery.

ON RECENT trips up and down South Carolina, through North Carolina and Virginia, along the coast of Georgia, this reporter has not found it troublesome after looking at a cemetery along the highway, usually close by a weather beaten and slighted church, to know to which race it belonged.

In fact, in some six months of looking, and occasionally stopping and inspecting, we've seen only two cemeteries that appeared to be getting any regular attention at all.

It is not the same with white Americans in the same area. No matter how poor they are, they manage to have pretty well kept up cemeteries, usually well landscaped, and nice looking church buildings.

* * *

WERE ONE OF the mind, he could, without being inaccurate, hang a sign above them reading something like: "From a dingy shanty during life to a dirty dismal cemetery in the Hereafter."

Or, he might hang a sign which could read: "Colored Americans don't really love anybody — not even themselves; beneath lay the remains of themselves and their most prized loved ones."

Not long ago we talked with an undertaker at Charleston, S.C. He was unhappy that so many aged persons in the area had little or no interest shown in them.

FREQUENTLY, HE said, undertakers picked up bodies of aged persons from pallets; they died in places no better than the "flop house." Some of them were receiving public welfare checks and these were presumably contributing to their support.

We have also talked with a woman in the area who founded a home for aged women several years ago. From what she said, and from what another founder of a home for the aged later told us in another part of the state, as a race of people we have yet to manifest generally a concern over the welfare of our aged parents, and other relatives.

IN ONE home, a patient is the wife of a minister. He has a reputation about town for paying court to the ladies. Yet, he hadn't visited his own wife in two months. Nor does he contribute to her support.

"By their aged and their cemeteries" ye can judge the love, appreciation and depth of this people. And when ye shall so judge you will perhaps agree that both constitute racially, a national disgrace.

NEED FOR CHANGING

Afro-American
Baltimore Md.
By John H. McCray

South Carolina Scheming

Sat. 5-4-57

One day after NAACP lawyers for 17 former Elloree, S.C., teachers filed an appeal with the Supreme Court, Gov. George Bell Timmerman Jr., signed into law a bill which repealed the 1956 law the teachers were attacking.

The law, which forbade employment by state, county and local agencies of NAACP members, was brought before a three-judge Federal court at Charleston last October.

Presiding Judge John J. Parker, assailed the law as compounding racial crimes and exuding a greater danger to democratic government than the 14th Amendment; he said it chopped away rights guaranteed under the First Amendment. Mr. Parker is senior judge on the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals.

* * *

THE TWO resident judges, Ashton H. Williams and George Bell Timmerman Sr., father of the Governor, went the other way. They ordered the case kept under their jurisdiction, a move interpreted to mean that the Supreme Court might not consider the case until the lower court had disposed of it.

They ordered the teachers to exhaust "administrative and state courts" remedies. Neither held the case a sound one. Timmerman, who has repeatedly dismissed, and has been as repeatedly overruled later, even said the teachers had failed to show a case for themselves.

Meanwhile, the state General Assembly, apparently better judges of their own handiwork than some Federal judges might want to be, quietly repealed the law. Inside reports are that the law-makers and the Governor conceded the law unconstitutional, not alone by Federal standards, but also by measurements of state codes and the state Constitution.

* * *

THE 1956 LAW fell into the category of special legislation. It singled out a group or class of persons. The repeal of it, lawyers agree — including NAACP lawyers — has now made the Elloree case a "moot" issue. It no longer exists. It has been settled.

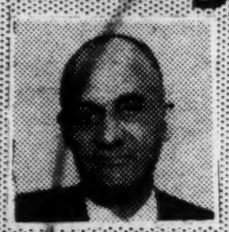
This is the second time that a case has been before Judge Ashton Williams, which has ended as a moot question. For several months the Edisto Beach State Park case languished on docket in his court until the state legislature closed the facility. Rather promptly, thereafter, Mr. Williams issued a "moot question" ruling, and was of course upheld later, in this beach case.

Replacing the 1956 law is another which permits employers to inquire of prospective employes on state, county and local government jobs a listing of organizations to which they might belong. If an applicant admits to membership in the NAACP, for example, it would be left with the employer to accept or reject him.

The move, however, does emphasize the likely role of Federal judges, in those areas where they are inclined to use their jobs in support of segregation and, as aids to rebellion and insurrection against what is the law of this country.

31a 1957

Using Your Money



By NORMAN L. McGHEE

President, McGhee & Co., Investment Securities, Cleveland, Ohio

Pittsburgh, Pa.

In introducing myself as financial columnist for the Pittsburgh Courier, at the outset I wish to congratulate the editors of the Pittsburgh Courier upon their recognition of the importance of such a service to so large a segment of the American population as the Negro.

It was just a few years ago, in 1952, that the financial bible of Wall Street, The Wall Street Journal, took notice of the financial potential of the Negro when it called attention to the financial world that the annual earnings of the American Negro totaled some fifteen billion dollars.

Today, it is estimated to have risen to some seventeen billions. If one per cent of this vast sum —something like 170 millions— were set aside and channeled into productive investments, the resulting economic gains to the entire Negro citizenry would amaze both the Negro and the entire world.

■

THERE ARE over 100,000 industrial corporations in the United States. Of these, except those commonly referred to as Negro-owned and controlled, probably not a single important industrial corporation, bank or insurance company can boast of having a Negro as a member of its directorate.

Yet it is reliably reported that Negro citizens have 400 million dollars on deposit in banks in New York, 300 million in Chicago, 100 million in Philadelphia, 90 million in Detroit, 60 million in Cleveland and 40 million in Pittsburgh.

In any of these cities, a well-directed program suggesting investment in the stock of one of its outstanding banks would lead to Negro representation on its board of directors.

■

REVELATION OF facts like these has set not only the financial community thinking, but the Negro, himself. The question is being raised: What is the Negro doing with this vast sum of money? Is it being used (by himself) for his benefit? Or is it being used by others against the Negro's interest.

The most challenging task in the United States today is the proper direction of the enormous potential of its Negro citizenry. This group constitutes better than 10 per cent of the nation's population.

There is a crying need for conservation of part of these earnings and the channeling of the Negro's surplus earnings into investments that will bring larger participation by him in the total economy. The increased educational, political and cultural development of the Negro clearly indicates that the Negro is ready for full citizenship responsibility and equality.

■

ONLY ONE factor seems lacking — that is economic security.

The remedy for attaining economic security is already in the Negro's hands. That remedy is leadership. A new type of leadership that will undertake to awaken the masses of the Negro people to the wisdom of setting aside a part of their present earnings for future economic security.

A leadership that will show the Negro how to become part owners of the industries which have made the United States the great nation that it is. A leadership that will insist that the Negro make whatever sacrifice necessary to insure for himself and his children participation in the economic affairs of their country. A leadership which, itself, will point the way by acquiring large ownership in the agencies which control the American economy.

■

PERHAPS THE heading we have selected for this column will not immediately appear significant to you. It should, however, cause you to begin thinking when you stop and ask yourself the question:

Am I using my money? Or am I permitting someone else to use it with, or without, my permission? And, if so, what benefits do I get from it? The old adage, "A fool and his money soon part," might well be applied to some of us as far as making our money prove of benefit to us.

If getting money is only for the purpose of parting with it without demand for or requiring a service or benefit from the use of it, then surely the old adage applies, and we may as well consider ourselves the proverbial fool.

The Author

Norman L. McGhee, practicing attorney, 1925 to present; established brokerage firm of Mc-Ghee and Company, 1952, said to be first to be headed by a Negro licensed as a broker-dealer authorized to deal in general securites; graduate of Howard University, A. B., LL. B.; pursued gradute work at Western Reserve University, specializing in corporate financing; member of Cleveland City Planning Commission 1942-1946; former editor of Cleveland Call-Post; formerly private secretary of Dr. Emmett J. Scott while secretary - treasurer of Howard University; Democratic ward leader of 25th Ward in City of Cleveland; alternate delegate-at-large, Democratic National Convention, 1956; trustee, St. James AME Church; trustee, Wilberforce University; member at large, General Board of the AME Church.

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WHITE(RALPH McGILL)

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McGILL

Constitution

Dilemma of The Christian

P 1

Dilemma of the Christian in the issue of free access to the public schools by all children without discrimination is one of the major facets of it. There are many and varied Christian witnesses.

During the testing days in Nashville, Tenn., Mr. Bill Emerson of Newsweek's Southeastern Bureau in Atlanta, and Mr. Murray Kempton, columnist of the New York Post, happened to meet at the residence of the Rev. Fred Stroud.

The Rev. Stroud, who left the Presbyterian church in 1938 to found his own, called the Bible Presbyterian Church, is a man of the cloth who believes the Bible establishes segregation.

At any rate, the Messrs. Emerson and Kempton were listening to the philosophy of the Rev. Stroud, whose phone was busy. The Reverend, reported Mr. Emerson, would listen and say, "Keep your eyes on the stars," and then hang up and resume his talk with them.

Atlanta Ga.

On Knees

Suddenly, with no warning whatever, the Rev. Stroud seized an arm of each of his journalist visitors and dragged them to their knees along with him.

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"We will pray," he said firmly. Mr. Emerson reported that even before the Reverend began, he could feel Mr. Kempton jerking in the manner of a well-hooked bass, but that the Rev. Stroud, a granite-jawed man of considerable muscle, held them both firmly in an attitude of prayer. Mr. Emerson, being an Episcopalian, had knees somewhat less tender than Mr. Kempton's, a member of a non-kneeling sect, and gave his mind utterly to the prayer, which went about as follows:

"Oh, Lord, you know I don't hate that old Frank Clement (governor of Tennessee)! Oh, Lord, you know I don't hate that Ben West (mayor of Nashville). Oh, Lord, you know I don't hate them Niggers. Lord, look helpfully on this young man from Georgia. And Lord, save this poor boy from New York. Maybe he will grow up to preach Thy gospel."

The Rev. Stroud then released them and gave them his blessing and sent them on their way.

The governor of Tennessee, Mr. Clement, has discussed his own dilemma from the viewpoint of religious belief. In a speech of three days ago, he said:

Clement's Statement

"I can't say I don't like what I've always known (segregation). I've been brought up in a segregated state and sent to segregated schools.

"But preference becomes a moot question in the face of duty. In addition to being educated in a segregated school, I was reared in a Christian home.

"When I put my hand on that Bible and swore to uphold the Constitution I don't think the Lord God Almighty expected me to do anything else. . . . I will uphold the law and protect the rights of every citizen of every creed and color in Tennessee.

This analysis of his duty stands strongly on personal principle. But the Rev. Stroud and those of his mind would not so accept it.

There is another facet which profoundly disturbs the American Christian. Missionaries in foreign countries already are sending in protests or urgent requests that racial disorders be stopped.

Most of the missionary money collected in the churches of the South (and nation) goes to maintain missions in Africa, Asia, the Orient or South America where most peoples are colored. No American missionary successfully can explain Christianity to those people in the face of the mobs about schools with Negro children being spat at, jeered at and chased from the doors. Not many Southern ministers and mission boards are yet willing to discuss it, but they are deeply and profoundly disturbed.

RALPH

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Journal + Constitution

'The Decision Is the Law—'

Aug. 9-15-57

Atlanta Ga.

Advised throughout by Congressman Brooks Hays, also President of the Southern Baptist Convention, Arkansas' Governor Orval Faubus emerged Saturday from his conference with President Eisenhower to say:

"I have never expressed any personal opinion regarding to Supreme Court decision of 1954 which voted integration. That is not relevant. That decision is the law of the land and must be obeyed . . . the people of Little Rock are law-abiding and they expect to obey any valid court orders. In this they shall have my support . . ."

The President of the United States said, after waiting for Gov. Faubus to speak first:

"At the request of Gov. Faubus . . . I met with him in a constructive discussion about carrying out the orders of the Federal court. . . . The Governor stated his intention to respect the decisions of the United States District Court and to give his full cooperation in carrying out his responsibilities in respect to these decisions. In doing so I recognize the inescapable responsibility resting upon the governor. . . . I am gratified by his cooperative attitude . . ."

On Friday

Gov. Faubus declared that any further statement would be made from Little Rock. Such pronouncement will, of course, reveal what was promised with respect to the state troops. It is obvious from the official comments that some agreement was reached which Mr. Eisenhower accepted as satisfactory.

Gov. Faubus, in amplifying his commitments to obey the court's decision, did not fix any time limit of hours or days. The subpoena he accepted from federal marshals requires him to give an answer on Friday. He can, if he wishes, wait until then to reveal his intention about disposition of his troops.

What has happened is healthy. Especially so is the Governor's statement that his personal feelings are not relevant.

The law will be respected. Both Gov. Faubus and the President are agreed on that. Neither, God helping them both, could do anything else. One of the several tragic aspects of the problem, from the viewpoint of the thousands of Southerners of good will, Christian conviction, and loyalty to their country, is that politicians have deceived them. No governor can long defy the nation. No legislature can nullify the Supreme Court. No state constitution has authority over the Constitution of the United States. As Gov. Faubus said, his personal opinion about the court decision is meaningless.

That there are Southern people who will never accept the decision and send their children to desegregated schools is, of course, true. Nor, will they be forced to do so. They can still send them to parochial schools, provide private instruction, refuse to send them to any school.

Local Decision

The choice may not be that desperate. Where the extreme Southern politicians further have betrayed their people is in preventing local solutions which might have remained valid for years. Volunteer agreements are not against the law. Because of the geography of population relatively few schools would have had any major problem for years to come. In rural areas, where the colored population was heavy, voluntary agreements would have been easy. Had the local school districts been allowed to do so the white and colored people in them could have worked out satisfactory agreements. When the final chapter in this emotionally violent story is written the failure of extreme politicians to do what they always are demanding for themselves — that local authority be allowed to act without interference . . . will be the saddest chapter of all.

It may not be too late for that.

RALPH

31a White

McGILL

The President And the Crisis

Thinking out loud as the President confronts the budget problem and makes the first of his speeches to the nation:

It was only 70 years from the invention of the cotton gin to the War Between the States.

The swift passage of time, and the often abrupt change and shifts and losses in political power and prestige, were among the reasons why extremists could overcome the majority-moderates and bring on war.

Constitution

Common sense was put in a strait jacket. Men tried to, and did, outshout one another. There was no tolerance of opinion. The price for all this was tragic. We still are paying.

P 1

Now, in our time, it is only 12 years since the second great world war ended. The shifts in international power, the loss of prestige, via the rise of a prostrate Russia to a frightening peak of military and scientific strength, plus inflation and an extremist reaction in the South, are among the major reasons the administration, and the whole nation, are in a time of crisis and of danger.

Once again, common sense is not being permitted to function.

As the President said in his most recent press conference, he could not remember a day since the Egyptians seized the Suez Canal a year ago last July when some critical problem had not been put on his desk. Now the Russian satellite has been twice added.

Atlanta, Ga.

Prime Considerations

The security and economic stability of the nation should be the prime considerations. But the President is confronted with a controversy within his own party over the budget. And he, as President, cannot do other than move in the national interest. This means another huge budget. The ever-mounting, increasingly costly experiments and production of rockets and missiles are a billion-dollar headache.

Aug 11-8-57

The President is plagued, too, by men who have been influential in his councils, who have vast enterprises and stockholders expecting dividends. They are not at all interested in political principle or administrative morality. They are disturbed by Little Rock, for example, not by whether Negro children should or should not be allowed to attend the school, but only by whether this may break up the conservative coalition which for so long has held the balance of power in the Congress. It would suit them equally well to have the children in or out of school. They do not think of the issue in terms of human beings or principles.

In the field of defense they, of course, want the nation to be secure. But they want it managed without any increase in taxes. They still like Ike. But if he presents another budget, as he must, which will make for more taxation — or for the inflationary printing of more money —they will be most critical of him and unhesitatingly will demand the latter — even though it mean runaway inflation.

Disenchanted Group

It is this group . . . which so fondly and so loudly led the "I Like Ike" chorus in 1952 and 1956 . . . which now is disenchanted.

There are others in the President's councils who know better . . . and who will proceed on the principles at stake. But that in-

fluential element of his party which doesn't really care who is president, or what party is in power, may destroy him and his true conservatism.

If they are so blind as to bring on a great spiral of inflation; if they do succeed in wrecking the ability of the President to exert his genius for compromise and conciliation, they will, beyond doubt, destroy the coalition they so earnestly wish to keep.

The President will, by going to NATO in December, seek to persuade its members to carry more of the defense load. He must, in January, persuade the Congress to implement exchange of data and technical knowledge on missiles and a new plan of inter-Allied relationships in the related fields of strategy, science and politics.

If we allow the extremists in domestic problems, economics or politics to dominate, then the future of this nation will indeed be endangered. No man in this period of history can afford to think of himself as anything but an American. Our loyalty to regions, states or home towns must be secondary to our country.

RALPH McGILL

Now That They Don't Like Ike---

Funeral services for the Republican party in Virginia are scheduled to be held Tuesday, next.

The full weight of the Byrd machine, with the senator himself stumping the state, has been thrown into the fight to "destroy" the Republican organization in the Old Dominion.

Theodore Roosevelt Dalton, whose mountaineer forefathers were Republican, received 45 per cent of the total vote in 1953 when he ran against Gov. Thomas B. Stanley.

This, however, was in the days of the great retreat from the Democratic party. Thousands of Virginians had followed the "I Like Ike" banners into the Republican party in the autumn of 1952. They were not Republican out of any conviction of party principles. They just liked Ike. Also, in 1953 Mr. Eisenhower was at the great peak of popularity which, while not presently at the old Everest-like peak, is yet above average altitude.

In 1953 in Virginia there were those who wore their political allegiance for Ike as a social badge. Democrats were looked upon as occupying an inferior status. And so, for Ike's sake, thousands of them voted for GOP candidate Dalton.

But since that time there has been the civil rights fight in the Senate and passage of a rights bill. Virginia has declared a policy of complete resistance to the Supreme Court school decision and court cases are on appeal. Thirdly, the Little Rock story was a further disillusionment to many of the Virginians who quit the Democrats to become "Ike Republicans."

Whatever votes the now lonely Mr. Dalton receives will give a much fairer estimate of Republican strength than the vote of 1953. With the Byrd machine asking for a great turnout of votes to "destroy" the GOP, Theodore Roosevelt Dalton will do well indeed to receive 25 per cent.

The GOP funeral services will be held as advertised.

It will be interpreted as a setback for the two-party system . . . which it will be. But the realists will know that the great crowding of disillusioned Democrats to Ike's banner—because they were angry with Harry Truman . . . wasn't really a sound, fundamental second-party growth. By no means all those who liked Ike in 1952 and 1953 have ceased to like him. But the frost is on the GOP pumpkin in Virginia . . . and Mr. Dalton will be harvested and sacked by the Byrd combine.

Republicans at the professional level will not pay too much attention to Virginia. They know what results there will be. Aside from a feeling of sympathy for their nominee, they will keep an eye on New Jersey, which also votes on Tuesday.

Popular Governor

In that state Democratic Governor Robert B. Meyner, who has been a rather popular governor, is challenged by energetic millionaire publisher Malcolm S. Forbes. All possible Republican strength is being thrown behind him. Vice President Nixon has been in the state to speak for him, and the President has expressed his hopes and wishes for his victory.

In the past five years six GOP governors have been defeated. During the summer William Proxmire won the Senate seat in Wisconsin in what was a real body-blow to GOP hopes. Mr. Proxmire was given almost no chance to capture the seat left vacant by the death of Joe McCarthy. The shock of it was great. It caused the party managers, once they had recovered breath, to go all out in New Jersey to stop the trend.

If, late Tuesday evening, or on the following morning the news is that Governor Meyner has defeated the GOP's Mr. Forbes, it will be a piece of news which will cast its shadow across the next three years into 1960.

RALPH McGILL

In the Wake Of Brownell

Reaction to his departure likely brought a wry smile to the face of U. S. Attorney General Herbert Brownell. But since he is a political realist, or "pro," perhaps there was understanding in it.

Almost no one was sorry to see him go . . . even those who liked him.

He had provided a necessary service in the development of the Eisenhower administration. But politics is the art of the possible. And Herbert Brownell had reached that point in the evolution of the government where he could no longer function with ease in the practice of the art.

He generally was credited with the decision to send troops to Little Rock. It could hardly have been anyone else. He was the attorney general. If one thinks it through, it was really Gov. Orval Faubus who "sent" the troops. He pushed his luck too far on the advice of those who said, "Ike will back down. He doesn't like tough decisions." So the gamble was made that the President would abandon the District Court. The troop commander then unnecessarily and foolishly complicated it by the blunder of having bayonets on the rifles. But almost all the blame was directed at the attorney general. Most of the editorial dead cats were thrown his way.

Mounting Resistance

But for some years there has been a slowly mounting resistance to Herbert Brownell. Well before Little Rock he and his office had lost, if indeed they ever possessed, all flexibility of approach and action. The attorney general's rigid personality was a contributing factor.

Since Gov. Faubus and Attorney General Brownell were cast by fate as the two principals in the drama, we may proceed to employ them for illustration. Gov. Faubus, the man of unrevealed purpose, who twice publicly proclaimed the Supreme Court decision to be the law of the land, had gone so far "out" he could not get back without help. He had made Attorney General Brownell the "devil of the piece" and he could not, and would not, make any compromise. There is now at least the possibility of a thaw.

Communications may be resumed, although, of necessity, there will remain a certain wonder by the government about Gov. Faubus and his previous unkept promises. But the "devil of the piece" is gone. And in his place is a pleasant young man, William Pierce Rogers. He knows the art of getting along with people.

In congressional hearings he will be able to take questions and give answers without becoming angry, rattled or hurt. He can work behind the scenes. That he has the same attitude toward the Supreme Court decision as did his predecessor is of necessity true. He could not take the oath of office if he was of another mind.

Attorney Rogers

But Attorney General Rogers will be different from the rather stiff and austere Herbert Brownell. He will be a superior attorney general. He will make a better adviser for the President. He will better fit the conciliation temperament of Mr. Eisenhower. He will be able to meet governors, senators, congressmen, on a common ground. He may not agree with them, but they will know he understands their problem. This latter point is the essence of "getting along" in politics.

Since he is a friend and confidant of Vice President Nixon the more pragmatic will be asking whether Mr. Rogers will be an attorney general or a politician. He will, of course, be something of both . . . as all attorneys general must be. But he is almost certainly too intelligent and too sensitively aware to do anything other than attend strictly to business. The worst disfavor he could do his friend would be to act the partisan.

So the departure of Mr. Brownell brings possibilities of relaxation and a sense of opportunity to all the problems of our time, not merely Little Rock. We have an official who, while he will act officially, will also be able to apply unofficial human understanding to those problems.

And that is the real measure of a successful public servant.

It also explains why Secretary Dulles has become a political liability at home and abroad.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution Atlanta Ga. Mar 29-57

Ike and Our Checks-Balances

It may well be said that never before in our history have the democratic processes of our Republic been in greater health than now. And the place which President Dwight D. Eisenhower has in that condition of functional stability of our checks-and-balances system is one which excites curiosity and suggests analysis of things as they are.

The President has been under attack for hemming and hawing, for vacillating, and for, on occasion, seeming to reveal that he is not really aware of what is going on in his name or that of his administration.

In the Dixon-Yates mess, for example, he gave the well-planned attempt to destroy TVA his full backing and assured the public, via a press interview, the deal was a clean one. Later he discovered it was not and, against considerable pressure, abruptly cancelled it. He had not, it seemed, been told all the facts.

Coming down to more recent times, we have the historic example of the administration budget. The President presented it with full faith. His secretary of the Treasury was critical of it. The President then seemed himself to lose faith in it and suggested the Congress might find ways to reduce it. He all but destroyed any possibility of obtaining what was, after all, merely an adequate budget. Then he came to its defense and salvaged the necessary items.

Civil Rights

The civil rights legislation offers the most recent illustration. The GOP platform endorsed it. The President called for its enactment. But at a subsequent press conference, he confounded reporters, and the public, by saying he only recently had read it and was not too strongly in favor of some of the things in it.

This led to angry muttering within his own party. "Where does the White House stand?" they asked, heatedly and profanely.

The question was valid. It was not possible to say where the President stood.

Yet, it now is quite possible to say the President, by thus separating himself from party dogma, has done the nation valued service. The American people are not generally ready to accept the fact that this nation, without any choice, is called to world leadership and must supply both morality and material goods. Because of our necessary concern with domestic politics, compromise and disassociation from partisanship is difficult.

Because the President did so speak about civil rights legislation, the much discussed Section Three was amended to cover only violations of the voting right. The portion which enabled it to be used in enforcing school integration was removed. The President's words forced this compromise.

Court's Citations

On the day before the vote a jury at Clinton, Tenn., upheld a court's citation for contempt. The court itself had not acted to require integration. It issued contempt citations, not for inciting disorder, but for violating a court order against such interference. The whole action was in behalf of the American tradition of local, self-government. The Clinton jury was the American way. It showed, by comparison, that coercive powers in Section Three were the wrong way.

Out of the Congress will come a protected voting bill. In 1957 none can deny the fundamental right to vote. That it will bring crisis, perhaps a spate of gerrymandering, and even abolishment of some Southern counties, is entirely possible.

But the processes of democracy continue. Even the tirade against the Supreme Court has abated.

The presidential use of the checks and balances, which occasionally seems, and is, indecision, may prove to be the chief ingredient of our national health.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution Atlanta Ga. Mar 31-57

What Will The GOP Do?

By now decisions must have been made in four aspects of civil rights legislation as final Senate action appears near.

1. Republicans working in the House must determine whether to accept the jury-trial amendment adopted in the Senate or to refuse it. A substantial number want to stand firm against the change even though this would mean no legislation at this session. Their argument is they have made an honest effort and the people know it. They do not think Northern Democrats should be given the opportunity of dramatizing their support of civil rights which they could do if the GOP accepts. If no bill is passed the deep wound in the national Democratic party will bleed and fester even more than now. They might be able to destroy the effectiveness of the party in the 1958 congressional elections.

2. Others of the GOP leadership argue it is better to accept the amendment providing a jury trial in criminal contempt cases in federal courts, since the right to vote section remains and is a civil matter, not criminal. The bill, even as amended, is a substantial advance for protection of Negro voting rights. The South still does not permit much Negro voting in many of its rural areas. Hence, their insistence that it is better to take "two-thirds of a loaf," and go to the voters with the promise of strengthening it.

Democrats' Dilemma

3. Democrats also have a dilemma. Northern members of the party have, out of conviction and principle, and also because of political necessity, supported the bill as presented. They, too, must decide whether to accept the amendment or, when it comes to the House, stand and defeat it, thus killing the bill for this session. If the GOP decides to go along, the Northern Democratic choice will be the more difficult from the purely political viewpoint. They could exploit their own support the more by opposing.

4. Southern Democrats opposed the bill out of conviction and politics. Southern senators from the Deep South would be defeated if they had voted for the bill. From the purely political viewpoint they had only to make a public fight to strengthen their position. They, unlike Northern Democrats, have no GOP rivals. But they do include an extreme faction which wants no civil rights legislation at all, even though it be a right to vote. This group wants to filibuster to the bitter end. It does not at all consider the South has won a victory. But the less extreme know that to oppose voting rights will play into the hands of Republicans seeking a stronger bill. The effect might be such in the 1958 elections that Republican strength would be increased enough to restore, by amendments next year, what last week was taken from the bill.

Lone Winner

By now decisions must be reached so that when the House has the Senate bill returned to it, action can begin. The President, too, has a decision. He may veto. The bill does weaken the power of federal judges.

As of now the greatest and only real victory has been won by a man whose name has figured but little in the debate. That person is Vice President Richard M. Nixon. His statement was to the effect that it was a sad day for the nation when the Senate voted against protecting voting rights. His GOP rival had been scarred by the defeat. As of now Mr. Nixon is even more sure to be the party nominee in 1960.

Greatest loser is the national Democratic party.

It will be hard-pushed to hold its own in the 1958 congressional races. It can hardly have a chance in 1960 unless some great change is wrought in the nation's political climate. The gulf between the Northern and Southern wings is wide and bitter.

The South, or that portion of it which does not wish to be fed a continual diet of pablum, should not fail to note that the Senate action was, in fact, still another blow to the desperate attempt to hold the segregation line. Demagoguery is not enough. As has been well noted, demagoguery is a two-edged weapon which cuts both ways. The South cannot afford to make itself vulnerable by using it in the historic days which remain for the debate which will see the voting bill killed or adopted.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution Atlanta Ga. 31a White Thurs. 8-1-57

Don't Forget Mr. Nixon

With Sen. William Knowland laboring and sweating in behalf of the compromise civil rights bill, like the blood-sweating behemoth, the political pundits are trying to assay how much pay dirt there is in it for the senior California senator in particular, and for the GOP in general.

There is some there.

Sen. Hubert Humphrey, of Minnesota, was pinned to the interrogatory mat with a question as to how much impetus would accrue to the Republicans.

"Some," said the astute Minnesotan. "I still think the voters will remember that the process has been a long and continuing one. It began under Franklin Roosevelt with REA, with Social Security, and other progressive legislation. It continued under Harry Truman. "But," he said, "if my party must lose for failure to pass rights legislation under a Democratic president then I say we must pay the cost."

It was a shrewd answer. But an honest one. The GOP will benefit.

There is a theory currently being aired that Sen. Knowland will profit enough to gain him the governorship of California and a chance at the 1960 nomination.

A Demurrer

To the 1960 suggestion, at least, I would like to enter a demurrer.

A lot of dust has been kicked up. It will not subside for some days. When it does it will be seen that Richard Milhous Nixon, vice president of the United States, is still far ahead in the GOP field.

It is well known, among those who will be influenced by the passing of civil rights legislation, that Mr. Nixon was in the forefront of those pushing a strong bill while Sen. Knowland was forced to compromise in the face of skillful Southern strategy led by Sen. Richard B. Russell. These persons also know rights legisla-

tion would never have reached the floor when it did but for a key ruling by the vice president, who presides over the senior chamber.

Off the floor he can be active. And vocal. He presently is leading the "cloakroom" campaign to muster enough votes to deny amending it to provide a jury trial for contempt cases.

The vice president also took a strong position for federal aid in construction of school buildings. He made much more of a fight than did the President himself. The school people are not unaware of this.

Public Schools

Mr. Nixon knows, as do people in education, that crowding in our public schools, already critical, is going to become much worse. A federal aid to education bill is inescapable. There will be such legislation because there is no other way out. It will have a good chance in the 1958 Congressional session. By then the many-million-footed thunder of little feet will have echoed in and around the nation's schoolhouses for about three months. If the bill doesn't get through in 1958, as is likely, it is a sure shot for 1959.

When it does come through Richard Milhous Nixon will be one of the shining knights in so far as the teachers and parents are concerned.

It also should be noted he has managed to give vigorous support to the President—as he was duty bound to do. But he has been skillful enough to make his record clear without getting himself into the "modern Republican" row.

He knows that the Republican Old Guard has not nominated any presidential candidates for a long, long time. And it won't be doing that in 1960.

What the Old Guard seeks to do runs contrary to the great currents of world affairs, both sociologically and economically. It can no more dominate a national political convention than can the Deep South conservatives of the Democratic Party. Neither is flexible enough.

On the Democratic side Sen. John Kennedy of Massachusetts is still the front runner. It should not be overlooked that he is building himself a political record which basically is that of Mr. Nixon in so far as major issues are concerned. When the civil rights bill came before the Senate, for example, he voted to retain all of Section Three, which was the Nixon position.

No one is going to benefit as much as Mr. Nixon.

RALPH MCGILL

The 14th Amendment

This is a piece about the 14th Amendment. It's in all the encyclopaedias, with more detail than there is room for here.

The Fourteenth Amendment is in the news and letters to the editors because the Supreme Court relied on it for its 1954 school decision. As has been noted here before, for purposes of background information, the Supreme Court had, one might say, for some years been blowing the whistle for the crossing.

It was making antisegregation school decisions on the basis of the 14th Amendment as early as 1938. This first was in Missouri where the law school was ordered to admit a colored citizen of the state. Similar decisions followed in Oklahoma and Texas. In these, and other less important cases, the court made use of the 14th Amendment.

First Section

The text of the first section of what is a rather lengthy amendment, is as follows:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

It is this first section which several times has been employed by the court to mean that no citizen may be treated differently from another because of race, color or religion . . . that no state may make any laws which in any way abridge or infringe on the rights of any citizen.

The amendment is a long one and all citizens ought to read it thoroughly and discuss it at home.

The fact is, as any thoughtful citizen will agree, that the 14th Amendment is as necessary as the first 10, called our bill of rights. None of us would like it if a state could make laws abridging or infringing on our rights guaranteed by the Constitution. If there weren't such a guarantee in the Constitution we would all be trying to get one.

Why, then, do we hear—and read—people saying that the 14th Amendment is not legal when, quite obviously, it is legal and is one so valuable to all of us?

Tragic Time

The answer is out of another tragic and troubled time in the South. Lincoln had a plan for peaceful, honorable return of the Southern states to the Union. The South always has had the bad luck to be hurt by its fanatics. John Wilkes Booth murdered Lincoln. In the emotional orgy which followed, the radical extremists took charge of the Congress.

In 1865, after the adoption of the 13th Amendment abolishing slavery, a number of Southern states angrily passed laws denying the newly freed persons the right to vote, to own property or to give evidence in court. This was just what the radicals had been hoping for. The South was vulnerable. The 14th Amendment was presented as an answer to this unfortunate state legislation. All Southern states, save Tennessee, rejected it. There followed excesses of injustice, persecution and occupation which are a blot on our history.

No state could be readmitted to the Union unless it did ratify the amendment forbidding any state to abridge the rights of any citizen. In time all the states did, under this heavy pressure, vote for the amendment. They succeeded in making it less harsh. In this generation various evasions of it such as the white primary, for example, have been declared unconstitutional. The 1954 decision invalidated one of 1896 setting up the doctrine of separate-but-equal.

It is the element of coercion which causes some to argue that the amendment is not valid. We should not lie to ourselves about it. It is valid. And, despite its vengeful origin, it is a necessary protection for all of us.

Let us, for the purpose of perspective, note what hasty, angry extremes will do. The unwise, unjust state legislation forbidding civil rights to the newly freed persons provided the radicals with an excuse for their graver injustices.

RALPH

McGILL

Both FDR And Ike Once—

Rex Tugwell was one of the more able of the Roosevelt "brain-trusts" in the early days of the New Deal which took hold when the nation, and much of the world, lay paralyzed by the great depression.

In a book just published he tells us that Roosevelt once ting the Democratic Party and heading a more progressive one.

The late Wendell Willkie, twice Republican nominee, was interested in joining him and, perhaps, running as his vice president.

It is an interesting tale . . . and no doubt true.

Nor is it unique.

We were told in early 1956 that Dwight D. Eisenhower, brooding over the reactionary grip on the throat of Modern Republicanism, himself seriously considered quitting the Republican Party and running as a progressive.

Neither Mr. Roosevelt nor Mr. Eisenhower went beyond discussion of it. Both were driven to the idea because they were harassed and thwarted by leaders within their own party who had ridden to victory on the platform of progress and who then proceeded ruthlessly to oppose most of the planks and promises of it.

Willkie died suddenly, and tragically, of pneumonia when the nation had great need to hear his hoarse, awkward, but honest voice. And Roosevelt himself succumbed in 1945 before another Republican of liberal bent moved into the picture.

usation

evelt, of course, who was so viciously accused by the stupid and uninformed of seeking to be an emperor or a totalitarian, was the antithesis of that philosophy. Tugwell rather ruefully writes that FDR let him out because he, Tugwell, with all his planning, was suspected of totalitarian tendencies.

And Roosevelt, in 1933, when the corrosive effects of the bitter depression were beginning to be so evident, named two Americans who were, he thought, of "political bent." . . .

Roosevelt spoke of Long, said Tugwell, by "referring to Hitler and his haranguing method, his unscrupulous use of specious appeals, his arousing of hate, envy, fear and all the animal passions."

Tugwell says of FDR:

"There was latent, he thought, not far below the uneasy surface of our disrupted society, an impulse among a good many 'strong' men, men used to having their way, mostly industrialists who directed affairs without being questioned, a feeling that democracy had run its course and that the totalitarians had grasped the necessities of the time. People wanted strong leadership; they were sick of uncertainty, anxious for security, and willing to trade liberty for it.

Symbolic Figure

". . . What was lacking was the familiar symbolic figure—the man on horseback—to give it realism. . . .

"There was none so well endowed with charm, tradition and majestic appearance as MacArthur. . . ."

That "latent feeling," of course, is not confined to Americans.

It is present in any society, it seems, in times of great economic or political insecurity. We saw it flare a bit in answer to the late Joe McCarthy's methods. There were those willing to trade liberty for McCarthy. So far, at least, the common sense of the American people has asserted itself to restore balance.

As for the political parties, the division remains. Despite the great unanimity for Ike at the convention, many of his leaders opposed him after election. And the Democratic Party is divided by no split, but a gulf.

There has been no open decision, for obvious reasons, but the progressive Republicans, including the President, presently look with favor upon Vice President Nixon. The reactionary GOP group which drove Eisenhower to consider striking out with a party of his own by opposing most of his measures in the Congress now backs Sen. Knowland for the nomination.

The Democrats, irreparably divided by the Deep South position on school integration, face an even more melancholy political future. There is no chance for bridging the gulf. And the Arkansas story, along with others, makes almost certain an acrimonious "rights" Congress in 1958.

RALPH

McGILL

A Quiet Political Essay

That the tragic episode in Little Rock will have political results is certain. But much of the present speculation seems to be much too loose.

One thing may be said for sure . . . the Republican Party did not seek to produce the situation, nor did the President act out of politics. Attorney General Brownell, whom many have made the devil of the situation, certainly is too astute a politician to contribute any impetus to the decision for political ends.

In the first place, the net effect is rather sure to produce a gain for the Democrats in the next election, which is 1958. In 1952 and 1956 the Republicans elected eight congressmen in the upper tier of Southern states. Virginia had two, Kentucky two, Tennessee two, Texas one and Florida one. Tennessee, of course, usually elects one. But even so, there was a substantial congressional advance by the GOP in Dixie.

If the present emotional revolt of the people continues into the election of next year, as it well may, the Democrats should regain most, or all, of these seats. The Republicans know this only too well.

No Political Gain

The President cannot again be a candidate. And those who have heard Dwight Eisenhower discuss his policy know that paramount in his mind is the determination not to do anything in office which any critic, or any researcher of the years ahead could term purely political. No political gain can come to him from the segregation crisis. And, indeed, he is too decent a man to have sought it—were it possible.

It is a curious judgment which would see any political gain in it for the Republicans. That party already is in trouble in the farm belt. The school issue quite obviously will cost the GOP substantial strength in the border and upper Southern states. To this must be added resentment over the Sputnik moon defeat.

To argue that Herbert Brownell would seek a showdown such as we have in Little Rock almost on the eve of the 1958 congressional elections is certainly an exercise in political unreality.

But the argument goes, "he has done so to win the Negro bloc votes in 1960. Well, to be sure, 1960 is three long years away. And for the party to be effective in 1960, it must maintain strength in 1958. This will be enormously more difficult to do because of reason already advanced.

Clear Record

The Democrats in the East, senators and congressmen, have a clear record. They have, indeed, used the Little Rock crisis to initiate a campaign against Southern Democrats which has perhaps forever widened the split in the national party. There is no reason to believe their position will be damaged in so far as their local state campaigns are concerned. Both in 1952 and 1956 the Democrats in the North were able to hold their own very well on the basis of their local records. They will be helped, too, by discontent in the farm belt.

Little Rock also will greatly increase the 1960 convention difficulties of the Republicans. The problem of delegates from the South, especially the Deep South, will be a nightmare for the GOP.

The issue does bolster the chances of Vice President Richard M. Nixon to become the GOP nominee. He still holds the loyalty of most of the conservative wing. The modern Republican faction also will support him. He made the Senate ruling which enabled Republicans to bring the civil rights bill to the floor.

The tragic story of Little Rock already has done severe damage to the Democrats. It has ripped to bits the really brilliant strategy of Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, who had saved the party from being destroyed in the civil rights fight. "Little Rock" will bring the civil rights bill back in January. It will be that session which really will see the competitive bidding for Negro support in the big key states. And in this the Northern Democrats will be active bidders.

As matters stand now the GOP hasn't yet been helped. But as its leaders are aware, the Southern Democratic wing has been badly crippled in that its bargaining power has been sharply reduced.

RALPH

McGILL

This Is About Ike

This is about Ike . . . Dwight David Eisenhower, 34th president of the United States.

From the beginning, when his name first was mentioned as a presidential possibility, the nation knew this much about him—

He was a man who had the gift for moderation, for conciliation and avoidance of extremes.

When he was elected, he declared he would try his honest best to be the president of all the people, regardless of party.

Without question, he has tried to do this.

He has succeeded to the point that this virtue at times seemed almost a vice.

He could not fail to see, in the campaign swings of 1952 and 1956, that the people liked him. He responded. It is human nature to like being liked. The response of the people, their at times almost overwhelming expressions of affection for him, created in him an inevitable reaction. He liked them. Perhaps this led him, at times, to be naive and try to please everyone. If so, there are worse errors.

It is possible here to speak out of a personal knowledge. The President resolved that whatever might be said of him when he completed his term of office, none could say of him that he had been "just a politician."

Differences

It may be that his weakness lies in the fact he believes most human differences can be removed, or at least ameliorated to the point of agreement, by an honest approach and a generous recognition of the prejudices and difficulties involved. Winston Churchill has said that it was this great gift which made it possible for Gen. Eisenhower to take all the jealous, suspicious elements of the Allied forces, including the governments in exile, and weld them into a unified force which won a great victory.

There is no doubt but that he has this gift.

Be that as it may, the fact remains Dwight D. Eisenhower has held to his principle—he has tried to be the president of all the people. None can charge him with

fear, timidity, and an unwillingness to "rough it up" when roughing it up was needed.

This quality of his patience was never more in evidence than in the Little Rock school case. The governor of Arkansas was using state troops to thwart the decree of a district court. But, though the NAACP and the critics charged him with timidity and "naivete," the President waited. The governor of Arkansas asked for a conference. It was granted. When it was done, the governor emerged to say he accepted the Supreme Court decision as the law of the land, and that he and his people were law-abiding. The President shook his hand, and as they parted, wished him luck.

The Record

What followed is in the public record. After four days the governor, who had pledged himself to what he, the governor, voluntarily had called "the law of the land," had his attorneys walk out of the court with a defiant statement, withdrew his troops and thereby allowed a mob to take control next morning. The patient President, still delaying, sent a request asking for observance of the law. On the second morning the mob was still there. Troops were then sent in. He had no choice but to act. His oath and the Constitution required it. He had not changed. He is still the same man of good will.

That many politicians who have so long deceived and inflamed their people should then denounce him as a tyrant and revile him in the most inflammatory terms seems but a further unhappy commentary on that leadership.

If Ike had used troops to stop a strike, in violation of the law, he would be cheered, not damned.

One keeps remembering that picture on the front porch at Newport. The President was shaking hands . . . he even had an arm around the governor who had said he would obey the law.

Who has served his country best?

In this critical time Dwight D. Eisenhower is the one man who can provide leadership. He alone can support the Southern people who, while opposing segregation, nonetheless believe in law. He alone can prevent the issue from falling into the hands of extremist mobs. We can be thankful we have a man of good will and moderation in the White House, and not one who is acting for votes.

RALPH

Atlanta Ga

McGILL

Constitution

Let No One Delude Himself

Sept. 30, 57

My first managing editor was a gaunt, tall and cadaver-like man. Legend has it he did not take his corn cob pipe out of his mouth when he went to bed. His name was Marmaduke B. Morton. He had been schooled by Henry Watterson on the old Louisville Courier-Journal. He was a hard and unyielding man, but a good teacher.

"As in religion, so it is in newspaper writing," he would say. "There are just two great commandments. The first one is that a man writing should put the fodder down where the stock can reach it. And the second is, don't lie to yourself."

The first commandment calling for simplicity of expression isn't always easy. The second is the most difficult of all, because there are times when the easiest way out is to lie to one's self and pass on the lie to those who read.

Southern Governors

On Tuesday the committee of Southern governors will meet with the President of the United States. It is vitally important that between now and Tuesday, the South should not lie to itself. It is a critical time. We are, as must be plain to everyone, at a great pivot of history. Things are never going to be as they were before. The great majority of opinion in the country supports the Constitution of the United States and does not condone violence against it.

The issue of states' rights, in so far as the Constitution and its sovereignty are concerned, was decided by the War Between the States. There is not, and has not been since 1865, any state right greater than that of the national right. It is important that we understand that and not lie to ourselves about it.

As the governors' committee prepares to go to Washington, there must not be any false assumptions. There will be no ramming of anything down throats. Nor will there be any retreat from the law. The Supreme Court itself laid down the rule of deliberate speed. No time limit was set. The President, sworn to uphold the Constitution, is himself a moderate who wishes to go slowly.

The first error in Little Rock was the effort to ram defiance of federal law down the throat of the government. The President was undoubtedly sincere when he expressed his great sadness in being forced to use troops to meet this attempt to ignore the district court. The federal judge from North Dakota certainly was not happy to see the issue so drawn. But no judge of integrity can refuse to obey his oath.

There Is Time

There is yet time and there are "outs." They are not pleasant ones. Nor are they easy. In the first place, there is time. Southern states, such as Tennessee, North Carolina and Kentucky, are leaving the issue to local school boards and supporting them. That is one out. For those who say "never" there is no compulsion. They can organize church or parochial schools, or simply private ones. The very last thing President Eisenhower wishes is "to ram" anything down. There is time and there are outs. But it is important we not lie to ourselves and say the Constitution forever may be defied.

It is being said the South has been set back 50 years. That is not necessarily true. There is a growing discussion in industrial circles about whether it is wise to put new and expensive plants and industries in states which seem likely to have years of racial tension, with their schools closed or in a state of discredited inefficiency.

Our children will require more and more education. Not less. The need is for better Southern schools, not worse. If our children are to be able to hold good jobs and enter the professions they must be given the very best possible instruction.

It is not true the South has been set back. But it could be. If out of the meeting in Washington comes a will and a resolve to live by law, then the South can move forward to a great and prosperous place. But here again, it is important that no one lie to one's self. This is that time for those who truly love the South to prove it at a period when history is at a momentous pivot.

RALPH

Atlanta Ga

McGILL

Watered Down 'Education'

One of the major recommendations, in the wake of the Russian satellite, is that we get down to the business of education.

A cynic once said that education in large schools was likely to be mediocre for the same reason that in large kitchens the food is usually bad.

This, like all generalities, is not wholly, or necessarily, true. But it can be, and often is, all too accurate a conclusion.

Constitution p1

It fits our present dilemma.

Atlanta Ga

We have steadily, though slowly, allowed noneducational courses to infiltrate our system until education is limited and obscured.

Thurs. 12-5-57

Vocational instruction is a splendid, necessary idea. It is what a great many high-school graduates desire. Just as hundreds yearn to go to college, there are equal numbers who detest the idea. They wish to be at the business of farming, working as a skilled mechanic, going into some of the electronic or building trades, and so on.

But what we have done, to a dangerous extent in the secondary schools, and to an almost calamitous degree in some of our state colleges, is to produce a curriculum which is a mixture of education and vocational instruction. We desperately need to dissect out of our educational institutions the many and varied vocational courses.

Vocational Subjects

There is every reason to teach the latter. But vocational subjects should be taught in schools set up for that purpose. They should not be mixed in with education and they should not earn credits toward a liberal arts degree. Our colleges and universities are crowded with "crip" courses, some of them preposterous and artificial.

The junior college idea is one attracting increased attention. For those who wish a year or so of college serious work and for those who also may desire the "costume-jewelry" social appendages thereby attained, two years of college are an excellent idea. After that there can be the choice to go for a college degree in the arts or professions, or transfer to a vocational school in interior decoration, advanced secretarial work, foreign service in government, nursing, or any other of several noneducational careers.

Two such years would be invaluable for a young farmer, for example. He would go back to his farm with enough chemistry to understand his soils and fertilizers. He would possess some idea of general economics and an understanding of markets. His mind would be trained to read and to know where to go for information concerning the newest methods in agriculture, the results of extension service research, and so on.

These two years would be of enormous assistance to a young man or woman who planned to go into insurance, his or her own business, or who planned a place in any of the many service enterprises so necessary in large urban centers.

Necessary Occupations

Business schools, journalism, courses in administration, bookkeeping, auditing and so on, for example, all have a place and are honorable, necessary occupations. But for a university to be offering a few courses in "journalism," hotel administration, physical education, decorating, with a few liberal arts courses, is a travesty on "education." The graduated product has neither an education nor a vocation.

Nor is this the fault of the graduate or the teachers.

The fault is a national one. We increasingly have come to look to our schools to do all sorts of jobs in addition to education, to provide, as it were, an "open sesame" formula to the door of "success."

This has made it necessary to retreat from the tougher subjects which discipline and illumine the mind. So it is quite true that we have become a nation of mathematical illiterates.

And in a moment of crisis, we react with equal reliance on a "formula." We would create special "crash" courses in "sciences." That would be to imitate the Russians, and we would end up with scientists and no educated persons necessary to carry on western civilization. That this great, rich nation would have a shortage of teachers is a condemning indictment.

31a 1957

WHITE (RALPH McGILL)

RALPH McGILL

Constitution 31a

Atlanta Ga.

Having Won A Victory—

Mon 8-12-57

In the Senate contest over civil rights, the GOP leader Sen. William Knowland of California was

neither mentally agile enough nor adequately skilled in tactics to joust with Senators Richard B. Russell and Lyndon Johnson.

As a result, the Southerners were successful in amending the bill to remove what they considered objectionable. The victory was obtained without resort to the demagogic methods as were employed in years passed by Senators Bilbo, Cotton Ed Smith and others of that stripe. In this contest, Senator Eastland of Mississippi was quieted.

Having obtained the amendments they wished, it is highly important that the patriotic and thoughtful citizens of the South realize that they are faced with the inescapable responsibility of eliminating the inequities in voting rights which brought the legislation to a vote.

The debate brought out certain facts which make the South vulnerable to attack and, if uncorrected, to the introduction of punitive measures. This is not likely to be the last of civil rights legislation. But it can be if the South itself acts. If it does not, a loss of Congressional control is almost assured.

Vulnerable Points

These vulnerable points were covered in a report introduced late in the debate, from investigations by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. They, and other instances of violation of voting rights, are unquestioned and not possible of denial.

The bill, as finally passed by the Senate and sent to the House, is confined to voting rights. Whatever may be one's personal prejudices, it is no longer possible to oppose the right of all eligible citizens freely to cast a ballot.

Figures introduced in the record, and which went undenied, showed that only 23 per cent of Negroes over 21 were registered in the seven Southern states of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia in 1956. This compared with 70 per cent, and more, of citizens of voting age who actually voted in other states across the nation.

The Senate bill did not at all bar qualification laws. It cannot. But it did find that various state laws required detailed definition, or interpretation, of federal and state constitutions and that in many cases these tests were applied only to persons of color. In some areas there were complex, often unjust, literacy tests which were applied to some seeking to be registered, and not to others.

Rural Areas

It was undenied, too, that in some areas registration offices were often inaccessible; that many registrars in rural areas met at hours when Negroes would find it difficult to attend, and that in some places votes were not counted when cast.

These charges were sustained by FBI reports. These were officially a part of the record.

Some senators denied they took place in their states, or districts. But there was no denial that they did, in fact, take place in some areas. Nor was there denial that these methods are wrong and in violation of civil rights. They are wrong. And they have been used in varying degrees in all our Southern states.

It's precisely here that those Southerners who do love their states and region must come face to face with reality. There may be qualifications for voters. But they cannot be discriminatory. Nor may they be administered unfairly or unjustly. No jury trial will protect those who violate this civil right.

If the South fails to be just it will destroy the ability of its senators to be effective in this period of transition. It is at once obvious there is going to be a civil rights bill confined to voting rights. Even if the President vetoes there will be no escaping, or defeating, eventual passage of such a bill. To continue injustice in administering voting laws will be to sabotage the Senate leaders who have been so successful. It is not any longer possible to condone or overlook withholding the ballot. Our senators cannot longer defend it.

Those who refuse to face this fact fail their states and the future.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution

Atlanta Ga.

The Face Of the South

31a White

Thurs. 8-12-57

There is an old proverb: "Oh, great and wise, be ill at ease when your words and deeds please the mob."

There was a picture of a smiling Gov. Orval Faubus, of Arkansas. Neatly dressed and flawlessly barbered, he was accepting a federal contempt citation in the school issue from an impeccably clad and proper federal marshal.

There were other pictures. They revealed that the Nashville demonstrators, some of whom provided the criminals who dynamited a $500,000 school to ruins, in a typical answer of a mob, were neither smiling nor neat. Most of them, indeed, were not from Nashville. They looked, in their posed pictures, as if they had been dressed for the part by some movie director with extras hired to portray a mob.

The same generalization would describe the demonstrators as depicted by photographs taken in Little Rock and Alabama.

Looking at them, one feels pity and compassion, knowing them to be the pawns of agitators and ignorance. But one feels strongly that they must not be allowed to become the face of the South.

Law-Abiding

In both Little Rock and Nashville, the citizens, white and colored, went about their business as usual. The stores had white and Negro customers. Traffic moved in the streets. One could not assume these peaceable white citizens approved of the Supreme Court decision. But they are American citizens and are law-abiding.

We saw demonstrated that mobs of from 500 to 1,000 out of a population of several hundred thousand have provided the headlines of violence. The great body of citizens, whatever their discontent, have lived by law.

Too often neat and impeccable men, occupying high, sound ground, withdrawing carefully from violence and, indeed, denouncing it, nonetheless have reason to be ill at ease. Their words and deeds have pleased the mob.

The South has suffered an irreparable blow.

All the sympathy, all the respectable attention focused on the problem by the Southern Senate leadership in the civil rights debate, now has been blown down by the dynamite, the violence and the demonstrations of the mobs.

This Senate leadership succeeded, to a great extent, in persuading the nation their region would take a legal approach; that life and property and human rights were safe.

The men who mutilated an admittedly innocent Negro in Alabama merely to impress their fellow Klansmen, the dynamiters who blew down a $500,000 school building when the South needs more schools, not less; the disorder and violence of utterance in Little Rock—all these have become the face of the South.

And yet, the total number of those who have demonstrated and dynamited, is less than 2,500.

Truth

People do not like to be told the truth. Too much of the comment today is on the narrow basis of whether one is "for or against segregation." That is not at all the basic issue before us. The fact is that millions of Southerners who strongly support segregation and who would do all that is possible to retain it, are not willing to tear down the government with violence and anarchy. Another truth too often is concealed from the Southern people, who are as decent and law-abiding as any other. The rest of the nation is not sympathetic with, and does not approve of, the defiant and violent positions taken.

There are yet legal steps to be taken. They will be highly technical.

They have begun in Little Rock.

In Nashville, the local police are able to handle the 500-odd demonstrators. They have moved against the agitator John Kasper, who has been throwing raw meat to the mobs.

In Alabama, Ku Klux Klansmen are under arrest.

When the due processes of law are exhausted the decision must be accepted as law. As a civilized, Christian people we cannot live by the rule of dynamite.

Editors, governors, commentators, ministers—all those who speak out—will do well to remember the old text: "Be ill at ease when your words and deeds please the mob."

The face of the South must not be that of the mob.

RALPH
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Atlanta Ga.

Big Givers In Politics—

Wed. 2-6-57

A report by a Senate committee with the unexciting title "Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections," has produced a tome so heavy one would take care not to drop it on one's toe. Yet, it is frothy with interest.

The committee is one which looked into the contributions and expenditures of the 1956 election.

That the Republicans outspent the Democrats two to one is not surprising. That was obvious during the tumultuous weeks of the campaign. The tabulation which is, of course, incomplete because by no means all expenditures are reported, nonetheless must be fairly accurate in so far as personal contributions of amounts of $500 and more are concerned.

The Republicans, on the basis of incomplete expenditure reports, spent roughly 21 million dollars and the Democrats about 11 million dollars.

The concentration of "big givers" in New York is dramatically illustrated by the committee findings. Its report "viewed with alarm" the heavy campaign expenditures by persons "affiliated with big business, and large vested interests, and by wealthy individuals, on the one hand, and organized labor on the other. . . ."

An Example

"As an example," said the committee, in discussing this "unhealthy state of political affairs," "the contributions in excess of $500 made by the officers and directors of 225 of our largest corporations totaled $1,816,597 to the Republican Party and $103,725 to the Democratic. Contributions by labor officials totaled $16,500 to the Republican Party and $2,500 to the Democratic Party. . . . On the other hand, 12 selected wealthy families contributed $1,040,526 to the Republican candidates and only $107,109 to the Democratic Party. . . ."

It is the breakdown of the contribution figures which emphasizes the financial weight of New York state.

"A breakdown shows," says the committee, "that the total contributions in the amount of $500 and over made by individuals in the state of New York to the Republican Party ($2,382,047), almost equals the total aggregate amount of such contributions ($2,820,655), which the Democrats received IN ALL THE STATES, including New York, territories and possessions. . . ." (Capitals my own.)

A further breakdown reveals that "of substantial sums . . . contributed by residents of New York state, $2,077,000 of that contributed to the Republican Party was contributed by persons listing an address on Manhattan Island."

From Manhattan

"Thus," continues the committee, "it appears that Republican contributions in amounts of $500 and over from MANHATTAN ISLAND ALONE EXCEEDED DEMOCRATIC CONTRIBUTIONS IN SUCH AMOUNTS FROM ALL THE 48 STATES EXCLUDING MANHATTAN ISLAND." (Capitals my own.)

It is interesting to note that the Deep South Democrats, while voting the Democratic ticket, didn't make any real financial contribution. In Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Louisiana, GOP contributions were larger than the Democratic.

In only seven states of the 48 did Democratic contributions exceed Republican in amount, Alabama, Idaho, Kentucky, Nevada, Utah, Vermont and Virginia. Vermont is the real surprise. And the President carried both Kentucky and Virginia.

The Senate committee gave a special paragraph to Delaware. The report says, "In Delaware, residence of the DuPont family, where according to the 1950 census the total population is only 318,000, Republican contributions in the amount of $500 and over aggregated $232,589. This exceeds the amount of such contributions received by the Democrats FROM 30 STATES." (Capitals my own.)

The committee properly "views with alarm." It asks for more exacting legislation to cover the financial contributions of big business, big labor, and wealthy individuals. No American, of whatever party, can read the report without some sense of questioning and fear for the health of our political system.

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Tues. 2-5-57

The 3 R's And TV

Atlanta Ga.

Educational experiments with television instruction, enlarging the scope of superior teachers, have progressed to the point where their feasibility is unquestioned. This is true at all levels, college, high school and elementary.

The list of successes is impressive.

At both the college and school levels the University of Alabama is now experimenting in television instruction in 11 subjects over its state-wide network of three television broadcasting stations. Among the subjects covered are French, Spanish, reading, social sciences, physical sciences, mathematics, art, music and professional education. The broadcasting stations used are capable of reaching 95 per cent of the state schools.

The Board of Education of the City of Chicago has set up the first city-wide demonstration of the use of television in junior college instruction. The courses being taught for college credit are general biology, freshman English, social science and government. In addition, the Chicago Board of Education plans during the second semester of this year to use a physics course currently being filmed.

Closed Circuit

Fisk University is about to start its campus-wide program involving the use of closed-circuit television for courses in literature, biological and physical sciences, Great Issues of the World and Western Civilization.

Miami University at Oxford, Ohio, is currently teaching Principles of Economics, Foundations of Human Behavior, Principles of Human Physiology, and Air Science to students over a system of closed-circuit television.

The University of Minnesota is using closed-circuit television for a course in professional education which involves demonstration teaching in the University High School.

New York University is, during the current year, continuing the use of closed-circuit television for courses in English composition, French reading, man's cultural heritage and the history of civilization.

Penn State University is now in its third year of experimentation and is currently offering 13 courses over closed-circuit television including air science, speech, accounting, two courses in psychology, music, professional education, political science, business law, German, history of art and architecture, international understanding, mathematics or zoology.

San Francisco State College is broadcasting courses to college students who listen at home and to able high school students who will receive college credit for their work if they pass the examination. The courses currently offered are contemporary economics, psychology, English and art.

Major Ideas

Stephens College in Columbia, Mo., is offering to all of its first-year students a television course in major ideas and issues. The unique feature of the Stephens plan is that the students meet in small groups in approximately 50 classrooms about the campus. After a general closed-circuit presentation by a master teacher the students have an opportunity to follow up the lecture immediately in small group discussions under the leadership of a faculty member.

The Texas Education Agency, in cooperation with the Texas Association of School Administrators, 16 commercial television stations and 99 colleges and universities or all the colleges of the state offering an approved teacher education program, is providing, over the television stations, work in professional education for liberal arts college graduates.

By far the most comprehensive of these projects is that in Maryland where closed-circuit television now is being used in eight schools to teach 9th grade general science, 10th grade geometry, 11th grade United States history, 12th grade English, 6th grade science, 5th grade arithmetic, 4th grade social studies, reading in grades 1, 2, 3, art in grades 1 through 6, music in grades 4 through 6. More than 4,000 students are receiving daily instruction over television."

Ahead of us now is the problem of how to translate this use of the master teacher into some way to relieve the national teacher shortage. Progress is being made.

Meanwhile, television instruction has proved its value.

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Gold Coast Deadly Parallel

Sat. 2-16-57

On March 6 Vice President Richard M. Nixon will be in West Africa. On that day the Gold Coast becomes an independent state.

There are two

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Constitution
Atlanta Ga.
Wed. 2-20-57

A Brush Fire Grows Hotter

major reasons why Mr. Nixon will attend, representing this country.

One is that we wish to honor the orderly processes of government within the new colonial framework, which processes have marked the period since the second great world war. The British already have joined hands with India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon as they made the orderly transition from empire to commonwealth.

The new government of the Gold Coast, which country will be called Ghana, will function. The civil service established by the British will remain, as it did in India. The trains will run, the mails will be delivered, the bureaus will carry out their duties. There will be government. The transfer will be a magnificent example of a people having earned to govern, being assisted to independence.

This country has a sincere, friendly interest in this event. We have done a similar thing with the Philippines. We seek to bring in Alaska and Hawaii as states. And Puerto Rico has a government which is almost autonomous.

Colorful Ceremonies

Secondly, we would like to participate in the colorful ceremony because it will dramatize the comparison between the methods of Western nations and that of Russia with Hungary, Poland and the satellites.

The Communist shriekings about Western imperialism enslaving peoples will be up against a deadly parallel of the Gold Coast transfer and the Soviet terror and tanks in Budapest.

The Gold Coast has been a colony. Its history is an ancient one. The Portuguese and Dutch were first there. Then the British, French and Germans. It has come from the slave trade to the status of a free, self-governing nation.

The one man who has done most to accelerate progress by the Gold Coast is American educated, as are a number of others who will be in his government. He is Prime Minister Kwane Nkrumah. Born in the Gold Coast in 1909, he graduated from Lincoln University in Pennsylvania. He took a post-graduate course at the University of Pennsylvania. This he capped with a law degree from London University.

He is the first black prime minister in British Africa.

His critics say he posed as a saviour of his people from oppression . . . but that he "had to invent the oppression." They said, too, he appealed to "the young, the semi-educated, the intellectuals, the underprivileged . . ." He did. But in the elections he received about 90 per cent of the votes.

New Country

The new country will not have an easy course. There still are tribal chieftains who refuse to subordinate their authority to that of the state. The many difficulties of a new government—a new and inevitably irrational nationalism, a shaky economy—will plague him. But his government will govern because it inherits a civil service, and a know-how.

It is to this distant spot in West Africa that the vice president will go. Colonialism has been made into an epithet by the Russians. They have managed to conceal from some the fact that in this latter half of the century there is no such thing as the old colonialism.

If we can put the Gold Coast beside Hungary we will have done a good, helpful thing.

It is, as the President said, much more than a journey to attend a "ceremonial."

It is here worth noting that in four years as vice president Mr. Nixon has visited, as the White House representative, these countries:

Afghanistan, Australia, Austria, Brazil, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Laos, Libya, Malaya, Mexico, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Panama, the Philippines, South Korea, South Viet Nam, Taiwan, Thailand and Turkey.

Now, he will add the Gold Coast . . . or Ghana.

As the President prematurely withdrew from his Georgia vacation, his face was troubled.

One of the two time-bombs in our grave and frenetic world is ticking at a faster rate—the Middle East. This he knows full well.

The President, who cannot coerce Egypt's Nasser, has been maneuvered into the position where failure to coerce Israel may bring a sanction vote into the U.N. where the Asian-African bloc now can control if it votes as a unit. Russia's sudden and dramatic announcement she supports India's position that the Kashmir issue is not one for the U.N. is most significant. She has moved further to solidify the Asian bloc.

A sanctions test would make the President most unhappy. But diplomacy has many traps and often even the most experienced and wary fall into them. If sanctions are voted, then violence and fighting almost certainly will follow.

Another one of those "brush fires" will flare up.

And brush fires terrify the most stout of heart because they may get out of hand. Today almost no one thinks there will be another Pearl Harbor in the sense of a coldly planned attack.

But if brush fires may not be put out by the foaming words of diplomacy, they may well expand into an atomic or nuclear war.

Atomic Weapons

There are those, for example, who say, "Let us inform the Russians precisely at what point we will use the atomic weapons."

This has a fine, first ring to it.

But it is folly. The Russians can do exactly the same thing. In fact, they already have announced they will use such weapons if a real war develops in the Middle East.

The irony of it is, from the free world viewpoint, that Russia is herself in trouble economically and with her satellites.

At a time when the West should be profiting, the time-bomb of the Middle East begins to sound like a metronome of doom. It likely isn't. There yet remains hope. Nasser, who has defied U.N. and U.S. requests, is in a desperate situation where he might prefer to be consumed in war than pulled down by a mob or liquidated by an assassin's bullet. He is the more dangerous element. It may yet be possible to coerce Israel. But not Nasser.

There remains, too, the other time-bomb. It ticks continually. The explosive is Germany, and the issue of unity. If Germany should agree directly with the Russians, it would be on a basis of neutrality and a withdrawal from NATO.

If West Germany rejects unification, as she will, then East Germany will almost certainly become an area of violence similar either to Poland or Hungary. And if another "Hungary" should develop there, the West Germans emotionally would be pulled into it. Soviet troops are there. Poland is next door.

NATO—Germany

NATO without Germany would require that U.S. troops be stationed back near the Pyrenees . . . or that they be brought home and a ground defense plan of Europe abandoned.

The Russians skillfully play on the fears of the Europeans . . . more especially the Germans. The Soviets have warned that any atomic base which may be granted will be the first to feel an atomic attack.

We have military bases in Germany and France . . . but none is, theoretically at least, an atomic base.

All this assists the Russians at a time when they are in genuine trouble. It also seems to increase the danger of brush fires.

Some of those in the West think the Russians run a colossal bluff . . . that they are not now willing really to go into a third world war. Diplomacy is something like a poker game. But now there is the ace—the nuclear weapon—in each hand.

And there is Nasser. He is the real danger . . . he and his Russian conspirators. Nasser is a petty dictator, and like all dictators, he cannot afford to lose.

So the President is troubled, as he well may be, trying to prevent a smoking brush pile from bursting into flames.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution Atlanta Ga.

Ga.'s Footnotes To History?

31a Mon 2-18-57

Twice within recent days the General Assembly of Georgia has made news which was published, and adversely commented upon around the world.

The first action was the adoption of a resolution declaring the State Senate's opinion that the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution are null and void. The second news story concerned a House resolution calling upon the Georgia delegation in the Congress of the United States to institute impeachment proceedings against the Chief Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court and five associate justices.

Newspapers in Georgia, with complete understanding of these two resolutions, gave them routine treatment. This was not true in the rest of the nation.

The press of Russia was happy to have the news of the two resolutions. It gave them, and their satellites, a new propaganda weapon against the United States. The press of Europe was bewildered, as was much of that in the United States.

The ironic fact is that the members of the Georgia General Assembly would be dismayed if there was any slight chance of the two amendments being nullified. So, for that matter, would all our citizens.

Five Sections

The 14th Amendment is a lengthy one of five sections. It bars subversives and enemies of the nation from serving in the Congress. It sets out the constitutional provisions concerning the public debt. It establishes how congressional representatives shall be apportioned. It was the Supreme Court interpretation of the first of the five sections which angered a majority of the Georgia Assembly. That section reads:

"Citizenship defined; privileges of citizens.—All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Certainly no legislator would wish this to be eliminated from the Constitution of his country. What the Georgia press knew was that the members were seeking politically to identify themselves with what they believed to be the public opinion in their state, aroused by the segregation issue. But this is not known to the rest of the country and to foreign countries. To them it is shocking.

Right To Vote

The 15th Amendment is in two sections, as follows:

"Right of certain citizens to vote established.—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

"Congress given power to enforce this article.—The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

The Legislature of Georgia certainly does not really wish the right of citizens to vote to be abridged.

What we have here is merely a political aberration. The Legislature, because of the very Constitution which it now assaults by resolution, is entirely free to do what it has done. Its resolutions are meaningless, insofar as any action is concerned. But the second one, if adopted, will put the congressional delegation on an uncomfortable spot. At least some members may feel they will make themselves politically vulnerable if they do not carry out the resolution. This would do them great damage in the Congress, and the Legislature ought, on reflection, to withdraw it.

Members agitating these resolutions might do well to remember they will become a footnote to the history of these times. The future, and the people of it, will judge them. They presently may have helped themselves politically. But they have done the Assembly and their State a disservice.

RALPH McGILL

Journal & Constitution

Our Oxcart School Districts

Sun. 2-24-57

One of the shibboleths of American education is "local control." Atlanta, Ga.

Every state board of education is well acquainted with the jealousies and rivalries of many of its school districts, which are the managers of "local control." P. 1

How good are local districts? What sort of a job are they doing for our children?

The answer is at hand.

The 20,000 superintendents, teachers and prominent educators who attended the 83rd annual convention of the American Association of School Administrators in Atlantic City last week received an exhaustive report on that subject.

The report said flatly the nation still operates on an "oxcart system" of school districts.

To be sure, there will be those who rise to praise the ox as a noble animal, representing the more sterling qualities of our pioneer forebears. But the weight of the report's facts is too much for any team of "local pride" oxen to drag out of sight.

There are 59,000 school districts in this country.

Efficient Districts

Only 6,600 were found to be operating efficiently.

A round 8,600 have no schools at all.

Of the 59,000 the report recommends elimination of 52,000.

About 38,000 districts employ fewer than 10 teachers.

Thirty-five thousand of these operate only elementary schools.

To be efficient a school district should have a minimum of 1,200 pupils and employ at least 40 teachers. Only 6,600 districts employ that many.

"This is no time," said the investigating commission's report, "to perpetuate outmoded, inefficient, weak local school districts."

Examination into the districts recommended for elimination revealed these defects:

Meager, barren, insipid curriculums, especially at the secondary level.

An inability to secure and keep high quality teachers and administrators.

An inefficient use of financial resources and an unjustifiably high cost per pupil.

A waste of manpower through the maintenance of unreasonably low pupil-teacher ratios.

We have not been standing still. Progress goes on, apace. But what the leaders of education want is more speed.

In the last 25 years the number of local districts has dropped from 127,530 to 59,270. The one-room school, so dear to sentimentalists, and so practical in the small, rural settlements, has about disappeared.

Disturbing Figures

The nation is short 135,000 qualified teachers.

Almost 1,000,000 boys and girls are being deprived of full-time schooling by a shortage of classrooms. Several million others are in unwieldy classes of 40 or more.

Also alarming is a widening of the gap between what the students are getting in the efficient schools, and what is offered those in the inefficient districts. A shocking number of American children are receiving second-class educational opportunity.

The private colleges, which of necessity must select from the numbers of high school graduates seeking entrance, are developing an asset not generally recognized. The fact they admit students from the top 10 per cent of their classes means they have a more stable student body. Not so many drop out. They also have a superior "climate" of education. They have the better-prepared students. There is, on their campuses, a less frivolous approach to education.

The state universities, which must accept every graduate of an accredited high school within their borders, have not said so publicly, but they are greatly disturbed by the rising flood tide of students, and by the fact so much is wasted on the great percentage of those who drop out after a year or less, and on the substantial percentage who disappear in the sophomore and junior years.

Federal aid . . . and a more efficient organization of elementary and secondary schooling are required.

RALPH McGILL

Journal & Constitution

Not So Lame a Duck

Sun 2-17-57 P. 1

As the President tots up his golf and quail count at Thomasville, Ga., observers everywhere

are calculating how he will score against political, sand-trapped bunkers of the Middle East and the many tough water-guarded par-three holes requiring a long tee shot dead to the green which must be played in the next four years.

One thing can early be gotten out of the way.

He is a lame-duck President, not being able to run again.

But he is not so lame a duck, as wishful thinkers will learn.

No man whose majority was the greatest since the Roosevelt days; whose popularity is more massive than ever, can be considered a lame duck, in the real meaning of the phrase.

There is a saying that it costs Americans a great deal to educate a president in his first four years. It is true. So overwhelming was Eisenhower's initial victory, and so deep was his acceptance by the people, not many noticed how painful were the lessons he learned.

Time of Frustration

For a time by his own admission, he was so frustrated he thought of pulling out and trying to rally his following into a party of his own.

Wounds left in his back by the knives of McCarthyism are not all healed. But they are no longer toxic. The last two years of that first term were largely conciliation and consolidation.

Now, the course grows more difficult.

One of the most exacting domestic pars he must make is that on the civil rights hole. Here he has thrown his weight on the side of moderation, in the form of "rights" legislation. Southern congressional leaders have denounced it strongly. They will filibuster it. But privately they admit the bills are not so strong as those of the Truman administration.

Here, in fact, we see what is at once a weakness and a strength. His inner preference always is to avoid partisanship and factional hatchet work. He knows the latter job must be done. But he leaves it to those skilled with that weapon. And if he sometimes adds to the frustration of his critics by speaking high and noble words while one of his warriors ruthlessly is mutilating a hapless opponent, he nonetheless keeps personally clear. He nurses the dream that by doing so he can be, as he wishes, the President of all the people. He has become a very effective politician, with a keen sense of the nuances. But he manages to keep himself aloof from the realities of political strife. To him this does not seem

much of a contradiction.

Earlier Problem

Inflation has become an earlier problem than he and his advisers believed likely. It is a very present danger and threat politically and nationally. Some of the more sycophantic press now is nagging at him. This may wound him for a time, but in the long run it will be best for him.

The school aid bill, which must be enacted by the Congress if the public school system is to survive and expand, is another tough hole in the course. Already the Old Guard openly has moved against him.

It is as a peacemaker he would most like to leave his name on history. It is an ambition held by Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman. But he has the greater chance, and the greater gamble.

He must be strong . . . and yet must know when not to move strongly.

He must repair an Anglo-French alliance. He has acted by scheduling meetings with the premiers of Britain and France. He has proposed a Middle East doctrine which the Russians apparently believed had a chance to work. They have sought to counter it.

Christian A. Herter will help in the State Department. Vice President Nixon will be given additional duties. The President will need a little more variety in his cabinet . . . and will get it.

With stamina, imagination and luck, he may bring it off with par for the course.

RALPH

McGILL

Constitution P. 1

Ike Has Gone Too Far!

Atlanta Ga. Fri. 3-8-57

Well, Mr. Eisenhower finally has gone too far.

He has said all along he was a states rights man. While there were always certain testy reactionaries to say he never was,

he now has gone entirely too far with this rights business.

The President has the audacity to propose the states pay 25 per cent of future farm disaster relief operations instead of always calling on the federal government for a socialisitc near-100 per cent of it.

This certainly proves that Ike doesn't really know much about states rights. It also indicates Jim Hagerty wasn't on the job with the required interpretation of the more furious speeches by congressmen on the subject of "states rights." We all thought Jim had informed the President that when a "rights" speaker gets wound up on the subject and is flailing his arms and denouncing all those who would run to Washington for help, thus allowing the dreadful ogre of federal control to cross the sacred borders of the states, he has his fingers crossed.

President Knows

The speaker presumes the President knows the congressman is talking for home consumption. He expects the President to know that when a congressman damns the socialism of federal aid, he doesn't want the President to cut it off or reduce it.

It will horrify much of the Congress to have Ike suggest the states pay a fourth of the freight. It has cost the federal government almost $700,000,000 for disaster farm relief in the past three years. All that has come from the general tax fund. What with the drought and new demands for water, the cost will be well over $1,000,000,000 in the next three years.

States rights, as Jim Hagerty should have told the President, are mystical, somewhat mysterious rights which can be turned off and on like the light in the lamp or the heat in the toaster.

They are rights to be called upon only when the federal government wants to do something to you—not for you.

States rights, for example, demand the federal government help build highways, pay for school lunches, build hospitals, pay much of the bill for the state health department, take care of disaster relief and pay for vocational and rehabilitation education.

States Rights

But states rights also say the federal government can't help educate the children. That, they say, would mean federal control. Now, the President is expected to know the states righters are aware their states have handled all the federal money in the other aspects of aid, including education, and that it has never meant federal control.

They assumed all along the President knew the reason they don't want federal aid to general education in the elementary, secondary and college levels is just local politics and not any fear of federal control. The local politics of schools can elect or defeat a man. It is perfectly safe now to accept federal aid for education in vocational schools, rehabilitation classes, lunchrooms and in farm extension education through county agents and homemakers.

But to accept the same sort of aid for other schools might allow some opposition candidate back home to suggest the idea the congressmen were not up on their toes on the subject of segregation.

The point about states rights is that when the states are getting something they like and want, and which doesn't hurt in local politics, they are not disturbed about federal control or creeping socialism save they would prefer it gallop.

Ike now has discouraged all us states righters wanting the states to pay a fourth of the bills for disaster. This is a dangerous precedent.

Will Mr. Hagerty please get on the job and explain states rights to the boss!

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Atlanta Ga.

Who Pays the Income Taxes?

Fri. 3-12-57

Six states pay almost 60 per cent of the nation's income taxes.

They are New York, Michigan, Illinois, California, Pennsylvania and Ohio . . . in that order. New York contributes a formidable 19.160 per cent of the total. Michigan is next with about 9.5.

Total collections for the fiscal year closed last June 30, totaled $75,109,083,000. The states listed above paid $43,836,420,000, or 58.4 per cent of that amount.

The collections in each state for fiscal 1956 were:

State	Revenue Collections	Pct. of Total
Alabama	$ 454,878,000	0.606
Arizona	184,565,000	0.245
Arkansas	179,410,000	0.240
California	6,008,419,000	8.000
Colorado	782,106,000	1.041
Connecticut	1,290,299,000	1.720
Delaware	837,968,000	1.115
Florida	891,307,000	1.187
Georgia	741,893,000	0.987
Idaho	120,184,000	0.160
Illinois	6,098,034,000	8.105
Indiana	1,674,703,000	2.230
Iowa	572,345,000	0.762
Kansas	520,316,000	0.692
Kentucky	1,439,530,000	1.916
Louisiana	600,400,000	0.790
Maine	180,096,000	0.240
Maryland	1,859,169,000	2.461
Massachusetts	1,972,897,000	2,626
Michigan	7,156,469,000	9.526
Minnesota	1,151,297,000	1.533
Mississippi	166,854,000	0.222
Missouri	1,817,548,000	2.420
Montana	128,991,000	0.171
Nebraska	423,246,000	0.563
Nevada	95,690,000	0.127
New Hampshire	135,874,000	0.181
New Jersey	2,190,829,000	2.917
New York	14,350,335,000	19.160
New Mexico	124,869,000	0.166
North Carolina	1,663,147,000	2.214
North Dakota	68,955,000	0.092
Ohio	4,759,286,000	6.336
Oklahoma	702,851,000	0.936
Oregon	498,205,000	0.663
Pennsylvania	5,463,877,000	7.274
Rhode Island	301,232,000	0.401
South Carolina	270,292,000	0.360
South Dakota	79,036,000	0.105
Tennessee	565,762,000	0.753
Texas	2,406,858,000	3.204
Utah	176,107,000	0.234
Vermont	73,074,000	0.097
Virginia	1,181,631,000	1.573
Washington	891,140,000	1.186
West Virginia	311,614,000	0.415
Wisconsin	1,350,491,000	1.798
Wyoming	585,780,000	0.078
Totals	$75,109,083,000	99.828

Deep South

Those who have read the rating of states will see that no Deep South state is included among those with incomes of $1 billion or more. Nor is any of the Western group save California. In the Southwest only Texas makes that grade.

The lowest return from income taxes has a good geographic spread. Idaho, Mississippi, New Hampshire, North and South Dakota, Nevada and Vermont are among the lowest.

These figures are important for many reasons. For our purpose, they apply most immediately to the national problem of education. In the long view they have an almost frightening application to our future.

We are going to need not merely more school plants, but increased services in general by federal and local governments.

Since taxes already are about as high as they can go, we obviously need more planning and priorities. And, most of all, it is required of us we vote for well-planned bond issues to bring about improvement.

Compelling Argument

But here in the list of states is the compelling argument for federal aid to education.

Ahead of us is what has been called "the thundering patter of little feet." The greatest numbers are yet to enter elementary, secondary and college levels.

What we must have is a national plan. As it now stands, too many children in too many states are getting short-changed. They will suffer increasing discrimination in the years ahead unless there is national planning. Those states which reportedly are holding back for fear of the segregation issue had best push for federal aid and build what schools they can. The Northern and Midwestern states which pay the greatest share of taxes are not at all strong for the President's proposal because they know they would pay most of the bill.

But now is the time to plan for that great future growth. We must give priority to our children.

To do that is to serve the nation, and its future. To do otherwise is to fail ourselves.

RALPH MCGILL

Constitution Atlanta Ga. 31a 5-31-57

A Camel's Back Is Broken

Partisan friends of an Army sergeant, being tried on Formosa for shooting a Chinese intruder, clapped their hands in a great burst of applause when their friend was acquitted.

This custom, frowned on by American judges, was a straw which broke a camel's long-aching back.

To the Chinese, who think anyone who takes a life should pay some penalty, though it be slight, the applause was interpreted as coarse and cruel cheering because a Chinese had been killed. To them it seemed the Americans were happy and glad about it.

The Communist radios in Peiping and Moscow began to fill the Asian airways with charges that this was the typical, arrogant attitude of Americans toward all colored peoples, in the United States and abroad.

There were rumors the sergeant and the Chinese had been involved in black-market operations and that much evidence had been concealed at the trial at the insistence of both the Nationalist Chinese of the Chiang government, and the United States to forestall embarrassment.

Mobs gathered. The widow, with one of her orphaned daughters, appealed to the U.S. Embassy. It could do nothing. She stood before the gate and told her story. Taped recordings of it were played on amplifiers. All day the ferment grew. Old resentments surged to the surface. The tensions and the wide gulf in customs and manners made the rumors, on which all mobs feed in whatever country they develop, seem more real.

Many Americans

Many Americans, when sent to a foreign country and separated from malted milks and a shopping center, do look upon foreign peoples as "Wogs," "Gooks," etc. They cling to themselves and create resentment and friction. The fact that many other Americans make close friends, pick up some of the language, learn and respect the culture, manners and customs of the people in whose land they are based, rarely makes news.

There are some 10,000 Americans in Taiwan. Of these, some 8,500 are military and civilian technicians and advisers. The others are mostly missionaries and religious staffs.

We have major forces in Britain, South Korea, Japan and West Germany. There are U.S. military attaches, embassy guards, and occasional advisers in 68 other countries.

In all of these the problem of frictions and antagonisms is a constant one. One of the more difficult situations is that of Americans who violate local laws. In Japan a soldier has killed a Japanese woman. The Japanese want to try him. In Formosa the sergeant was tried by a U.S. court. In Korea a soldier, charged with aiding and participating in a large civilian robbery, is held by U.S. authorities. Americans would object to any other policy.

Historical Evidence

Yet, the United States cannot avoid its own historical evidence that this procedure creates wounds, and often salts them. The occupied South, after the Civil War, was under military law and there were no civil courts. The "justice" dispensed by those courts still salts Southern traditions and colors much of the attitudes of today in racial and regional issues.

The camel's back broken by the riots was that of our rigid Chinese policy. There now will be a re-examination of it.

It will be painful.

The Chiang Kai-shek government is committed to invade the mainland. It generally is admitted there is no enthusiasm for Chiang among the anti-Communists. Some younger leader might attract support. But the Chiang government can make no move unless the armed might of the United States, fleet and air, is thrown in behind their invasion. The long supply line halfway around the world makes our people shudder.

We are committed to protect Chiang—but not to aid him in aggression.

So, while Formosa is a strategic base, there is bound to be a re-examination of our policy toward Nationalist China. There persists the feeling that one reason for the riots was objection by the Chinese themselves to our failure to "loose" Chiang and go into an all-out war with him to regain China.

'Interposition Is Preposterous' Atlanta Editor Tells Students

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Tues 6-11-57

WILLIAMSBURG, Va., June 10 (AP)—"Unless American newspapers are willing to express themselves aggressively on controversial matters, they may be fighting for survival in a few years," editor Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution told the Williamsburg International Assembly here today.

"Too many," he added, "are adopting the attitude that their editorials must not be controversial, while television is carrying more and more men who ably and intelligently take stands on important issues of national and regional interest."

McGill, was one of three discussion leaders appearing today before the gathering here of foreign student delegates from 40 countries who for three days will be exploring the reality of America's democratic ideals.

The Williamsburg International Assembly is sponsored by Colonial Williamsburg as part of its educational program.

"Interposition theory," McGill went on to say, "first advanced here in Virginia, is a perfectly ridiculous proposition which, if carried to its logical conclusion, would result in anarchy. In fact, he said, "it is preposterous on its face if you will but examine it."

McGill also pointed out that the cry of states rights is all too frequently thrown up as a shield against unwanted interference from the federal government.

On the other hand, he noted, federal aid is openly welcomed when there is a dam to be built or a large swamp area to be drained.

Other speakers for the first day's session were Historian and Jefferson Biographer Dumas Malone of Columbia University and U.S. District Judge Luther W. Youngdahl, former governor of Minnesota.

U. S. Newspapers Must Fight or Die, Atlanta Editor Ralph McGill Warns

Post & Times Herald Washington D. C. Tues 6-11-57

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RALPH MCGILL

Constitution Atlanta Ga. Tues 6-21-57

'A Free Country Ain't It?'

One of the attitudes which foreign persons notice about every American is a sort of built-in cockiness.

That's because he is free . . . and always has been.

As a child he grew up being told he was an American, a free-born American, able to look the whole world in the face and tell it where to get off. His papa and mama might cuff him around for being fresh, and later he had to be careful where the boss was concerned, but otherwise he could speak his mind—get it off his chest . . . make his beef . . . cuss the President . . . damn the courts . . . denounce the mayor . . give the Bronx cheer to the chief of police . . . he was an American.

We are that way because of the Bill of Rights . . . the first 10 amendments to the Constitution. Not one in five Americans has read them.

"Me? I'm an American, see. Don't try to tell me where to get off. It's a free country, ain't it?"

The late Joe McCarthy and his followers did us a lot of harm. They persuaded a great many persons that the way to remain free was to abandon the rights so carefully written by Jefferson, Mason and others—the rights which go with a trial by jury, the many rights of a defendant to be regarded as innocent until proved guilty. The miasma of fear and hysteria made us afraid of one another. We allowed this to happen because we weren't sure of ourselves. And there was a very real menace . . . communism.

Courage Needed

Now we know we can't afford to be afraid of it. We must know it for an ever-present danger and we must oppose it with vigilance and courage. But it must now be plain that we can't win the fight with communism, which allows no individual rights, by giving up our rights. We can't win by becoming like any of the totalitarian states. We must make the idea of America—the American dream of freedom and liberty for the individual—come true.

The Constitution of 1787 did not contain a Bill of Rights.

It wasn't overlooked. A lot of persons wanted it in there.

But the framers of it said the rights had to come later. There was a good reason. Until the Constitution was adopted there wasn't any republic . . . So, the first thing to do was to ratify the Constitution which created a country, or republic. Then they began to prepare the amendments.

They had something to go on.

Bill of Rights

George Mason of Virginia some years before had written a Bill of Rights for his state. Mason's bill was not too different from the amendments finally adopted.

At first, they thought they might simply rewrite the Constitution and weave the rights into it. But it was pointed out

this would take forever. So they got the states to suggest what they wanted included.

These men had known what it was to live under tyranny.

They knew that men were arrested on trumped-up charges and that revengeful people often perjured themselves. So, they made sure a man, if arrested, had a right to know all about the beginnings of the accusation against him. They wrote in all the other protections of freedom of worship, speech and assembly. And, for that matter, of conscience. They guaranteed the right of a press to print the news and to comment on it. They made secure the rights of a family in their home. They went to great lengths to protect the individual.

When they wrote that all men were created equal they didn't, of course, mean they were equal in ability or knowledge or mentality. They did mean that in the United States citizens should be equal in opportunity and liberty.

A good idea would be for every family to get the Constitution and read the first 10 amendments out loud.

That will enable us better to understand some of the Supreme Court decisions. They gall us at times, but they remind us we do have rights which to lose is to destroy ourselves.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution Thurs. 7-25-57

They Sustained Uncle Alf's Son

Atlanta, Ga. P. 1

An all-white jury in east Tennessee's city of Clinton, one member of which was an outspoken segregationist, has sustained with a guilty verdict charges of contempt against seven defendants in U.S. District Court of Judge Robert Love Taylor.

One of the seven found guilty was rabble-rouser John Kasper, whose frenetic and hypnotic rhythm of hate and misrepresentation had brought on the riots in Clinton where a handful of Negro children had been integrated in the schools.

The verdict reportedly stunned the defense which had not argued much law, but had demanded the upholding of their version of Southern traditions.

Yet, it was not too surprising. After all, it was Uncle Alf Taylor's son, and Bob Taylor's nephew, who was the judge. And as everyone in east Tennessee knows, the Taylors always have done their duty. Not only that, but in east Tennessee there runs a tradition of respect for law, more especially federal law. The region remained largely loyal to the Union during the War Between the States. There is almost a reverence for the federal courts.

One Juror

One of the jurors, for example, after having been accepted by the government attorneys, was revealed by defense questioning to be a strong believer in maintaining segregation. Yet, this juror rejected the irrelevant appeals and stuck to the law.

The verdict will almost certainly be helpful to the South's campaign to have jury trials included in the civil rights voting bill, which seems likely to pass stripped of the ambiguously dangerous section three. Sen. Richard B. Russell, leader of the Dixie strategists, therefore, has hailed the Clinton verdict as vindicating the integrity of Southern juries. But defense attorneys angrily predicted that while such verdicts might happen in east Tennessee they would not occur in the Deep South. Georgia's Gov. Griffin seemed to disagree with Sen. Russell, terming the verdict a "distinct threat."

But whatever it may turn out to be, it was east Tennessee's decision on a court order issued by Uncle Alf's son. And that feeling for the law, too, is a tradition which runs through the Cumberland Mountains, so long as it doesn't touch a man's right to use his corn as he pleases. It is a tradition which is like a bright, sturdy thread, spun in a cabin to the sound of a fiddle tune.

Judge Robert Love Taylor is the son of a Republican governor of Tennessee, and is named for a Democratic governor and United States senator . . . his uncle, Robert Love Taylor.

The Democrat

Bob Taylor, the Democrat, was the laughing, fiddling, story-telling man, a mountain troubadour. Uncle Alf was the quiet, serious man. They campaigned for the governorship together—riding in the family buggy. And Democrat Bob Taylor won. Years later, Uncle Alf, a mighty fox hunter, was the people's choice.

That first campaign, when both were young, was called "The War of the Roses." Old Mother Taylor pinned a red rose on one and a white one on the other and sternly ordered them never to forget they were brothers.

Darkness caught them one night and they were put up at a mountain cabin. Bob, the practical joker, slipped early out of bed and made a fire in the kitchen stove. He went to the barn and milked the scrawny cow. He had coffee made when the farmer and his wife awoke at 4 a.m.

"Be quiet, please," said Bob. "Don't wake my brother. He likes to sleep late and have his breakfast in bed."

The Republican mountaineer thought it over, sipping his coffee.

"You say your brother sleeps late and eats in bed?"

Bob nodded.

"Well," said the mountain man, deeply pained, "I never thought I'd vote for no Democrat, but damned if I can bring myself to vote for a feller that eats in bed."

Bob Taylor delighted in that sort of trick. He was, in fact, the late sleeper, the fiddle player who could, and did, win votes by playing his fiddle during that campaign, making the rafters hum in many a lonely cabin.

The man on the bench at Clinton was Uncle Alf's son, named for brother Bob.

RALPH McGILL

Journal & Constitution

Dixie GOP Sees Big Chance

Atlanta, Ga.

No Southern Republican leader will at this time make public comment, but most of them privately are urging an all-out fight to pass the so-called right to vote legislation, which is the heart of the civil rights measure now so acrimoniously contested.

The reason—if Negro citizens are really permitted the ballot, and are safeguarded in it, Dixie GOP leaders see a very real chance to make a great leap forward in establishing a two-party system. They believe they could, within the foreseeable future, elect more congressmen and some state officials.

Sun. 7-21-57

The statistics of it fascinate them. Reliable estimates of the number of Negro citizens eligible, by age, to vote are being circulated among Republican senators. They are being used to create support for the bill for two major reasons. One, Republican support of the right to vote will win further support from Negro voters to the Eisenhower "Modern Republican" wing of the party. Secondly, it would give the party tremendous impetus in the South and enable it to hold much of the gains made in 1952 and 1956.

Eligible Voters

The statistics, regarded as reasonably accurate, show the number of Negroes in Southern states eligible to vote and those actually registered. In alphabetical order they are:

State	Eligible	Voters
Alabama	516,000	53,000
Arkansas	233,000	68,000
Florida	367,000	149,000
Georgia	634,000	163,000
Louisiana	510,000	161,000
Mississippi	497,000	18,000
N. Carolina	550,000	102,000
S. Carolina	390,000	99,000
Tennessee	371,000	149,000
Texas	551,000	209,000
Virginia	423,000	85,000

The right to vote exists. But there is little federal protection for it. Abuses of the right, in some rural areas of the South, have for years been brought to the attention of the Congress. This year the "Modern Republicans," eager to hold control in 1960 and, perhaps, improve their congressional position in 1958, are determined to push through a "right to vote" law. The White House will throw its full weight behind the effort.

Southern Democrats, of course, are in a most difficult position. Led by Sen. Richard Russell, one of the greatest parliamentarians of all time, and also one of the shrewdest and ablest of men, they have managed to win substantial victories and to force compromise.

Major Victories

But having won major victories, they are left in the uncomfortable position of having to oppose what has general national support—protection of the right to vote. A filibuster against voting rights will be difficult.

The nation perhaps is not aware of the fact that while the migration of the Negro out of the South proceeds apace, there still are a few counties in which the Negro population is a political majority. Any substantial increase in Negro voting would have really profound emotional, as well as political consequences.

In addition, any substantial rise in voting would require Southern candidates to consider that vote and its legitimate demands, as they do those of other voters.

Georgia's Election Law Study Committee, appointed by the 1957 Legislature, also anticipated the large increase in Negro voting in its suggestion all voters be required to register by party affiliation. They hope to prevent cross-over between primary and election. But voters are voters and all candidates seek votes. The GOP sees in Southern opposition its first real chance to make substantial advances in the next five to 10 years. For the Democrats the years ahead pose a real political dilemma.

RALPH
Constitution
McGILL
Atlanta, Ga.
31a
Sat. 3-23-57

Dick Nixon: Two Good Jobs

Vice President Richard Milhous Nixon has returned to Washington. A part of "the government" now is in the capitol.

There is just one comment which can be made on the Nixon safari . . . it was a good job. Both partisans and opponents can only agree on that evaluation. He helped the international position of the United States.

There is yet another evaluation.

It is that he did a good job for himself. He very considerably enhanced the political position of Richard M. Nixon. Nor can it be said he deviated from his duties, as developed and required by his journey, to make political hay.

He is a fortunate, lucky young man, is Richard M. Nixon. Or, at least, he has been to date. As the saying has it, "the people who run the luck like him." His habit of thoroughness stands him in good stead. It was this which enabled him to bring off the Alger Hiss hearing as a personal triumph. He gained thereby the motive power to climb from the Congress to the U.S. Senate. There was still enough of this left at the 1952 convention. The more extreme of the right Republican wing, which refused to support Sen. Taft and went instead for Gen. Douglas MacArthur, was difficult to placate. They liked Nixon. At least, they then looked upon him with favor. They do not today.

1956 Campaign

In the 1956 campaign "the people who run the luck" made it possible for him to carry the burden of the campaign. He escaped the "Trickie Dick," down-in-the-gutter sort of fight he would have had, had the President been a well man. But Mr. Eisenhower was not well.

So it became necessary for Richard M. Nixon to "put on his serious suit," so to speak, and to prove to one and all that he could be, as they say, "a statesman." He was before the people as the man who might become the President. And so, he kept his temper intact.

He stuck to one basic speech, decorated with local trimmings for each area. Now and then those close by could see his face flush and his lips grow thin with anger when some heckler would ask him about his cocker spaniel "Checkers." Or when some wolf on the outskirts would howl, "Trickie Dickie." But he skillfully parried all such attacks, and kept his feet resolutely on the high road.

Time moved on. And when the election was won and the deteriorating international situation became so much a problem, someone had to go. The President could not. So, again, the people who run the luck made it so that Richard M. Nixon and his really charming and intelligent wife would make the 20,000-mile journey.

Physical Courage

He and Mrs. Nixon were gone three weeks. They visited eight African states. He showed, and this needs to be said because it always is good to see physical courage, a lot of that quality.

He did a "Kefauver" in all the African crowds.

While Secret Service men and local police shuddered, he walked into the Arab throngs at airports and in the towns. It would have been easy for some hemp-smoking Arab nationalist to kill him and thus embarrass France or Britain . . . or their local governments in favor of the Russians.

Richard Nixon knew he took a chance.

But he took it. He handled the cute Arab and African babies and shook hands with startled but pleased characters in dirty robes, tarbooshes and sandals. He went out to the bush to watch African tribesmen dance. He was initiated into some of these tribal organizations.

As of now, he is the favorite, the overwhelming favorite, to be the 1960 GOP nominee.

There is a long time to go—and changes can come.

But unless the people who run the luck quit him, he is in.

RALPH
31a
Constitution
McGILL
Thurs. 3-28-57

Hilarious, but Solemn as Pigs

Atlanta, Ga.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower is a staff-minded man. The Republican conservative leadership, especially in the House, already is worrying about the next congressional elections.

So, we have the House in a piously, ponderously partisan resolution, which is hilariously funny in its nothingness, chiefly because the GOP House members were solemn as pigs peering through a fence.

And they are peering wistfully through a fence.

And the fence is "the times."

The resolution is boldly phrased. The brave boys of the House voted to "slash" (not cut) federal spending as "soon as possible."

And when is "possible?"

Even they, in their boldness and wisdom, did not attempt to say. They "hoped" it "might be" next year. (Ah, the ephemeral, never-never-land loveliness of next year. That is the year the home team will win the pennant, the football team will get a bowl bid and the GOP will "slash," mind you, not merely cut, federal spending.)

And what did the President, a staff man, say?

Why, he was quite calm about it.

He said the Congress had "responsibilities" about the budget. And, he added, he would welcome any cuts in his budget which would not "undercut national security."

Fascinating Subject

There is nothing more fascinating than politics—and the study thereof.

And as Bismarck said, and Franklin D. Roosevelt reintroduced into our time, "Politics is not an exact science."

And nothing complicates it like a "shake-down" in "business." In boom times politics is a testing field. But when the economy shakes itself like a wet dog, getting rid of all surplus water, then politics reminds one of a phrase employed by the late W. O. McGeehan to describe the prize fight business.

It was, he said, "the manly art of modified murder."

That's what politics is when the economy starts to shave against the grain.

The President is not a "fighter." In a press conference of some months ago, he said with admirable candor, he was a fellow who liked to persuade and cajole, rather than give orders. A persuaded man, he said, would last longer than a bludgeoned one. Only time, and history, will determine whether this policy is right or wrong.

His critics are in full voice just now because the President did not last year "fight" for the federal aid school bill and, again this year, seems to be content to stand by while the bill's throat is being cut by Secretary Humphrey and some of the more powerful industrial lobbies. The President called federal aid the single most vital piece of legislation. But members of his own "team" gang up to give it the works.

Sherman Adams

Understanding isn't too difficult. The fellow calling the plays is Sherman Adams. He is taking the long view for the Republican Party. Secretary Humphrey, for some mysterious reason, which passeth understanding, is allowed a free hand to sabotage the President's favorite piece of domestic legislation—aid to schools. It does not make the President look good.

But it requires no crystal-ball-mechanics to peer into the mind of Sherman Adams.

The GOP must pass its civil rights bill—or break up on the rocks and shoals of the next election. The bills were moderate to begin with, which Southerners happily admitted in private. They now hope further to water them down by the "no jury trial" argument when, as a matter of fact, judges always have the right to sentence to jail for contempt without a jury trial. It is a skillful, shrewdly managed attack.

Therefore, two facts are perfectly obvious. One is that the administration is caught a bit off balance by the "tight money" inventory shakedown. The second is it can't "fight" for any measure until it gets its civil rights bills through. To fail in that is to lose the next election. And one thing no political party wants to do is to lose.

RALPH

Constitution

McGILL

Atlanta, Ga.

An Idyl Of the KKK

Wed. 4-24-57

As a young reporter, to whom a wad of copy paper and a soft copyreader's pencil were comparable with an emperor's medal and a queen's decoration, I went to work at about the outset of two major evils of the twenties—the Ku Klux Klan and prohibition.

The Klan was a racket for promoters, who got about seven dollars out of each ten they took from the suckers. It became politically powerful and pretty soon, deluded by its power, was committing murders, assaults and intimidation. Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest had disbanded the original Reconstruction-era Klan because it had become a haven for rascals. If his ghost ever deigns to look down from Heaven on earth below, he knows how right he was . . . and how unchanged things are. In Indiana the head Klansman went to the penitentiary for raping and murdering an innocent girl. In almost every other state there were a few murders and many beatings and abuses of the due processes of law.

The nation was sickened by the excesses and evil of the 20's. There was no Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest to dissolve the Klan because it had become a haven for rascals and violence, but it nonetheless eroded away save for a few eddies here and there.

Feeble Revival

There was a feeble revival during the thirties and this was, save for a few examples of old-time lawlessness, merely a sideshow. It was, in the main, a political mechanism used in some states to help out with purchasing departments.

There was an Imperial Wizard in this period who was a veterinarian. This produced the jest that he was the first man professionally prepared to handle the membership.

Looking back at this second, more pedestrian period, I guess my favorite Imperial Wizard was the Rt. Hon. Hiram Evans, known familiarly to all newsmen as "the Wiz." He was an amiable man, who never went in for violence. While he spoke pontifically and sonorously about Klan virtues, he always appeared to reporters to have tongue in cheek. Later on the Klan seemed to feel this way, too. One Sunday they got together in an Atlanta hotel and handed "the Wiz" the black spot, somewhat in the manner of Blind Pew delivering one to the Captain at the Rainbow Inn of Treasure Island fame. They seemed to feel "the Wiz" had wrought more mightily in the field of asphalt sales than in the klaverns.

Imperial Wizard

Nonetheless, it was this same Imperial Wizard who participated in one of the most charming idyls of the time. Yet it, too, seemed to disenchant the members who had been more contented under the veterinarian.

There had come to Georgia a new bishop for the Roman Catholic diocese, a charming, intelligent and delightful gentleman, The Very Reverend Gerald O'Hara. During the days of the Klan of the 20's it had bought an old Southern mansion, white columns and all, on Atlanta's Peachtree street, and used it as the "Imperial Palace."

When the Klan of the 20's had collapsed under the weight of its crimes, the building was put on the market. The Roman Catholic Church, which had been one of the major targets of the KKK's brand of "100 per cent Americanism" purchased the old Klan "palace."

The building, where once the sheeted Kluxers had counted their money and from which their anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish, anti-Negro literature had gone, became the rectory and a beautiful cathedral was erected beside it.

When the time came to dedicate the cathedral, Bishop O'Hara questioned newspaper friends about inviting the Imperial Wizard. They felt out "the Wiz" and found him agreeable. The invitation was sent and received. On the day of the ceremony "the Wiz" was there in a pew close up to the front.

Klan mentality seems to grow more stupid through the years, as the third, and present, revival demonstrates. There has not been anything humorous about it since "the Wiz" departed.

RALPH

McGILL

Constitution

Mr. Faulkner And Apoplexy

Thurs 5-23-57

Atlanta Ga.

Mr. William Faulkner, of Oxford, Miss., not infrequently has caused many of his fellow Southerners to grow turkey-red about the jowls and to stutter dark, dire suggestions as to what awful fate they would like to see meted out to the distinguished novelist.

And now, without question, Mr. Faulkner has done it again.

He is a member of the faculty at the University of Virginia, "a writer-in-residence," and as such he has been a frequent source of news.

Speaking a day ago to newsmen gathered on the campus, Mr. Faulkner spoke of the state of Virginia. It was a pity he said, that it and the University did not take more leadership in the South because of the "respectful, almost abject, reverence" the rest of the South has toward them.

"When Virginia makes a mistake that should have been made by Mississippi or Alabama, we're a little ashamed," the Mississippi author said.

Mistaken Invitations

He cited as an example "the unhappy business" of the invitations mistakenly sent by the Virginia Chamber of Commerce to six Negroes for a "distinguished Virginians'" dinner last Friday night. None of the six appeared. Their invitations were withdrawn after the chamber discovered their race.

"That's the sort of thing you'd expect Mississippi to do, but not Virginia. . . . Virginia to the rest of the South must be like Caesar's wife."

This left-handed compliment to Virginia will cause loud and sonorous caterwauling.

Yet, none can deny one statement by Mr. Faulkner. The rest of the South does indeed hold Virginia in "respectful, almost abject, reverence." And while the Old Dominion may not have so intended, it was its position on interposition which lent aid and comfort to the more violent extremists.

It was the old Virginia, with the names of English towns and kings on her land and the greatness of the Virginia dynasty in our early history, which gave to the South its legend. It was the image of Virginia's aristocracy which the rest of the old South sought rather successfully to stamp upon itself.

Many a planter who had drained a swamp in one of the frontier states, worked in the fields with his slaves so that one day he might move out of his shot-gun-run pine house and dwell in a pillared mansion such as graced the templed hills of Virginia.

Aristocracy Label

The late W. J. Cash, in "The Mind of the South," did serious study on this aspect of that era. Theorizing that only owners of slaves could meet the test and be counted in survey, Cash estimated that in the whole South of 1860, just before the great war began, there were not more than 5,000 planters with enough acres, slaves and white-columned mansions to justify the label of aristocracy.

And of these, he estimated, after tracing the family lineage, only about 500 were of distinguished ancestry. The others were yeomen who had gone into the new frontier states and carved out their holdings.

But Virginia, which was, in a sense, the cradle of the South, was different. There were many of her planters who could, and did, read from the original Greek and Latin. And Stephen Benet, in John Brown's Body, wrote of Lee's Army of Northern Virginia:

"Aristo-democracy armed
with a forlorn hope.
Where a scholar turned the leaves of an Arabic grammar
By the campfire glow, and a drawling mountaineer told dirty stories old as the bawdy world . . .
Who debated on God and Darwin and Victor Hugo,
Decided that evolution might do for Yankees
But Lee never came from anything with a tail . . ."

Mr. Faulkner may be abused for other opinions . . . but he was right about Virginia . . . the rest of the South has a complex about her which comes pretty close, at any rate, to "respectful, abject reverence."

It all goes to show what a legend can do.

RALPH McGILL

31a White

Constitution

The Attack On Rule 22

Wed. 1-2-57

Atlanta Ga.

When the Eighty-fifth Congress convenes this week the attack on Rule 22 will have high priority. Indeed, readers may prepare themselves to find these numerals in the front page headlines and to hear them via radio and television.

Southerns, in particular, will be emotionally stirred, pro and con, by the debate which, without question, will be acrimonious. In these days when the segregation issue and the slow but steady changes within it are so much a part of the news, almost every Southerner is in a mental state described as "embattled." There is Southern unanimity only in clamor. Many Southerners who believe in majority rule are against the rule and do not support unlimited filibuster. Others passionately defend it.

But emotional reactions will by no means be confined to the area south of the historic Mason and Dixon Line. There are Easterners and Westerners in the Senate who also are in an embattled state. Indeed, it is they who will lead the attack on Rule 22. It is to be a coalition assault by Democrats and Republicans. And it must be said, at the outset, that the attack almost certainly is doomed to failure because of the rule itself. But it also requires saying that this is by no means the last attack which will be made. It will be renewed again and again in the months and years ahead.

What is Rule 22?

It is a rule of the United States Senate which requires the vote of 64 of the 96 senators to close debate on any subject before the members. It also allows unlimited debate on any proposal to change the rules.

'The Filibuster'

In essence Rule 22 is "the filibuster" . . . which is the not-so-gentle art of "talking a measure to death."

The key to the issue of the week is the Vice President, Mr. Richard M. Nixon.

Article 1, Section 5 of the Constitution of the United States says, "Each House May Determine the Rules of Its Proceedings."

The Senate differs from the House in that, because of the difference in terms, a majority of the senators carry over, while House members are elected every two years. Therefore, for some 40 years the Senate has held that it is, unlike the House, a "continuing body."

A majority is always in office in the Senate . . . therefore, argue the defenders of Rule 22, the rules carry over.

For four decades Rule 22 has been thus protected. But if on Friday Vice President Nixon, presiding, should rule that it is not, in fact, a continuing body, then rules would need to be readopted and Rule 22 likely would be modified.

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Suspect Motives

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RALPH McGILL

31a

Constitution

Mon. 1-14-57

Atlanta Ga.

The Face of The South—

Pt. 1

It is important the South realize that it cannot permit its criminal element to become the voice and face of the region.

Dynamiting of the four churches in the Montgomery area, and the homes of two ministers, smears the whole South. This, of course, is true of the shooting into buses and all other acts of deliberate violence. It condemns us all.

The explosion of dynamite in churches is at once criminal and stupid—perhaps the most stupid act yet committed.

It blows away whatever patient effort has been made by those who are trying to steer the region through this time of travail and agony of mind and spirit. The criminal element destroys the reputations of all, both they who strongly oppose the Supreme Court's policy and those who support it. All decent people, of whatever opinion, are damaged by the burning and dynamiting of these churches and homes.

Whatever Southerners think, they cannot allow criminals to put a criminal's mask on the face of the whole South.

These criminals do not, by their violence, deter any action.

They rather encourage those determined to force through the court's decree to attempt a more rapid rate than even the court itself contemplated. They array against the South the indignation and strength of all other regions and of all those who believe in the supremacy of law.

They are, in truth, trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored. And it will not be they alone who will have to drink of it. All will taste of its bitterness.

Legal Roadblocks

Southern leadership originally set out, according to its own pronouncements, to set up legal roadblocks to the court's decree. That policy has been reaffirmed.

None could oppose their right so to proceed.

Hence it was that there have been advanced many laws, a multiplicity of plans, and a proposal of interposition.

All have been within the legal framework.

They were delaying tactics, and were so admitted to be.

In some states the leadership frankly has said that when one plan is overturned they will erect yet another for the courts to act upon.

This is entirely within their right. The very Constitution which has been interpreted as forbidding segregation in public places on the basis of color, race or religion, equally guarantees them the right to use the last resort of law.

It is entirely possible this policy of delay may endure across a number of years. It will be condemned by many, applauded by others. But so long as it is within the framework of the law it cannot be denied, though it be criticized.

But those who dynamite or burn churches and homes; who endanger the lives of the wives and children of ministers serving those churches, are destroying the South. There is no way to avoid this harsh fact.

Law Enforcement

The trouble would seem to be that in some areas some of those in the business of law enforcement are not interested in preventing such violence. Yet, it must be apparent that if the established leadership does not apprehend and punish those guilty, they will bring down upon the whole South the moral condemnation of the nation. Whatever the South's true answer is, it will be lost in the sound of explosive blasts and the crackle of flames. Let none deceive himself on this issue. Those who are in charge of the South must halt the destruction of churches and property and punish the guilty. Those who array themselves on the wrong side of a moral issue not merely end up in defeat, but in bitterness and ruin of spirit.

But, above all, the South cannot afford, now or in the future, to permit the evil and wicked to say "We are the South."

At a time when the South is saying to the nation, "You must understand our position," it cannot afford to have the criminal element drown out their words with the destruction of places of worship and the homes of those who serve them. Yet, for the time being, at least, that is what is happening.

RALPH McGILL

Constitution

Atlanta Ga.

The Attack On Rule 22

31a White

Wed. 1-2-57

When the Eighty-fifth Congress convenes this week the attack on Rule 22 will have high priority. Indeed, readers may prepare themselves to find these numerals in the front page headlines and to hear them via radio and television.

Southerns, in particular, will be emotionally stirred, pro and con, by the debate which, without question, will be acrimonious. In these days when the segregation issue and the slow but steady changes within it are so much a part of the news, almost every Southerner is in a mental state described as "embattled." There is Southern unanimity only in clamor. Many Southerners who believe in majority rule are against the rule and do not support unlimited filibuster. Others passionately defend it.

But emotional reactions will by no means be confined to the area south of the historic Mason and Dixon Line. There are Easterners and Westerners in the Senate who also are in an embattled state. Indeed, it is they who will lead the attack on Rule 22. It is to be a coalition assault by Democrats and Republicans. And it must be said, at the outset, that the attack almost certainly is doomed to failure because of the rule itself. But it also requires saying that this is by no means the last attack which will be made. It will be renewed again and again in the months and years ahead.

What is Rule 22?

It is a rule of the United States Senate which requires the vote of 64 of the 96 senators to close debate on any subject before the members. It also allows unlimited debate on any proposal to change the rules.

'The Filibuster'

In essence Rule 22 is "the filibuster" . . . which is the not-so-gentle art of "talking a measure to death."

The key to the issue of the week is the Vice President, Mr. Richard M. Nixon.

Article 1, Section 5 of the Constitution of the United States says, "Each House May Determine the Rules of Its Proceedings."

The Senate differs from the House in that, because of the difference in terms, a majority of the senators carry over, while House members are elected every two years. Therefore, for some 40 years the Senate has held that it is, unlike the House, a "continuing body."

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RALPH

McGILL

Ike, on the Morrow Will---

By tonight, the right of filibuster will again be sustained by the Senate. It will not matter too much. The President has been assured of support on his domestic legislation. More important is the presidential address on Saturday, to a joint session, for emergency power in the Middle East.

He will receive it . . . though not unanimously, and not without some reluctance.

The appeal by the President is aimed at countering two forces . . . one Arabic, one Russian.

The White House doesn't know when it will be able to inform the people of the United States how close war was a few weeks ago when the British and French sent troops into Suez. The Russian "volunteer" threat was much more than a plan to place a few troops in Egypt.

The Arab nations, most of them with no economic basis for existence, but all united in a burning nationalism agitated by the heated jealousies between the two ruling houses of the Moslem world, were convinced the United States would not intervene.

The President, to be sure, has the right to use troops when he deems the national interest demands it. He cannot declare war, but he can give orders to troops. But to have it backed by the Congress is important. It will give more prestige to this country's requests and suggestions. It will cool the fevered brows of the hysterical Arab nationalists. It will give pause to the Russians.

United Nations

Secondly, since the President will tie all his plans to the United Nations, it will give strength and increased "face" to that organization—which is close to the White House heart.

The President believes this is a sort of God-given moment at which to act. The sadistic Russian cruelties in Hungary have opened the eyes of those Asians who thought a Russian occupation force might not be so bad a thing.

The Asian nations yet free, including the peoples of Japan, have been shocked by Hungary. This is especially true of the students in all Asian countries, whose idealism, thwarted by the poverty and misery of their own countries, has heretofore drawn them toward the promises of communism.

They now know that neither Poland nor Hungary is a "workers' paradise."

And they suspect, now, that Russia herself is not the "paradise for the proletariat" which her propagandists have so long and so skillfully pictured.

Successful Counter

The United States, by its support of the United Nations, has for the first time since the long propaganda war began, made a really successful counter. It is we who now appear as the real friends of peace. It is we who stood by the United Nations and gave it, almost overnight, more status than it has had since the early days of hope and great expectations at its birth in San Francisco.

Russia has enough internal stresses, within the framework of its colonial empire, to slow her drive. The United States is not without internal strains. Her effort to make the promises of America apply equally to all her people in the field of citizenship and economics is domestic, not colonial. And while the strains are severe and the end nowhere near, the trend is significant. It indicates America will solve it in the American way.

Russia's stresses will not permit her to go to war.

Her best hope was, and is, to encourage others to create the threat of it, and the diverting actions. Thus Egypt and the Anglo-French invasion was grist in the Soviet mill. Her "volunteers" in Egypt likely would have produced another Korea.

She failed. Now comes the President, backing the U.N., and offering troops to sustain that body in any emergency of Russian aggression in the Middle East.

The President will strike, while the iron is hot, with the hammer of the U.N.

RAL

McGILL

Sun. 1-27-57

Ike's Place In History

Atlanta, Ga.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower once said of Abraham Lincoln that the quality which made the Rail Splitter so great a leader was "his extreme patience and forbearance."

The newly inaugurated Chief Executive apparently has sought to make his own administrative methods conform with those of Lincoln. In his press conference just after his overwhelming election last November, he said:

"I am not one of the desk-pounding type that likes to stick out his jaw and look like he is bossing the show. I would rather get behind, and recognizing the frailties and the requirements of human nature, would rather try to persuade a man to go along because, once I have persuaded him, he will stick.

"If I scare him, he will stay just as long as he is scared, and then he is gone."

As the President begins his second term, he will need to recognize many frailties and much human nature and do a lot of persuading.

Already, the close observers of the show see the announced retirement of Sen. William Knowland, at term's end, as doing considerable damage to the GOP position in the Senate. The Knowland decision will weaken Mr. Eisenhower in certain aspects of congressional action.

The Democrats

Those Democrats who are not committed to majority leader Lyndon Johnson's program see a very real chance to pass civil rights legislation. With it out of the way, they believe they slowly can restore their own party to prestige and power.

These plan also a fight on Sec. Dulles and his foreign policy. Here they are on rather solid ground. The fact is the nation itself long ago lost confidence in the Secretary of State.

What the President wants is unity and enthusiastic support. He will get what he wants. But Sec. Dulles may complicate it until the highly desirable ingredient of acclaim and bipartisan endorsement is lost. The belief grows that Sec. Dulles must in time resign.

The President will cajole and persuade all he can. But with both Senators Styles Bridges and William Knowland out of sympathy with some of the "modern Republicanism," we may expect to see the Vice President be given more and more assignments. President Eisenhower already has done much of this.

Richard M. Nixon has been the busiest vice president in history. During the jockeying over Rule 22, he startled all the Senate membership by an opinion that requiring two-thirds of the entire Senate membership vote to change a rule was unconstitutional. The more cynical now refer to him as "Judge" Nixon.

On Schedule

Once the Middle East program is out of the way, the educational bill and then civil rights will come along on schedule. Leadership in the GOP, especially in the Justice Department, thinks the South is overplaying its hand in such extreme measures against the NAACP with charges of subversion and un-Americanism.

"We cannot do otherwise than move slowly, yet steadily," said one of the administration at an inaugural meeting. "The NAACP is standing entirely on a decision of law, and there is nothing radical, illegal or un-American in that. Use of lawless violence against a legal position cannot win public sympathy or be defended either by law or opinion. We are lucky in this country to have the Negro turning for leadership to his ministers and to the NAACP and its support of the Court's decree. Suppose," he said, "they had turned instead, to some Communist or left-wing radical organization."

The administration wants to move slowly. But it is determined to move. It wants to do so without jutting out any jaw or pounding any tables. But it will if it must.

The next four years will determine the place of the "modern Republicanism" in history. They will not be easy.

RALPH
Constitution
McGILL
Wed. 3-6-57
Atlanta Ga.
p.

Civil Rights: 100 Years Ago

One hundred years ago today the United States Supreme Court handed down an important racial decision. It was one which became known as the "Dred Scott decision." It took its name from the man who was involved, a freed slave. He had sued to determine his civil rights.

On that date, March 6, 1857, the nation was in the grip of an increasingly angry debate over the question of slavery. The South, which knew better, nonetheless allowed its fire-eaters to jockey it into a hopelessly immoral position—defense of slavery. From that moment the Confederacy, which was to be formed four years later, was doomed by world opinion. Slavery, in 1857, no longer was defensible. The currents of moral opinion ran too strongly against it.

The court's decision in the case of Dred Scott sustained slavery as an institution in the territories.

The Dred Scott decision hastened the Civil War between the states. That war abolished the Dred Scott decision. It changed the Constitution to prohibit slavery. It amended it, too, to make more certain the meaning of the Constitution—namely, that every citizen of this free country is free and has equal rights as a citizen.

Supreme Court

Now, as in 1857, there is angry dispute and division over another Supreme Court decision in this same field. And again, the fire-eaters and extremists on both sides have all but drowned out the voice of reason and reality. In 1857 it was the Abolitionists and the proslavery factions. Today it is the desegregationists and the prosegregation groups. Both forget the Supreme Court decision did not seek to "ram anything down the throats of people," but instead, provided time and a formula.

If, in 1857, it had been possible to hang about 10 men on each side, the terrible war, which need not have been fought, might well have been avoided. Today, if the rival fanatics could be silenced, the processes of the American people, who are a very fair-minded and decent people, would work their way out of anger and frustration. They will anyhow, but the way will be harsh and there will be wounds to heal because extremists have all but destroyed the alternatives.

Time keeps marching on, and the great currents flow. A hundred years, in history, is but a heartbeat. Yet, look at the change.

Dred Scott was a slave, descended from slaves. He was owned by Dr. John Emerson, in Missouri. In 1834 he was taken to Illinois, which was a free state, and lived there until 1836. His owner then moved to Fort Snelling, Minn., which then was in the Louisiana Purchase. By an act of Congress that vast territory also was free territory. While at Fort Snelling he married a slave girl, owned by an Army major.

In 1852

In 1852 Dred Scott and his family were taken back to Missouri. He then sued in federal court, claiming that residence in the free state and territory had made him legally a free man. Sometime after the suit was filed Scott was sold to John F. A. Sanford in New York. The court decided Congress had no right to forbid slavery in the territories.

The decision, written by Chief Justice Roger Taney, with two justices strongly dissenting, reduced slaves to the status of animals. The stark inhumanity of the decision immediately aroused a flame of angry reaction. Old Southern diaries reveal many slaveowners themselves were disturbed by it. So great was the boomerang of public opinion that Dred Scott's owner freed him. The decision further inflamed public opinion against slavery. It caused the great engine of war to gather speed.

This case, which has its 100th anniversary today, was one of the pivots of history in the field of civil rights. That decision was wiped out by the great moral decision affirmed by the war and concurred in by the South—that human bondage was not defensible. We will (and are) solving the present problem by the processes of law. That is the American way.

RALPH
McGILL
Constitution
Thurs. 3-7-57
Atlanta Ga.
p.

Nixon—He Looked Very Good

To some it may come under the category of giving the devil his due, but let's face it—Richard Milhous Nixon looked very good indeed in Morocco . . . and it took courage.

And, in Ghana he was fast on his verbal feet and quick on the draw with that very effective diplomatic weapon, the bon mot.

He did a foolish thing in Morocco. The personal risk he took was really quite great. The gentle reader may be very sure the Secret Service men who accompanied him, and the Sultan's guards, too, were intensely concerned for his safety.

He did a Kefauver with the excited mob which had come to greet him on arrival at Rabat, which has the beauty of its slender minarets, lapis lazuli skies above the Mediterranean, and the distant blue of the Atlas mountains. Its ugliness we will not detail.

The vice president walked right into the mob while Secret Service men shuddered and prayed. The great wonder is that in that crush of curious, excited, emotional people there was not one or more hasheesh-high fanatics bent on murder. They have been listening to Colonel Nasser's radio boys from Egypt denounce all Americans as Imperialist Dogs. The Moroccan rebels, quiet for a time, have but lately ceased their sabotage and killings. It would have been a great anti-American, anti-French and anti-British coup d'etat to have assassinated the U.S. vice president.

But, knowing this, he nonetheless did a Kefauver . . . shaking hands with dozen of the crowd held back by police, bouncing a few Arab babies in his arms, and giving them all the sunshine of his smile.

Calculated Act

It was a foolhardy thing to do—but it took courage, and design. It was a calculated act, and since he got away with a whole skin, it was a valuable thing he did. It was the first real touch with the American government for that area of the Arab world. It is one which is cooling a bit in its earlier enthusiasm for Colonel Nasser. A few of the Moslem rulers have come to realize that if they follow Nasser neither they, nor he, but some Russian supported army group will take control.

That airport entry was a magnificent one from the propaganda viewpoint. The vice president followed it up by saying the right thing. He did not offend our allies. He promised economic aid. And here, perhaps, we might have an explanation of some of that $200,000,000 which the President sought to have around as some handy spending money.

He did well, too, at Ghana. There he brought in, as should have been done, the fact that the British are slowly turning their empire into independent states—and not at all acting as grasping imperialists which the Russians, Egyptians and Syrians currently insist the British are.

Ghana Freed

Ghana is freed with British insistence . . . and will function as a government because there is a civil service there created and trained by them. Great Britain has brought India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon to complete independence and autonomy. The latest was the Sudan, created by the British and Egyptians, working together.

The Russians have not relaxed their real grip on any of their colonies. Slowly, and one may hope not too tardily, the world is learning that the one real colonial power left today is the Soviet Union.

Ghana takes its name from an ancient African kingdom, one of the great stories of Africa. It is half-legend, half-truth. It began, not as a Negro kingdom, but as one in which a Semitic race ruled. It deteriorated and was taken over by black kings and emperors. It was based on gold. There was a city of Ghana. And, finally, the name spread over many hundreds of miles. It was why the Gold Coast was given that name.

After Ghana, for the vice president, there are Liberia, Uganda, Ethiopia, Tunisia, Libya and the newly freed Sudan.

When he returns we all—Democrats, Republicans and mugwumps — can stand up and cheer. He is doing a job.

RALPH
Constitution
McGILL
Thurs. 3-21-57
Atlanta, Ga.
p.

The Sins Of the Fathers

There is a crisis in education in this country which can only worsen into collapse unless it is met at the national level.

The GEA, as it meets here in annual convention, is well aware of this. If state and local political

leaders will assist, it is possible to have Georgia take a stand for her children without any danger of losing local control. We have had some federal aid for a long time. We need more.

The specious argument by the United States Chamber of Commerce against federal aid was so distorted it was challenged and exposed by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Marion Folsom. It was inescapably revealed by his words that he was shocked that so important a body would do what it had.

The appalling debate by the U.S. Chamber, in the congressional hearings and in the state legislatures, illustrates how badly we need education everywhere—and not merely in the classrooms. It reveals, too, how dangerously obscured this question is by emotional political considerations.

The Republican position has not yet jelled.

That of Southern Democrats is perfectly simple — if over-simplified. They oppose federal aid because they fear any legislation which might in any manner weaken their resistance to the "deliberate speed" decision by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Signs of Reason

There are signs a few glimmers of reason are beginning to penetrate Southern opposition. No school anywhere is going to be closed down until, and unless, a federal court injunction is obtained against it. The Supreme Court did not, as its rabid critics declare, seek to ram anything down the throats of anyone. Instead, it went out of its way to provide time and noted some states would require more than others.

Those officials who are not wholly blinded by looking on the face of the Medusa their imagination has created now are seeing that they might get a lot of school plants built before any federal injunction came their way. So, in a few quarters unreasoning opposition is thawing. There is yet a second reason for this, a realization the real burden of fed-

eral aid will fall on the richer states.

It is precisely this fact which provides the opposition in the North. While some Southerners have been damning the plans as a plot by the North to "ram segregation" down the Dixie gullets, the exact opposite is true. Massachusetts, for example, would pay almost $11 million in taxes and get back about $6½ million. Ohio would pay in about $20 million and receive about $11¼ million.

Sugar Daddy

New York, the real Sugar Daddy, would pay in more than $48 million and get back less than $16 million.

But South Carolina would pay in less than $2 million and receive almost $9 million; Alabama's cost would be less than $3 million and her return more than $11 million; Georgia would pay less than $4 million and be given almost $12 million. South Dakota's bill would be $719,000, her return $1,881,000.

More than half the states would receive much more than they paid into the fund.

And this, of course, is proper. The problem is a national one.

The states whose incomes are not, and never will be, as great as those of the states more blessed with resources, will help make the nation stronger and more secure by leveling up educational opportunity.

As matters now stand, almost two-thirds of the nation's children are receiving educational opportunity well below that provided in the richer states. That certainly isn't "Americanism." The educational bill admittedly is a national one. It is aimed at the welfare of the whole country and its future.

A great many people seem to prefer an information diet of pablum richly spiced with prejudice. If they prevail, the educational bill will be defeated and a tragedy enacted which indeed will be the sins of the fathers being visited on the children of generations yet to come.

RALPH McGILL
Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

'We Are Quite Rich Enough'

Fri. 3-22-57

In May 1954 Walter Lippman published an article on education, written after exhaustive research into the problem on the basis of a national review of the problem.

"We are entering upon an era which will test to the utmost the capacity of our democracy to cope with the gravest problem of modern times," he said, "and on a scale never yet attempted in all the history of the world. We are entering upon this difficult and dangerous period with what I believe we must call a growing deficit in the quantity and the quality of American education.

"Our educational effort . . . has not yet been raised to the plateau of the age we live in. . . . I am saying that we must make the same order of radical change in our attitude as we have made in our attitude towards defense. . . .

"That is to say, we must measure it not by what would be easy and convenient to do, but BY WHAT IS NECESSARY TO DO IN ORDER THAT THE NATION MAY SURVIVE AND FLOURISH. (Capitals added.)

"We have learned that we are quite rich enough to defend ourselves, whatever the cost. We must now learn that we are quite rich enough to educate ourselves as we need to be educated."

Era of Testing

We now are almost three years further into that era of testing which Mr. Lippman described.

The facts of 1957 are eloquent evidence of the accuracy of his summation.

The crisis is real. There is not a single city in the United States which is not in trouble. Schools built to house a few hundred students have that many in the first grade. There is, as they say, a shortage of even poor teachers.

Conditions vary in degree of acuteness. But nowhere is there enough room. The several cities which have adequate teaching staffs possess them because they have carried out expensive and carefully planned recruiting programs.

Perhaps the most disquieting factor is that the conservative elements which so skillfully hide behind the mother-hubbard word "economy," are strong in opposition. These elements vary from the crackpot "super-patriot" type, which now damns Dwight D. Eisenhower as a leftist, "spending" New Dealer, to that of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. To some, at least, the chamber seems to be saying that we cannot afford federal aid, because it might mean higher taxes, and anyhow, it is a bad idea. On the other hand, the NAM, or National Association of Manufacturers, which includes some industrial statesmanship, supports federal aid. These industrial statesmen know that the United States does not have enough engineers, technicians, physicists, chemists, nuclear scientists and so on. And they know why. Our educational system isn't producing them.

Local Government

Other organizations say that the schools "are a matter for local government."

That is true. But it isn't possible. These people, and others, ignore the facts of our national life. It is that we already have ceased to be a rural nation and have become an urban one. Our populations will become more and more concentrated in large city areas, with great suburban residential sections resulting.

It is folly to talk of education in terms of 1890 and the old local school board districts.

Local government, even in the few places where it is meeting the need, is able to do so only because it is receiving federal aid for government projects which have brought new populations and, thereby, government grants.

As Walter Lippman said—education now must be equated with national defense.

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce, for example, would not recommend economy if an enemy threatened our national security. Yet, in a very real sense, an enemy does threaten. It is lack of adequate education and a disparity of opportunity.

We can afford it because we must.

RALPH McGILL
Constitution
Sat. 3-4-57
Atlanta, Ga.

Of the Five Immortal Men

A self-conscious Senate committee has produced the "five immortals" from its past membership and none of the selecting group is too happy though strongly on the defensive.

The list is Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, Robert La Follette and Robert A. Taft.

The committee obviously was constrained. It sought to select a man from each of the great regions of our nation.

Webster is New England; Henry Clay, the Kentuckian, is a border man; Calhoun is deep South. Magnolia South Carolina mocking birds in the lilacs sing his name. Bob La Follette is the great Midwestern liberal, and Taft is the opposite number of La Follette.

Well, let us sit in judgment on the list. What do you think, friend and neighbor?

One thing comes to mind. When Andrew Jackson was on his deathbed a minister asked him if he had any regrets in his life which he would like to confess. The tall lean Tennessean said he did and the parson leaned forward to catch the confession. He was somewhat taken back to hear Old Hickory say, "I have two regrets. I regret I did not shoot Henry Clay and hang John C. Calhoun."

Poet Emerson

Ralph Waldo Emerson, the great transcendentalist and writer of essays and poems about shots heard around the world, said of Webster that every drop of his blood looked toward the past. Webster was a compromiser, and compromise, when it does not affect principle, is one of the greatest arts of government. Webster belongs.

But Clay? There is a big question mark after his name. He was a lot like Webster but not as able. He was a lesser man than the great New Englander whose oratory had the import to stop even the devil himself. Clay was a party to a smelly steal which defeated Andrew Jackson four years before Old Andy went to the White House. Clay was tarred with several brushes. It is doubtful if he belongs. There was no need to select a Webster and an imitation of him.

Calhoun was a proper choice, though his ghost has been a guilty one in all the halls of government and debate since he died picking at the covers and saying with his last breath, "the South, the poor South. God knows what will become of her."

John C. Calhoun might work his Negro slaves naked in the gold mines at Dahlonega, Ga., and might live without any apparent recognition of the fact that God made all men and made none to be slave. But he was, without question, one of the strongest mentalities of our history.

Interposition Theory

The little pipsqueaks of our time have taken his theory of interposition and tried to make it seem original, and now his ghost may speak to them out of the grave warning that interposition just possibly may be even less effective in the last half of the Twentieth Century than it was in the latter years of the nineteenth.

There are good books about him. One of the most painful bits of historical reading is Calhoun's agony of mind and spirit as he sought to defend slavery, which he knew to be morally wrong, because to defend it was to stand for his theory of government. But he belongs. He was more able than Webster and he towered over Clay.

La Follette belongs, too. He was in the great tradition. He was courage and vision and strength. He was a people's man. His image of America was the people. We in our time owe him more than any other senator who has come in our generation.

Taft was an eminent senator. His integrity, his almost overwhelming stubbornness, made him valuable because he thought things out. His mind was not too open, nor was it completely closed. He was not a trimmer or a man who would compromise principle. A president named Eisenhower, betrayed by men lesser than Bob Taft, badly needs him now.

Out of the list of the five immortals I would name Webster, Calhoun, La Follette and Taft. What say you, friends and neighbors?

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

Dailies And Davis Committee

The daily press has come a long way from where it was at the turn of the century when some editorial offices printed reminders to their staffs saying "N—r no News." However it is not yet an objective medium in the handling of racial stories or news matters.

A graphic illustration of the bias still lurking in editorial offices of the dailies and slick paper weekly publications is the tendency to run pictures of African women or other dark races with their breasts uncovered. The same publications would not dare to run similar pictures of the European chorus girls who prance around in the same unclad state.

Recent publicity on a so-called report issued by the Davis subcommittee of the House Committee on the District of Columbia is another example.

DAVIS, A former member of the Ku Klux Klan, set out to smear the integrated schools of Washington. Joining him were race baiters from North Carolina, Mississippi and Virginia named Jones, Williams and Broyhill.

The daily press reported just about everything that anyone had to say in and out of the hearings. Although much of what was brought out at the hearings was obviously false and inflammatory, the dailies carried it and depended upon their editorial writers to set the record straight. But let us see what happened when the shoe was on the other foot.

* * *

DR. HORACE MANN BOND, president of Lincoln University, used the same test results that Davis, Williams and Co. used to show that colored children were the inferiors of white children. One of the interesting results applied to Davis himself.

Davis went to a college, or more specifically a junior college, in Georgia. Dr. Bond pointed out that the students who attended this school got the lowest scores in a standard test given to college students all over the country.

If one followed the reasoning of Davis, this would mean that the ex-Kluxer, his associates and contemporaries were somewhere down in the dim depths of the American intelligence barrel.

* * *

THE SAME PAPERS that "objectively" reported Davis' "findings," on intelligence of colored children would not report Dr. Bond's specific application of the same type of reasoning to Davis himself.

Dr. Bond applied the Davis-Williams approach to white soldiers from Mississippi. This revealed that they would fall in the lowest level of intelligence and in many cases they would be classified as morons.

A few daily papers carried this, but many of them regarded it as too hot to handle and left it out of the stories that they carried on the Bond statement.

This writing is not a plea for censorship, even on a voluntary basis. It is a reminder to the dailies that if accurate reporting demands headlines and details on fake conclusions about the intelligence of colored people the same should also apply to white.

From the Work Bench

Afro-American Sat. 4-6-57

By Clarence Mitchell

Baltimore, Md.

Re: Bernard Shanley's Blunder

When FDR was in good health and eager to meet a thousand adversaries he said he wanted to hire some men who had a passion for anonymity. These were his assistants. They were frequently wrong, but they did not talk much.

No doubt President Eisenhower wishes some of his official family would be a little more anonymous. A prize for saying the worst possible thing at the time it could do the most damage goes to Bernard Shanley, the President's appointment secretary.

Mr. Shanley is not a proponent of segregation. He is genial and informal. Yet when he said that the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the school segregation cases was a setback, the leaders of the White Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan must have wanted to hug him to their breasts.

* * *

FOR YEARS the Klan and the Councils, under the spiritual leadership of Senator Eastland of Mississippi, have been attacking the Supreme Court. Now from the White House they get the word that the decision was a set-back in race relations.

All of the public relations men who work for the Klan and Councils can now take a vacation for a couple of months because Mr. Shanley has given them enough material for extensive fulmination against integration.

On the international front, the Shanley remarks should go a long way toward undoing some of the good that has been done by Vice President Richard M. Nixon.

* * *

NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS from abroad indicate that the Vice President was one of the best charmers our country has had for a long time. Some of my hard-bitten newspaper friends who saw him in action have been generous in their praise.

With beautiful assistance from fate, Mr. Shanley made his contribution on the day that the Vice President was returning to the U.S.A. Beside stories about Nixon's goodwill, there will appear stories about Shanley's appraisal of the Supreme Court's decision.

* * *

THE PRESIDENT has his hands full with a delicate Middle East problem that has racial overtones. The Shanley remarks will echo longer and louder in this sensitive area than anyone would wish.

Of course there is also Mr. Shanley's admission that he has the full responsibility for handling the President's appointments. Colored leaders who have been trying to see the President now have the news that Mr. Shanley must have been the man between them and the talk with the Chief Executive.

Just what can be done to overcome the mischief of Mr. Shanley's remarks is a matter of conjecture. One thing is certain, he ought to cancel all future speaking engagements.

From the Work Bench

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

By Clarence Mitchell

A Simple Matter Of Water

Sat. 6-8-57

Whether there is too much or too little rain, water is a powerful factor in national politics. That is why Allen Ellender, senior Democratic Senator from Louisiana, gets so much deference from his fellow senators.

Ellender is chairman of the sub-committee on public works of the Senate Appropriations Committee. This sub-committee is virtually in charge of the biggest pork barrel in the Senate.

When melting snow causes floods in California or someone plans to harness the excess rainfall in Texas, the Ellender sub-committee is in a position to help or hurt the Senator who must please his constituents by doing something about the water problem.

* * *

THE SPOT ELLENDER holds is another illustration of how the seniority Southern Democrats accumulate by default gives them an unfair advantage in national affairs. Senators from western states must frequently play the role of special pleaders in getting Ellender to act on vital matters they present.

This gives the Senator from Louisiana a chance to wear two faces. Some of the most disgusting attacks on racial groups have been made by Ellender during filibusters and in public speeches. Any one who reads his views is stunned to think that a U.S. Senator would be so indifferent to the worth of his fellow man.

One of his favorite themes is that colored people ruined Egyptian civilization. He apparently assumes that the ancient Egyptians were white and insists that they were a great people until some of them became partners in interracial marriages.

* * *

ON SOME occasions the Senator has been able to show his lack of knowledge on the subject of ancient civilizations by blaming colored people for the decline of Grecian culture and the fall of the Roman Empire.

In the field of public works, however, he plays the role of the year round Santa Claus. Texas, with a 68 million dollar grant for flood control, probably has Senator Ellender in a position of reverence somewhat close to that of Sam Houston.

There is no reason why Ellender should enjoy power, except failure to give proper safeguards to civil rights in Louisiana and other Southern states. Some of the worst examples of racial discrimination against voters are found in Louisiana.

* * *

APPROXIMATELY ten or fifteen thousand colored people who were registered voters were illegally purged from the books by segregationists during the past two years. Ellender is a product of this type of voting discriminatin.

Under a system of free elections, Southern Senators would face the chance of defeat about as often as Senators from other states.

This would open more places in the top committee and sub-committee spots. It could mean that the Senator whose chief interest is water would find himself in the position Ellender now holds.

From the Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

An Important Victory Won

When seventy - two United States Senators say that there must be correction of practices that deny persons the right to vote, an important victory has been won. This is what happened in the upper half of the national legislature a few minutes after eight o'clock on the night of August 7.

It is true that those Senators, by voting for the pending civil rights bill, were acting for a wide variety of reasons. However, all of them were saying that Mississippi is wrong and the NAACP is right.

Mississippi says that when colored citizens seek the right to vote, white citizens are authorized to intimidate — even murder them.

* * *

THE NAACP says that citizens should be given the vote without regard to race. When a state fails to do its duty in this field, the Federal government must step in to give the necessary protection.

As one might expect, the back sliders, the hypocrites and the double talkers in and out of the Senate have had a field day in discussing what the bill means and whether it will accomplish something. Most of those who have been vocal have not read the bill and many of them are more interested in creating sound than they are in making sense.

Cliches about the bill are a dime a dozen. "Toothless" is one of the catch words. Another is "Harmless." Those who use these terms do not seem to realize that, under the portion of the bill known as Part IV, the Attorney General of the United States is authorized to take balky voting officials into court.

* * *

USING FACTS uncovered by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the nation's chief law enforcement officer will be able to get an air tight case to present to a Federal judge. The judge will hear that case. At this point in the procedure, there will not be any jury. The judge will make his decision after hearing the evidence.

If the judge decides that the voting officials have wrongfully denied colored persons the right to vote, he can issue an order to halt such practices. The question of whether a voting official does or does not get a jury trial will not arise until that official defies the court order.

Officials who are in a position to comply with the order but refuse to do so may be sentenced to jail without a jury trial until they are willing to obey the court's order.

* * *

WHEN OFFICIALS disobey a court order but thereafter resign from their posts, or for some other reason are unable to carry out the order, the question of whether they shall go to jail will be determined after a jury trial.

In either case the possibility of facing a stay in a cell will be a strong deterrent to those who, up to now, have believed that they are bigger and tougher than the Government of the United States.

Other features of the bill are also important, but the part which protects the right to vote is long awaited good news for millions of citizens who are now being kept from the polling places because of their color.

From the Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

Working For The Russians

No doubt the boys in the Kremlin propaganda bureau would prefer to work for their paychecks, but the Eastland Internal Security sub-committee persists in doing the job for them.

In strife-torn Little Rock there was one white lady who caught the eye of a newspaper man as she was comforting one of the colored children who had been denied admission to Central High School. This was an act of decency that warmed the hearts of people throughout the nation.

The lady who showed the act of what can best be described as Christian Charity was Mrs. Grace Lorch. As the Kremlin blared its satisfaction about the barbarism of the United States as shown by the mob and the Arkansas National Guard, the kindness of Mrs. Lorch was the one thing that helped to give an answer.

VERY FEW people knew her name at that time, but many at home and abroad were able to sigh with relief and say, "In the South there are people who do not like to see children abused simply because of race; at the peak of the disorder there was a white woman who put her arm around a little colored girl and whispered words of comfort in the child's ear."

With all of the spies circulating around the country and giving away information to the Russians on how to beat us in getting a Sputnik into outer-space, one would think that Eastland and Company would be busy tracking down the real enemies of our country.

Of course, Eastland knows very well that whatever his sub-committee finds out about real security problems is already known and being handled by the FBI or other proper agencies that are authorized to act on such matters.

* * *

IN DIXIE the rabble is much more worried about "spies" from New York or Boston than it is concerned about spies from Moscow. Almost any agent from behind the Iron Curtain would get swift and red carpet treatment in most of the hot spits of segregation if he announced that he had a master plan for blocking decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court.

A Moscow agent could get just about any kind of information in the South if he sugarcoated his requests with vows about his belief in white supremacy.

Now the Eastland group is trying to show that acts of kindness, such as that performed by Mrs. Lorch, are really the work of fellow travelers or people who should be cited for contempt of Congress.

* * *

IF EASTLAND should succeed in his plans, the net result would be very embarrassing for the South. A victory for him would appear to place the Congress in a position of citing people for contempt just because they sympathize with the victims of discrimination. What better anti-American propaganda could our enemies want?

From the Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

Guarding the

WICHITA, Kans.—Osawatomie John Brown—with your truth marching on in Little Rock and Montgomery—their is some good news and some bad news for you in Kansas.

Some of the good news may be found by looking at the magnificent St. Paul's AME Church, with its chapel that is open twenty-four hours day for prayer, its modern nursery, its parish hall, comfortable lounge and air condition system.

The Rev. H. H. Brookins, pastor of St. Paul's, has the cool assurance of a man who led his congregation into the new property at the cost of $3000,000 and now has the church almost entirely out of debt.

* * *

HE PREACHES with scholarly fervor to a membership that is interracial. He is also the president of the city-wide ministerial alliance that includes all of the major churches in Witchita.

Another part of the good news is that Kansas has produced Chester Lewis, who comes from Hutchinson, and now has a prosperous law practice in Wichita. Mr. Lewis could remain quietly in his new home with his pretty wife and two little daughters, but he has something of the John Brown glint in his eye and is president of the local NAACP.

Mr. Lewis was an assistant prosecutor at one time. Friends wanted him to be a delegate to the Democratic National Convention one year, but he refused because of talk compromise and moderation that some party leaders were espousing at the time.

HE IS ONE of the leading workers for a stronger state fair employment practice law and a better state civil rights statute. When civil rights violations occur he is usually one of the first to hear about them and to take action.

Down in Wellington, Kans., which is about thirty miles from Wichita, Dr. Charles Roquemore, a veternarian, is a leading figure in the community. His clinic for large and small animals is spotless and modern. Even some doctors, who treat humans, do not have the smart, bright type of office that he uses.

Accomodations in the clinic are available for anything from a kitten to an elephant. Much of his practice is on cattle and horses. Sometimes he travels as much as three hundred miles in a day while making his rounds.

* * *

AS A MARK of his popularity, Dr. Roquemore is a key member of the Chamber of Commerc and the Wellington Lion's Club. In his company, one can see how much he is in demand as filling station operators, policemen, farmers and business men stop him to get advice or information on animal problems.

In spite of the energy of its community leaders, this part of Kansas still needs sprucing up on the civil rights side. There is considerable employment discrimination in the aircraft industry and housing is frequently a problem for persons who want to move into a new neighborhood.

It is interesting to see what men of vision and ability can accomplish in an area of this kind. In their way they are helping to guard the freedom front in a place where it seldom disappears in one dramatic sweep. Instead it quietly erodes unless there is continued vigilance.

From the Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

One Word Description

A whisperbuster is a low key talkathon conducted by a man who sounds like he has a mouth full of dried peas. On Wednesday night and on through Thursday morning (August 28 and 29), the man putting on this act at the world's most important showroom was Senator Strom Thurmond (D., S.C.) in the U.S. Capitol.

Strom got under way in the manner of a back fence gossip peddler talking about the reputation of the pretty girl who has just moved into the neighborhood. The subject was H.R. 6127, the new civil rights bill.

Most of what he said could not be heard and when it is printed in the Congressional Record nobody will bother to read it. Nevertheless, he started with the voting laws of all states and included a complete review of what he had done personally to kill the civil rights bill.

LONG TALKS in the U.S. Senate usually feature moments of mirth, interesting recipes and considerable vitriol. The Thurmond talk was a long gray line of dull monotony that soon emptied the galleries. For a time, only Mrs. Thurmond, her friends and I were in the vast, brightly lighted area where guests of the Senate may listen to the words of the great ones below.

About 2:00 a.m., Senator Barry Goldwater (R., Ariz.) gave a much needed assist to Thurmond by asking for an opportunity to make a few remarks in another subject. Long talkers in the Senate always welcome interludes of this kind because it gives them a chance to rest and get ready o utter a few absurdities. Usually, this kind of aid comes from those who are on the same side (politically and ideologically) as the talker.

THURMOND helped himself to a new supply of vitamins, crunchies or whatever it was he was using to keep his eyes from glazing and his tongue from getting stiff. Goldwater soared off on the wings of a discussion about the Air Force.

Sen. William A. Purtell (R., Conn.) was absorbed in a newspaper but paused long enough to observe that Senator Goldwater was reading something that was already in print. In a quick rejoinder, Goldwater replied that he would continue his reading while Purtell could continue to read the newspaper.

* * *

ABOUT 6:40 A.M., Senator William Knowland (R., Calif.) walked into the chamber with that "just stepped out of a shower look." In a voice that sent cheerful echoes around the room, he let Thurmond know that no matter how long he talked the civil rights bill would come to a vote anyway.

Uttering a few incoherent replies, Thurmond resumed his talk about jail sentences, the bill of rights and jury trials. Suddenly, I looked around me and discovered that even Mrs. Thurmond had left and I was alone in the gallery. There I was — the sole non-Senatorial recipient of the Thurmond wisdom. As I searched for a word to describe my feeling, all I could think of was — Ugh!

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

Interstate Travel Problem

ATLANTA, Georgia — The letters are much smaller than they used to be at the Atlanta airport, but they still say "White" and "Colored" over the rest rooms in the main building. When an incoming passenger is in a hurry or has poor eyesight he may not notice the signs, but they are still there.

On his way to the city from the airport, a passenger may ride a non-segregated bus because local officials have ruled that it is a part of interstate commerce. If the passenger rides in a taxicab, he will notice that some carry a painted warning that they are for whites only.

AT THE Southern Railway terminal a blue electric sign still points a tired finger to a grimy waiting room "for colored passengers." It looks about the same as it did when I saw it for the first time over twenty years ago.

Just what the South, and more particularly a city like Atlanta, hopes to prove by hanging on to these relics of the past is a deep mystery. However, the existence of such outward signs of pre-civil war thinking are of some value.

Most of the so-called Southern moderates like to give the impression that the South can eliminate almost any kind of segregation except that which is in the schools. Actually, of course, the existence of these signs shows that the opponents of integration do not want to see it take place anywhere.

AGAIN AND again when efforts have been made to get the Congress to pass a law forbidding segregation in interstate travel, there have been expressions of derision from Dixie lawmakers. They insist that there is no segregation because it has been outlawed by the courts.

The crazy quilt pattern of segregation affecting the traveler is increasingly bewildering in an age of rapid transit. Its vicious nature is revealed by the experience of the hapless individual who winds up in a fist fight or jail cell when all he wanted to do was wash his face.

At present, local officials in some of the South's leading communities are quietly passing the word to colored people to ignore the signs and use whatever facility they choose. This works until challenged by an aggressive policeman or a disgruntled white traveler.

AS MIGHT be expected, the problem of segregation in railway stations, bus terminals, and airports is related to the question of voting. As the vote increases the public officials who ignore court decisions and continue to post jim crow signs will have second thoughts.

Few city council members and mayors will want to run under the handicap of being known as the guy who put colored people in jail for washing their hands in the wrong basin.

From the Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

Hardest Sentences To Write

In the solemn atmosphere created by light filtering through old windows, a commission of the Methodist Church met in Baltimore to discuss what should be done about the jurisdictional problems of one of the world largest organized religious groups.

Chairman of the commission is Charles C. Parlin, distinguished New Jersey lawyer, and a Harvard classmate of the late civil rights champion, Charles H. Houston of Washington, D.C.

Watching the men and women who were members of the commission, one got the impression that they were dutifully trying to carry out a mission. As church representatives, the easiest part of their job is finding the right answer. The hardest part will be reaching a decision on whether to state the true answer.

WHEN THE Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Church South and the Methodist Protestant Church united, many of those who are now leaders in that faith were eager young idealists. A great number of them remember the Rev. Karl Downs, then a national church official, who was supposed to occupy a hotel room with Hayes Beall, also a national church official, at the national merger meeting in Chicago.

Because Karl was colored and Hayes was white, the hotel refused to give them the room on the ground that it would not permit any race mixing. Karl, who died at the peak of a promising career, asked a question that Time Magazine promptly picked up and printed. The question was "Did my church forsake me?"

At that time it looked very much like the church had forsaken him because, aside from a few disgruntled remarks about how nice the hotel had been, there was little to indicate that top church officials had much concern about this discriminatory incident.

IN MERGING THE three church groups, Methodists agreed to set up a national jurisdiction for colored churches and regional jurisdictions for white churches. This accomplished two things. It consigned the non-white members to a segregated arrangement and assured the South of an organizational base for perpetuating what is loosely called "tradition and custom of our way of life."

Now that the world is in ferment and negative racial policies are a persistent cause for embarrassment on the national and international scene, the Methodist Church is trying to determine whether it is wise to continue the jurisdictional set-up in any form.

Meanwhile, the hotel where Karl Downs and Hayes Beall were the victims of discrimination has changed hands and is the cheerful host to all sorts of racial combinations when national groups hold meetings in Chicago.

* * *

THE GROUP containing the most divergent views on racial matters namely the Democratic Party, brings smartly dressed New York colored politicians into close harmony with equally smartly dressed white Texans, Mississippians and Georgians.

From The Work Bench

Afro-American
Baltimore Md.

By Clarence Mitchell

Sat. 1-5-57

Eisenhower Is The Target

It now appears that the Davis sub-committee of Congress is a kind of supply house for those who are planning a long range program against the Eisenhower brand of government.

Davis has assembled several wagon loads of garbage attacking integration in the public schools of Washington Dan Smoot, who boasts of being a former FBI agent, is selling some of the more lurid details of the Davis materials in a publication called "Dan Smoot Report."

This document appears weekly and comes out of San Rafael, Tex. Anyone interested in getting this questionable enlightenment in a hurry can do so by paying eighteen dollars and it will come by air mail.

* * *

SMOOT, IN the issue of October 15, attracts the gullible with the headline "Ike's Model School System." On page one there is recounted the testimony of Melvin C. Sharpe, president of the D.C. school board, and loaded questions by sub-committee counsel William Gerber follow.

Readers wallow through at least seven pages of twentieth century slush as pumped out by Davis, John Bell Williams of Mississippi and members of the teaching corps in Washington.

Suddenly on page eight one is face to face with King George the third. No doubt that unhappy monarch would be equally surprised to find himself in the middle or at the end of an argument on school segregation, but there he is.

* * *

SMOOT SAYS that George was "weak minded tyrant who never compelled an American parent to send his daughter to a school where she would be a helpless, unprotected victim of such degenerate assaults as those described by Washington, D.C., public school officials."

Of course George probably would not have wanted people in Washington to send their children to any kind of school—with or without degenerates.

The George III paragraph is followed by a burning Smoot question asking "What kind of people have we become?" Perhaps the author would prefer to let readers give their own reply because he makes no attempt to answer it.

* * *

INSTEAD OF giving an answer Mr. Smoot reveals his cosmopolitan associations by showing that, in addition to having a good word for George III, he can also quote Patrick Henry and does so in three paragraphs.

Perhaps Mr. Smoot would be able to get other sources for material even if the Davis sub-committee did not hold hearings. However, it would be nice for the public to know how he got the hearing texts since these were not available for some members of Congress.

It would also be interesting to know whether Davis, who likes to sit as the symbol of righteousness, personally made these documents available to the Smoot enterprise.

Even George the Third would not want the government to miss some revenue because one of its servants was making property available to a businessman on terms that did not meet public approval.

From The Work Bench

Afro-American
Baltimore Md.

By Clarence Mitchell

Sat. 1-9-57

The Seniority System Again

Much sooner than I had expected, events force me to discuss the seniority system in Congress again.

The ink is hardly dry on a piece I wrote about how the denial of a seat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to Senator Estes Kefauver was a departure from the custom of giving recognition for keeping a chair warm.

Now Congressman Adam Clayton Powell has been sandbagged by the House Committee on Education and Labor.

If the seniority system worked as it usually does, Rep. Powell would be two steps away from the chairmanship. The latest move seems to be an attempt to send him to the bottom of the list of eligibles.

* * *

AT THE DEMOCRATIC National Convention in 1956 James B. Carey denounced the questionable system of giving chairmanships to members of Congress just because they have been in office for a long time.

Other people were saying the same thing but Mr. Carey, as head of a powerful labor organization, has always been a champion of seniority on the job. He is also a staunch Democrat.

As a member of the labor movement, Jim Carey knows that a seniority system would not last long if any mutton head could get a top position simply because he had been on the job since he stepped out of short pants.

* * *

LOOKING AT the problem as a Democrat who wanted his party to win, Jim also knew that it was necessary to take a careful look at the system which puts New York and Pennsylvania Democrats in the position of rewarding Harry Byrd and Jim Eastland each time they win a national election.

In their most saintly manner, leaders of the Democratic Party vowed that the seniority system was as sacred as the Virgin in the Temple of Diana.

Republicans said "amen" and promptly circulated the slogan "A vote for a Northern Democrat is a vote for Eastland."

The House Education and Labor Committee is headed by a rapid operator named Graham Barden of New Bern, N.C. Barden knew that a group of young Democrats was out to break the dictatorial control he has exercised against almost all types of liberal legislation in the field of labor, education and fair employment.

* * *

ON THE OTHER hand, a conservative group of committee members wanted to keep the staff seasoned with personnel that would have a strong anti-labor flavor.

Barden asked for the right to name sub-committee chairmen without regard to seniority and a free hand in staff matters. Liberals below Powell in seniority would benefit from the first and conservatives would get what they wanted under the second.

If seniority had been followed in the appointing of sub-committee chairmen, Adam would have had a spot as chairman of the unit handling the school construction bill or that which will consider revisions of the Taft-Hartley Act.

* * *

WHEN THE VOTES were cast they went exactly the way Barden figured they would go. A coalition of conservatives, southerners, and liberal northern Democrats voted with the chairman and against Powell. Only nine Democrats stuck by their guns.

Thus we see another instance of how cliches about selecting committee chairmen on seniority are fraudulent. Actually, the seniority system is designed to perpetuate government by crony.

Those who have been around a long time know that newcomers could outvote them so they maintain the fiction of basing chairmanships on seniority.

By waving the bait of seniority, the regulars lull the ambitious into a false sense of security. After that the rest is easy.

From the Work Bench

Afro-American
Sat. 8-3-57
Baltimore Md.

By Clarence Mitchell

Bright Side Of Senate Vote

The U.S. Senate's vote on Part III of the pending civil rights bill was mayhem, but not murder. The opponents of the legislation had a lethal weapon and the intent to kill, but the victim is still alive.

One of the encouraging aspects of the otherwise gruesome picture presented by the hostile vote, was the stand taken by border state senators who supported Part III.

There was a time when Maryland, Missouri and Kentucky were the source of votes to uphold segregation and most any other kind of un-democratic community custom. Now these states elect senators who are frequently in the forefront of progress.

* * *

KENTUCKY'S JOHN Sherman Cooper and Maryland's J. Glenn Beall as well as Missouri's Thomas Hennings and Stuart Symington are examples of the new type of Senator from these states.

Senator Beall is a particularly striking example of the senator who takes a stand for all of his state's people and not for one segement of the population. As a member of the House he supported bills to outlaw the poll tax. He was in favor of a Federal anti-lynching law.

When he entered the Senate, Mr. Beall became a member of the Senate District Committee. One of his first acts was to help untangle the red tape and subterfuge that kept colored people from getting jobs as street car and bus operators in the Washington transit system.

* * *

HIS CONSTITUENTS get the same treatment when they come to Washington regardless of whether they are white or colored. Unfortunately, even some Northern members of congress are inclined to be a little less cordial and helpful to non-white visitors. Senator Beall gives them all the red carpet treatment that they deserve.

Senator Cooper's international experience with the State Department and his duty as ambassador to India make him particularly sensitive to the implications of discrimination. He seems to see the future as something that holds promise for all men and not as a place for erecting more "for white only" signs.

Senator Hennings like Senator Beall, had a long and effective record as a friend of civil rights legislation in the House. His speech on how civil rights had been frustrated in the Eastland controlled judiciary committee is a classic that should be read by all.

* * *

SENATOR SYMINGTON has an industrial background of fair play and his record as a government administrator is liberally sprinkled with constructive action in the field of civil rights.

He gave the coup de grace to segregation in the air force when he was Air Secretary. As R.F.C. chief he made the first high level appointment a colored man ever had in that rather exclusive agency. Before he took over it could be truly said that "few white people and no colored people could get to the top in RFC."

The voters must continue to send this type of senator to Washington. There is no longer any excuse for a border state member of either house to be in the company of Dixiecrats and fake Confederates when civil rights votes are taken.

From the Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

A Family Against The Odds

CHARLESTON, W.Va. — In spite of two wars, a depression and two major fires, the James family of this city has preserved a tenacious hold on business know-how.

Today the present senior member, Edward James, is one of the top poultry and egg merchants in the country.

The James enterprise is valued at three quarter of a million dollars. Mr. James who is a member of the local chamber of commerce, has an international reputation in his business line.

* * *

WITH CHARLESTON'S former city councilman, Willard Brown, I visited the site of a produce business which was started before the turn of the century by Mr. James' father.

The building is in the heart of the downtown area, and would be a credit to any community.

Mr. James' father died just as the nation was sinking into the depression that followed the stock market crash in 1929. The produce business went down the drain with many other institutions.

Starting from scratch, Edward James began to fight his way back to the top. Using the goodwill and customer lists built up by his father, Mr. James began developing the poultry

and egg business.

P. 4 Baltimore

ABOUT FIVE years ago two fires of mysterious origin destroyed his holdings. It was necessary to move his business into rented quarters in the wholesale district.

Mr. James showed me the location when I was groggy with sleep, after an all night train ride from Washington to Clarksburg followed by an automobile drive from Clarksburg to Charleston.

Sat. 9-28-57

Sleep deserted me as I saw four huge trucks parked in front of his business with his name standing forth in bold letters.

Inside, I got a chance to look at the freezers and packaging equipment.

Noting that I was looking at the empty boxes in the freezers, Mr. James said, "This is the way I like it to look at the end of the week, it means we have sold out everything."

The proprietor kept apologizing for the normal clutter that one sees in a busy office. He need not have done so. The place had a cordial air and there was an impressive array of modern machines for calculation, bookkeeping and typing.

* * *

ON THE WALL there is an old photograph that has become so blurred with age that Mr. James finds it difficult to identify his own father who is seated beside an uncle on a well-built wagon.

This picture, dated 1891, shows the James family at the start of its produce business.

Very soon, Mr. James and his employees will move into a new building that will be one of the most modern establishments in Charleston.

When that happens a new chapter in the family history will be written and the James name will become more deeply embedded in the business history of the city.

You're certainly welcome, I'm sure," he called after her, imagining he'd just had a peep at her finer instincts.

But at the door she stopped abruptly.

Afro American

She seemed suddenly to be thinking rapidly.

WALKER WALTED behind the case expectantly.

Sat. 8-24-57

"I've just thought of the silliest thing!" she turned childishly. "Oh, it's so silly!"

He couldn't imagine for the life of him what she could possibly do silly—except under estimate her loveliness.

She retraced her steps.

"I've a plan that will enable me to purchase the ring and take it home with me, too," she laughed; "but it's silly! Oh, it's so silly! Promise me if it's against your business policy you'll put me right out."

He felt like a cad.

"Madam, if we can assist you—" Gracious! How pretty she was then!

"It—it's this," she faltered, leaning against the counter. "It's so silly though. . .If you could send someone over to the asylum with me—"

"And where is this asylum," he inquired graciously.

She named a well known private institution for the mentally deranged.

"My nusband is being treated there," she explained.

"I've still thirty-five minutes left; so if you could send someone over with me, I could pay for it there and catch my train, too. Now! Isn't that just too silly!" she laughed.

* * *

INWARDLY YOUNG Mr. Walker thought that while it wasn't exactly silly, it distinctly was bad business policy.

And still—

"Just a minute," he said politely; "I'll speak to Mr. Stewart."

And he hurried along behind the case toward the closed door of his employer's office.

Almost immediately, Mr. Stewart, his fat face set in solemn, strictly business lines, followed his salesman along behind the counter. As he observed his lady customer there was no speculation as to his adverse attitude — from Mr. Walker's point of view at least.

* * *

AWAITING THEIR approach in evident embarrassment, the comely woman met them half way with her musical voice.

"Oh, I just know it's too silly!" she said, systematically consulting her watch. "I'm sorry I even suggested it."

"Not at all," he assured her as he leaned his large body across the counter.

"Not at all" but—er—well, it's not our policy to send merchandise out," he faltered, "er — except by registered mail."

Mr. Walker thought the words sounded positively vulgar.

"Well, that's p-e-rfectly all right," she sang back good-naturedly. "I-I can see how silly it is now; but I think they're so p-r-etty!"

* * *

THE LINES in Mr. Stewart's business-like expression naturally softened.

"But I must hurry," she laughed, glancing at her watch and turning away. "Thanks for your kindness anyway," she added hurriedly.

"I'm certainly sorry that we cannot accommodate you," said the larger man. "Perhaps—"

But before she reached the door, he had a natural merchant's perspective of a three hundred dollar cash sale walking unnecessarily from his establishment.

* * *

Mr. Stewart mentally decided on a procedure that promised him a measure of insurance and spoke almost apologetically.

NEED FOR CHANGING

By John H. McCray

Antagonizing Themselves

Southern white people cannot hope to keep colored people in the ditch without also staying there to hold them, the late Booker T. Washington said, in substance.

Afro American

Recently, in wild and frantic efforts, these whites have come up with some honey of schemes to belabor, pester and "keep down" the colored man, obviously without prior consideration of the fact that there is no disputing what Mr. Washington said.

P. 4

One of these pestering devices is the registration procedures enacted last spring by the South Carolina legislature, a scheme imported in part and intent from Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama.

Sat. 9-14-57

SOUTH CAROLINA undertakes statutory re-registration of its voters each 10 yeras, the number "eight" being the period for wiping off the old and writing the new registration.

The new law requires every citizen to apply all over again, submit to a literacy or property owners' test, and go through the procedure we followed on opening day, last Monday morning, at the Richland county courthouse, whose Board is considered one of the fairest and best in the state. It doesn't cater to race and color.

Baltimore, Md.

* * *

WE WERE in the courthouse at 9 a.m. and were behind between 20 and 25 other applicants. We had run the gauntlet and received our certificate at exactly 11:20 a.m., in contrast with the scant five minutes or less in previous registrations.

You get in a common line (yep, integrated). At the door, a woman clerk pokes a copy of the state constitution in your face and points out a paragraph for you to read. (If you hold a property tax receipt on $300 or more you don't have to read.)

Next, the line moves to a desk where you are issued an application form, and are required to answer five questions.

AFTER FILLING this form, you go to another desk where you are given a second sheet and another copy of the state constitution.

You copy the paragraph assigned to you, fill in some further details about yourself and hand it to a second clerk who checks it.

You move then to a third clerk who okays both forms, then to the enrollment desk where two clerks copy your name, address and occupation, in separate books.

Behind us was a white man who was obviously uncomfortable!

The man really flapped about when he was asked to read. First, he tried to stand on having a certificate already. But he had to read.

Some type of changes are expected when the new legislature meets in January. But for citizens like the man on whom we kept an eye, there's apt to be much wailing over being "treated just the same as a n----r," or, to go back to Booker T. Washington, held in the same ditch with the man they have been told to hold down.

From the Work Bench

Afro-American

Sat. 8-24-57

By Clarence Mitchell

Baltimore, Md.

Key To The Civil Rights Bill

P. 4

A scholarly, friendly man may well have decided the fate of the civil rights bill in the House this year by the time this column goes to press. He is Hugh Scott, Representative of the Sixth Congressional District in Pennsylvania.

Representative Scott thinks like the Phi Beta Kappa man that he is and acts like the realist that one must be to have much effect on the problems of today's world. His vote and influence on the Democrats and Republicans are now regarded as the weights that may tip the balance for or against speeding the bill to final passage.

No Johnny-come-lately to the civil rights cause, Reprenestative Scott was one of a small band of Congressmen who cooperated with the NAACP three years ago in starting a bi-partisan group that was pledged to get action on civil rights.

* * *

AT THAT TIME, most people were deep in the doldrums of apathy and only a few hardy souls were willing to insist that something positive could be accomplished.

Hugh Scott had a somewhat tougher problem than most liberals. As a Republican he had to face the possibility of being a victim of a Democratic sweep at the polls if he was conservative on economic issues and the sentiment within his party was heavily in favor of co-operation with the South on anti-civil rights and anti-labor matters.

The GOP was despairing of any hope that it could win back the northern colored vote and, therefore, did not want to rock the boat on civil rights legislation.

* * *

OUTSIDE the party meetings and wherever he could get a hearing inside the party circles, Scott hammered away at the necessity for getting action on civil rights as the chief hope bringing balance o the American political scene.

He gave full backing to the NAACP argument that the President should support and work actively for a civil rights bill in the 84th Congress. He won some converts but it was not until the 1956 elections that old line political insiders began to see the possibility that the GOP could hope for colored support in northern and western cities if it got results on civil rights.

There are times when Republicans and Democrats do not hesitate to play politics with such vital issues as national defense, foreign aid and civil rights, but the best members of the House and Senate usually can work across party lines in the national interest.

Negro Writer On European Negroes

Advertiser Wed. 4-10-57
Montgomery, Ala.

The Birmingham News

ROI OTTLEY is a well known Negro [illegible] who has published books chronicling the status of the U.S. Negro. He is ambitious for his race. But he is not so ambitious he closes his eyes to some realities.

Ottley has recently been touring Europe. He went there to find material for a book delineating the status of the European Negro. He admits in an article in *The Chicago Tribune* that he expected to write a book which emphasized the favorable conditions for the Negro abroad. He confesses flatly that he found evidence upsetting his original ideas, and his book now will be titled *No Green Pastures.*

Ottley says that while Negro Americans as tourists are lionized in Europe, and Negro celebrities from the entertainment and fighting world are royally treated—they have loads of cash—the Negro European has a tough time. English Negroes, he says, often live their entire lives on the dole. The English, it's reported, will rarely give a Negro a job when a white man can be hired.

As for intermarriage, while there are rare instances, for the most part Ottley found in Europe no "liberal" view, and that white Europeans feel about miscegenation just the same as do almost all white Americans. He traces a lot of white European feeling to the holding of black colonies abroad by many European countries.

Yet—and he displays candor admirably—these white Europeans, maintaining discrimination themselves, are continually pointing a finger at America for its handling of the race problem.

All of which caused Ottley to do a little re-examination of his country and his people in America. What resulted was a conclusion that so-called "liberal" Europe had produced no outstanding Negroes as had America — Bunche, Marian Anderson, Carver and so on—and there were in Europe no outstanding educational institutions for Negroes.

"I soon came to recognize," he reports, "that abroad I was a sort of walking neon sign advertising the nation's unique achievements, even for Negroes. For my colored countrymen and I enjoy a share of material things and opportunities which most white people do not enjoy elsewhere in the world today."

Ottley says flatly: "America is still the fabulous land of rags to riches, even for Negroes—at least in the eyes of Negroes abroad."

Perhaps this is a lesson for Negroes in America, offered by one of their own, a man who has been a vigorous crusader himself for Negro rights.

Europe Has Its Race Prejudice, Traveler Finds

Sunday Tribune
Chicago, Ill.
Sun. 3-31-57

By Roi Ottley

IF YOU ARE a Negro, a trip to Europe is much like a wonderful journey to some social Shangri-La. For the Negro enjoys the lift and magnitude of being an American while traveling abroad. He often shares the esteem, admiration, and even envy lavished on white men of America. But the continent [and England] is no racial Utopia—indeed. The case for racial liberalism abroad has been greatly romanticized. For, once the glossy surface is scratched, one soon discovers a deep strain of lively prejudice toward Negroes running thru the entire social fabric of Europe.

Roi Ottley

• • •

This prejudice is often so subtle that it is not always seen by the naked eye. For Negro celebrities are lionized and permitted social privileges unknown to Negroes in the United States. Consequently, even many sophisticated Negroes [and white persons] frequently are taken in by the shiny appearance of things and applaud them beyond their actual worth. The reports of foot-loose Negro travelers, who perhaps have had casual flirtations with pale Jezebels, often reinforce the popular belief that racial liberalism is characteristic of Europe.

• • •

I was quickly disenchanted. For my original purpose in going abroad was to collect material for a book, which I had expected would illustrate the spectacular liberalism of Europe, as compared with the failures of American democracy. But my tour of 22 countries became a bookkeeping chore in which I had to record daily details of racialism abroad. The facts were so much contrary to popular theories current in the United States that my original plan went up in smoke and explains why I call my survey of race relations abroad "No Green Pastures."

To be sure, Negro Americans traveling abroad are able to escape the more nauseating aspects of Europe's [and England's] racial prejudice because they enjoy a unique status abroad. To begin with, they are citizens of a rich and powerful country—a profound fact which people abroad must respect. Moreover, Negroes form only a transient and infinitesimal number in Europe and therefore are never in competition with white men socially or economically. Above all, as glamorous novelties, Negro boxers, singers, dancers, musicians, and well upholstered tourists are dollar carrying Americans who benefit by the tradition that the customer is always right.

To grasp the racial realities abroad, one must understand that the story is quite a different one for the home grown Negroes; that is, those who are born, reared, and must make livings in Europe. The very existence of such Negroes, who incidentally form populations of imposing numbers in England and France, enables one to observe the real attitude of white men abroad toward Negroes.

• • •

It is no pretty sight. For example, the British subscribe to a firm principle: Never give a Negro a job a white man can fill. Consequently, the Negro's economic situation is desperate, often worse than anything imaginable among Negroes in the United States. Negro Englishmen often go from cradle to grave without knowing anything except the dole.

With the exception of an ebony elite, Negroes are little better off in France, Germany, or Italy. The home grown Negroes are labeled "primitive" and "savage" and held to be ill-equipped to do white men's work. Even without the elaborate machinery of a Jim Crow setup, Negroes uniformly find difficulty obtaining places to live and are relegated to the galleys of cabarets—dancing, singing, or tooting a horn in the way of employment. Briefly, no white man abroad thought a Negro should permanently make his home among white people — one more reason why I describe Europe as "No Green Pastures."

• • •

Europe's racial attitudes are a direct reflection of the fact that white men abroad possess Negro colonies, which form the cornerstones of their economic well-being. Nearly 100 million Negroes come under the flags of these nations—principally Belgium, France, Italy, Holland, and Great Britain. The manhandling of the colonial Negroes forms one of the worst aspects of European history, involving as it does sheer cruelty, denial of schooling, forced labor, and even decimation of whole populations—and all this under the "sordid anthropological heresy" that Negroes are really not human.

• • •

Yet the average Europeans, and particularly the English, relish the luxury of denouncing race prejudice in America; often they are snootily superior about the American's inability to solve the Negro problem pronto. Even so, they themselves react to the same racial illusions which feed the vanity and which they denounce in Americans. The majority hold tenaciously to a belief in the superiority of the white race and inferiority of the Negro race; indeed, their blanket racial stereotypes are no less degrading to the Negro than racial segregation in parts of the United States. Moreover, they vigorously oppose marriage between the races.

Many people abroad somehow regard Negroes as utterly stupid in their diamond-hard loyalty to the United States and often make no bones about saying so. I had an exchange one day with a Russian engineer which illustrates this point.

"Tell me," he said in the course of a conversation, "why, in the face of cruel treatment, do Negroes love America, as I hear?"

• • •

I replied that the Negro loves America for the same reasons that the Russian peasant loves Russia—whether the country is ruled by a czar or a Stalin.

"But," he interrupted in a ponderous manner, "peasants are not lynched in the soviet union. But your people are lynched, treated as slaves, driven into ghettoes, and left to starve—" And with a shrug he added, "You say the blacks love America!"

He made it clear he found the fact incredulous.

• • •

"Negroes," I tried to explain, "obviously hate the unfair treatment the race receives from certain elements in the country, but for 300 years they have put blood, sweat, and tears into the building of the nation, so they have the love one has for a very personal possession. After all, they feel the country belongs to them as much as it belongs to white men."

This made little sense to him, so I abandoned the attempt to explain the Negro American's patriotism. Yet, as things later developed, even when supported by a personal appeal from the late Wendell Willkie to Premier Stalin, I

was never admitted to make a survey of race relations in the soviet union! Actually, sheer hypocrisy frequently underscores criticism of racialism in the United States. For Europe's race relations record inspires little hope or love in the hearts of Negroes abroad.

• • •

The continent [and England] has produced few Negroes comparable with Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, Percy Julian, George Washington Carver, Marian Anderson, and Edith Sampson, to mention a few. The existence of such Negroes, plus distinguished schools of learning for Negroes, could not possibly be deduced from the many articles published abroad about Negroes and America. That literally thousands of American Negroes of comfortable means are able to go abroad yearly should be a fact not lost upon a continent where few people have the means to travel even from city to city.

With the suddenness of a thunderclap, I realized while abroad that to be born an American citizen today is to be part of a really good thing —like being born into a rich and powerful family. I soon came to recognize that abroad I was a sort of walking neon sign advertising the nation's unique achievements, even for Negroes. For my colored countrymen and I enjoy a share of material things and opportunities which most white people do not enjoy elsewhere in the world today.

• • •

But if this unusual point is ignored by white Europeans, Negroes abroad find the fact mighty impressive. Today the 15 million Negroes in the United States form a sort of aristocracy within the world's black community, because of their incomparable achievements; indeed, America provides Negroes in Europe and Africa with racial heroes. No country in Europe has so dazzled Negroes as America. This fact has been reflected in mass migration of Negroes to the United States.

America still is the fabulous land of rags to riches, even for Negroes—at least in the eyes of Negroes abroad.

WHITE (FRED OTHMAN)

31a. 1957

FRED OTHMAN

Post-Herald Shop, Okla. Wed. 3.13.57

Engineer Really Gets Fast Action

WASHINGTON—Sometimes when a citizen, like James Hicken, writes a letter to his congressman, he gets action with a capital-A.

What made Engineer Hicken sore was the fact that he was low bidder by $1 million on a batch of complicated electric switches for the Air Force, but the other fellow got the business.

He wrote a bitter letter to Rep. W. Sterling Cole (R., N. Y.) in which he said maybe $1 million meant nothing to the Air Force, but it was a lot of money to taxpayers like himself.

Rep. Cole handed this missive to the special subcommittee of Rep. F. Edward Hebert (D., La.) and, whango!

There was a whole platoon of Air Force brass, engineers, and purchasing agents, suffering under Rep. Hebert's none-too-gentle ministrations.

This didn't bring the business back to Hicken's Systems Development, Inc., a firm with 20 employes in Binghampton, N. Y., but it gave him considerable satisfaction, just watching the Air Force squirm.

* * *

COL. RICHARD B. UHLE, assistant deputy director of Air Force procurement, started to explain the theory behind Air Force purchasing.

"We know these pious regulations by heart," roared Rep. Hebert. "Let's get to this case."

"Yes," said Rep. Leon H. Gavin (R., Pa.), "here was a chance to help a small business man, but you didn't even talk to him."

Col. Uhle said the way he understood it Hicken's bid wasn't definite enough. He said it didn't stay inside the ball park.

"Then why didn't you ask Hickens for more information?" demanded Rep. Hebert.

The colonel turned that one over to his technical director, Palmer Koenig.

The latter said the buying job actually was under Lt. Col. Herbert E. Greuter, of the Griffiss Air Force Base, Rome, N. Y.

Lt. Col. Greuter said Samuel J. Miletello was the engineer who took a dim view of Hicken's bid. Miletello said the actual buying was done by Mellon Davis, a civilian buyer for the Air Force.

* * *

DAVIS TURNED OUT to be a Negro civil service employe in horn-rimmed eyeglasses, who was low man on the totem pole.

He was 28 years old. He'd spent two and a half years in college in Kentucky. Then he got a job in the Air Force in Dayton, Ohio, and spent two years studying accounting at night. By the time he was 24, he was a purchasing agent. This year he said he expected to buy about $15 million worth of military goods.

"Any other business experience?" demanded Rep. Gavin.

"This was my first job," Davis replied.

It developed that engineer Miletello decided that Hicken's bid wasn't specific enough. He reported this to buyer Davis, who threw it out and awarded the business to another firm in Joliet, Ill., at $1 million more.

The engineer and the buyer said they both could have asked Hicken to go into more detail, but that neither of them had done so. This caused Rep. Hebert, whose boiling point is low, to explode.

"Here's a man $1 million lower," he roared, "and you didn't even ask him a question. You just threw $1 million down the drain. That's what you did.

"It's amazing to me that anybody wants to do business with the military. A million dollars, of course, means nothing to it. It (the million) is a bagetelle. But it means something to the poor taxpayer."

Engineer Hicken, sitting in back, looked pleased. But he still hasn't got the business and my guess is he never will.

Charges Plot On Civil Rights Bill

By ETHEL PAYNE

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Rep. Richard Bolling, Democrat of Missouri this week renewed his charge of a deal between northern Republicans and Southern Democrats to delay civil rights action until next year.

Bolling told the Defender in an interview "Maybe you couldn't prove this in court, but where there is so much smoke, there is strong evidence of fire."

The Missourian who is a leading advocate of rights legislation cited the denials of Sen. William Knowland, Republican leader of the Senate, and House Representative Joseph Martin, Massachusetts; Leo Allen, Illinois; and Clarence Brown, Ohio, all Republicans, as strongly indicative of their implication in an agreement.

Allen and Brown joined in with four southern members of the House Rules committee to defeat a motion by Bolling to set April 17 as a date for action on bills.

Said Bolling: "Methinks the lady doth protest too much," quoting a line from Shakespeare to support his suspicions.

Two members of the committee who had declared their support of the bill helped to stall action on it by being absent when the motion to adjourn without considering Bollings' motion was made.

They were Henry Lathan Republican, New York, and Thomas O'Neill, Democrat, Massachusetts.

Republican leaders stoutly denied there was any collusion. Sen. James O. Eastland, Democrat, Mississippi, asked about an agreement, said there was none but added that he wished there were.

The Senate Judiciary committee adjourned without taking a vote after a quorum failed to show. Meanwhile, Rep. Howard Smith, Democrat, Virginia, chairman of the Rules committee said hearings would be resumed on civil rights proposals on April 29 after the Easter recess.

He was quoted as saying he knew the committee approved the bills and that he "recognized the facts of life."

An aide in Allen's office said that congressmen had released a letter Tuesday saying he was in favor of the bill and would vote for it to come out of committee only after all interested parties had had time to consider all the aspects of the bill.

Congressman Bolling said the Republicans were obviously trying to make political capital out of civil rights which he called both selfish and tragic.

Reports are that GOP strategists want to delay action until just before next year's congressional elections so they can blame a filibuster on the Democrats and thus cash in on Negro votes in key areas.

Bolling said it was crucially important to pass civil rights legislation at this session of Congress, not only from an humanitarian standpoint but because a prolonged filibuster would greatly endanger the bill.

"There have got to be some strong fires built under these people" he said. "When their feet get hot maybe they'll know we mean business" Bolling said.

Rep. Roosevelt Denies Drew Pearson Report

By ETHEL L. PAYNE

WASHINGTON — Rep. James Roosevelt (D., Cal.) denied last week a report by columnist Drew Pearson that he had "veered" to the southern viewpoint on including a trial by jury clause in the civil rights bill.

Roosevelt, who was one of the 83 signers of the joint statement for speedy action on civil rights, said he resented Pearson's statement that he had shifted in his belief.

"I am now and hope I always will be a vigorous advocate of strong civil rights legislation with no emasculation," Roosevelt said, and added that he certainly was not in favor of a trial by jury amendment.

OUT OF CONTEXT

The California congressman said that Pearson had misquoted and taken out of context a letter which he had sent on May 24 to President Eisenhower and Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell in which he asked for a public statement from the two on the trial by jury clause.

Roosevelt asked whether they felt the amendment would make the civil rights bill practically ineffective as to its enforcement features.

"Lacking a definite statement from you, there may well be many sincere persons who will not realize the implications of the amendment and who, because of your silence, will not hesitate to vote for the crippling amendment.

REPLY OVERDUE

"On the other hand, a positive declaration by you will serve to clear the air and be a proper guide not only to the members of the Republican party but also the Democratic party members and the public at large," Roosevelt said in his letter to the President.

In his letter to Brownell, Roosevelt asked specific questions on the method of choosing federal juries.

He said he had had no reply from either the attorney general or the President. The civil rights bill is due to come up in House debate on June 5.

Charge Powell Bluffs On Rights

By ETHEL PAYNE

WASHINGTON — While Rep. Adam Clayton Powell was undergoing treatment in Bethesda Naval hospital last week for what his doctors have diagnosed as angina pectoris, a form of heart attack and hepatitis, a liver ailment, Rep. Way E. Hays (D) Ohio, launched a savage attack upon him on the floor of the house.

Among other things, the Ohio Congressman accused Powell of faking illness to duck the civil rights battle and charged him with associating with Communists. Hays said of the New Yorker:

"There is no person in my opinion in the United States who is doing more to divide Negro citizens from the rest of the citizens than the gentleman from New York."

During the 20 minute tirade, Hays was chided by Rep. Emanuel Cellar (D) N.Y., for hitting at Powell while he was sick and asked whether he would support the civil rights bill.

Hays replied that he would vote for the bill, but largely because of Powell's actions, he now favored a jury trial amendment, which southern opponents of the bill are trying to tack on.

Hays' wild outburst came after a letter from Powell urging support of the civil rights bill was circulated among every member of the House and the Senate. Hays said he took personal exception at the paragraph which read:

"As a final word to Democrats, let me say that the colored voters of the North are fed up with weak platforms and watered down legislation. They are increasingly asking the question, why send Pennsylvania and Ohio to Congress if they must take their orders from middlemen who serve the White Citizens councils in Mississippi and Alabama?"

Hays taunted Powell for being away last year on a European vacation while the civil rights voting was on. He said it would be hard to explain why he appeared with Earl Browder and William Foster, top leaders in the Communist party on the platform at a rally at Madison Square Garden in 1944.

The Ohioan quoted the Harlem congressman as saying in a speech to Middlebury college after the war:

"Religion is in for a new reformation whose coming will be hastened by basically non-religious forces, for orthodox religion has aligned itself with the Western world which is on the way out."

Hays said after he received the letter, he called Powell's office to tell him he was going to take the floor against him and was informed he was in the hospital with a heart attack.

"Apparently, from the information I got, the attack is going to last for 10 days or until this debate is over," Hays said.

Hays' speech was loudly applauded by southerners on the floor, but it caused consternation and gloom among supporters of the bill, because it gave a bolster to the issue of trial by jury.

At Bethesda, later that afternoon, the ailing Powell received several members of the press Told of the incident, he said he did not plan to reply to Hay's attack, btu he did in tend to express himself again on the importance of getting the bill through without the crippling trial by jury clause.

If doctors permit, the New Yorker said he would leave the hospital next Thursday long enough to vote on the bill. Latest reports indicate that the voting will probably take place on Friday.

Angina pectoris is a constriction of the muscles of the heart. While it is not as serious as a coronary, it is painful. The main treatment is ample rest. As for the hepatitis, diet in which proteins and carbohydrates are stepped up and fats lowered, is the remedy for this.

The New York congressman also has had his cigar smoking cut down to three a day. He used to average a dozen.

Powell said among the first to call him after news of his illness were Congressmen Frank Cheif of Kentucky and Sen. Russell Long of Louisiana.

Meanwhile, Rep. William L. Dawson, who has been absent from congress for several weeks because of illness

Senate Set For Rights Showdown

Defender Sat. 6-29-57 Chicago, Ill.

By ETHEL L. PAYNE

WASHINGTON — Civil rights hung by a canyon last week in the Senate and won by a bare six votes. For many of the Senators, from the west, the agonizing choice was between right and Hell's Canyon. The vote was 45-39.

Significantly, during the 10 hour battle to get the House passed bill past the Judiciary Committee and onto the calendar, a huge brochure of hell's canyon stood near the door to the Democratic cloakroom and everytime a Senator went in or out the swinging doors, he had a visual reminder of the pawn at stake in the fierce horse trading going on back stage Sen. Arthur Watkins Utah, told reporters there was a deal made between Southern and Western Senators for votes for Hell's Canyon.

HELL AND RIGHT

Hell's Canyon is a dam project and for legislators from the West which needs power for irrigation and other life giving needs, this is the biggest issue. Hence, the reason for Sen. Wayne Morse's dramatic switch over to the Southern side in the debate and his long drawn out speech before the vote which caused Sen. Paul Douglas to indignantly cry out, "You are trying to kill civil rights!"

There were other normally counted in the liberal wing who deserted after Vice President Nixon had ruled that in his opinion the rules would permit placing a bill on the calendar by a majority vote instead of sending it to Committee. Sens. Warren Magnuson (D) Wash., and John Kennedy (D) Mass., were among those voting against civil rights.

Hell's Canyon doesn't have a thing to do with Massachusetts, but young Kennedy has his eye on '60 and he is busy picking up votes now. Lately, he's been paling around with Southrners like Herman Talmadge and Sen. George Smathers of Florida. In the end, only 12 Democratic Senators stuck with the pro-civil rights forces.

GOP HOLDS SOLID

On the Republican side, the lines held pretty solid (33) with even such old guard members as Jenner, Ind. and Goldwater, Ariz., falling in. During the floor fight, the South was represented by its most astute protagonist, Sen. Richard Russell, Ga.; while Eastland, Talmadge, and Ervin kept conspicuously quiet. The pro civil righters had Knowland, Case, N.J. Douglas and Humphrey and Javits to lead the fight.

Nixon presiding over the fray nealy got himself off the hook and yet gave the pitch as pre-arranged by signal to the pro forces when he literally tossed the question back to the Senate to decide; but he nearly got tripped up by Russell in the melee.

Watching closely from the Senate gallery were assistant Atty. Gen. Warren Olney, III who heads the criminal division of the Justice Department under which civil rights now come and deputy Atty. Gen. William Rodgers.

A second roll call taken on a motion to lay the Bill on the table, passed by 49-36. It means that it can be called up for debate at any time. Other business out of the way, there's sure to be a filibuster when the measure comes up probably July 8, but at least the Bill won't be lying mouldering in the graveyard of the Judiciary Committee.

Former President Harry S. Truman was asked how he would have voted with Northern Democrats and Republicans in the Senate to by-pass the Judiciary Committee and put the House-passed civil rights bill directly on the Senate calendar.

He said: "I would have voted for the resolution . . . because the bill will never come out of Committee."

THIS IS WASHINGTON

Blue Card Is Prestige Mark For Queen's Visit

By ETHEL L. PAYNE

Arlington, just across the bridge from Washington, has long been considered the enlightened part of Virginia, but the issue of school de-segregation has all but destroyed the flowering liberalism here. Last week, the bigots in the Defenders of State Sovereignty, another name for White Citizens Council, succeeded in branding Arlington with an ugly reactionary label, when they forced a local school PTA to cancel the appearance of the Howard U. choir at one of its meetings.

Three years ago, the famed choral group made headlines in another racial incident when they were barred by District police from singing at a GOP rally at the Uline Areno and President Eisenhower apologized for the incident.

Chicago, Ill.

Mrs. E. Frederick Morrow made her introduction to official Washington when she and her husband of a month, who is on the White House staff, appeared as guests of the President at the White House reception for Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip.

The former Catherine Gordon Boswell of Chicago has not yet moved her things here, because their new home in Washington is undergoing extensive decoration. The Morrows will be at home after Nov. 6.

Defender 6-29-57

Glamorous Etta Moten and her husband, Claude, scored a sociall bullseye when they landed an invitation as the luncheon guests of Queen and her consort in the Senate Dining Room of the Capitol.

* * *

If you were lucky enough to get one of those coveted invitations to the British Embassy reception you had to be luckier still to hold a blue bordered card. The messenger for 37 years, was presented by Lord Caccia, the British ambassador, to Her Majesty and received a citation from the red edged one simply admitted you. The blue one entitled you to be among those privileged to shake the Queen's hand. To keep down an explosion, the Embassy carefully included all of Washington's rival hostesses including those two famed protagonists, Gwen (Mrs. Morris) Cafritz ond and Perle (Hostess with the Mostest) Mesta; not to leave out Mrs. Merriwether Post.

You might lay it on Sputnki, but suddenly the Russians have become very popular here in Washington. People, who before wouldn't want to be seen walking past 1125 16th st., N. W., are now calling the Embassy and asking for invitations to the anniversary of the Red Revolution.

* * *

After arguing in vain with her boss about what to wear, Maxienne Dargans triumphantly clipped out of the paper the correct male attire for the Brittish Embassy reception for Queen Eliazbeth and Prince Philip, sent it to Congressman Adam Clayton Powell in New York had the satisfaction of not only having the last word but of seeing him impeccably turned out when he arrived at the Embassy with his blue card of admission.

Dr. Roscoe Brown of the D. C. Public Health Service, has just completed a book on his late famed uncle who worked 67 years for the British Embassy in Washington. A bachelor with several college degrees, Charlie Brown went to work Oct. 1, 1888 after serving as valet to the Spanish ambassador. Brown became the librarian for the Embassy, received scores of citations including one from King George VI and labor leader Ernest Bevan. He died in Dec., 1955.

Last week, another long time employee, Chester Barksdale, and a suit of $50,000 slapped on him by a white policeman named in the NAACP brutality suit, against the Metropolitan police and the District.

Dr. Robert Mance, treasurer of the AME church, has opened medical offices in Washington. He formerly lived and practiced in Columbia, S. C.; but moved here after his election two years ago to the church position.

Africa House had the formal opening of its new home last week. When a member of the Indian Embassy staff entered the foyer of a ped a well-dressed matron coming large Washington apartment, mostly tennanted by Negroes, he stopped down the elevator and told her he was looking for a maid to clean his new apartment across the street in a building inhabited, with his exception by whites.

Withering him down with an icy stare, the Negro woman replied. "I don't know who could have told you this was the place to find a maid. If you can't get one in your building among the tenants there, I suggest you try the Charleson around the corner: "P.S. The Charleston is an all-white apartment hotel!

Story of the week: Contributed by Dan Powell and Phil Weightman. Two small boys, one white and one Negro who were fast friends went fishing one day. They rowed out in the middle of the lake and were looking for a good place to drop their lines

The heads of Commonwealth countries with embassies occupied high ranking places at all ceremonies attendant upon the Queen's visit. Representing Ghana was Major Seth Anthony, the Charges D'Affaires, who is serving until an ambassodor is named.

Instruction to the press took up 21 pages of legal size paper.

Mrs. Daisy Bates of Little Rock drew nearly as much press attention as the Queen when she spoke before the workshop of the American Council on Human Rights Saturday in Washington and before the Baltimore NAACP on Sunday.

Intrepid gadfly Eugene David son, president of the local branch of the NAACP, is happily buzzing despite, cross burning on his lawn **when the colored lad fell over board. The white boy jumped in and pulled him back to the boat. The story got back to the Chamber of Commerce who decided to put on a testimonial dinner and present a medal to the white boy for his courage and heroism in the interest of better brotherhood in the community. When the citation was given, the dinner officials called on the little white boy to speak. Said he. "I didn't jump in after him because he was my friend. I saved him because he had the bait in his pocket!" Moral: This can be applied to politics.**

SO... this is Washington

By ETHEL L. PAYNE

It was a sort of vindication for Eugene Davidson and the local NAACP when two Negro detectives were assigned to the homicide squad of the District Police Department. One of the charges made by the association in the recent hearings before the District Commissioners was the failure of Police Chief Robert Murray to upgrade Negroes and to assign them to some categories.

The Commission exonerated Murray of all charges and said the NAACP had failed to prove either discrimination or police brutality. Nevertheless, less than two weeks later, the first homicide squad assignments were made in more than 10 years. Murray was quick to say the appointments had been in the making for months. The men promoted were Detectives Herman A. Payne and Kenneth Cones.

Vice President Nixon was struck by the flu bug for the second time this year. When he went to Ghana in March, he was ill when he left and carried a temperature for most of the trip. A physician accompanied him all the way. In contrast, Pat Nixon who looks as fragile as a flower never even had the sniffles and last week as hearty as ever she was nursing her husband through another round of the flu.

* * *

When White House Aide E. Frederick Morrow came back to his office, he found to his surprise that he had been promoted and moved across the street from the Old State Department building to the East Executive Wing directly in the White House where he will serve as Assistant to Arthur Larson the President's new Special Assistant on International Affairs. Morrow now becomes one of the corps of speech writers for the President. His first assignment was helping in the "Sputnik" speech Ike made at Oklahoma City last week.

Meanwhile, Catherine Morrow was busy getting their new house assembled. The furniture is still in the middle of the floor while the painters finish up.

* * *

Kudoes from the Alumni Association were picked up last week by former Fiskites, Congressman William L. Dawson, Werner Lawson, director of music, Howard U.; Dr. John Hope Franklin, head of the history department of Brooklyn College; Dr. Sadie Daniel St. Clair, and former Judge James A. Cobb. The citations were made as part of the two day meeting of the Fisk association and the ceremonies took place at the National Housing Center in the Capital.

* * *

Speaking of buildings, Washington probably boasts more "stately new mansions" than any other city in the world. Since it is the capital of the country, this is a Mecca for organizations who want to be close to the seat of government for business purposes as well as otherwise.

Among the brand new shining pieces of modern architecture still with that freshly dusted of lack are a score of imposing labor union offices, several scientific foundations, and a number of religious bodies.

Most notable both in price and design are the B'Nai Brith; the National Academy of Science, which features slotted windows opening out like Venetian blind panels; the AFL-CIO building, the International Machinists; the National Housing Center; and the $5,000,000 Indiana white limestone Teamsters Union with a penthouse on the roof.

* * *

MRS. MAMIE EISENHOWER receives a 40 pound white tom turkey for the Eisenhower family Thanksgiving dinner from the turkey industry. In the photo are Herbert Beyers, Salt Lake City, Utah, president of the Poultry and Egg National Board; Trevor L. Jones, Springfield, Ill., president of the National Turkey Foundaton, True D. Morse, undersecretary of agriculture. (INP)

Invitations went out for a housewarming at the home of Albert Q. Smart-Abbey, Executive Officer of the Ghana Embassy last week. The dapper diplomat has taken an eight-room place on fashionable Buchanan Street Northwest in preparation for the coming of his family early next year.

* * *

Among the guests at the Soviet Embassy observance of the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution were Dr. and Mrs. W. E. B. Dubois, the Paul Robesons senior and junior, ex-newsman George Murphy, and Mr. and Mrs. R. G. Steptoe. Steptoe identified himself as a member of the embassy staff, working on the magazine, "USSR" the exchange periodical for Americans, while the U. S. Counterpart, "America" goes to the Russians.

* * *

After the NCNW Awards dinner was over last week, all eyes were centered on the new president, Dorothy Height and Dr. Helen Edmonds who met in the center of the ballroom of the Willard Hotel. As the North Carolina history professor proffered her congratulations, the ex-Delta head said she hoped Dr. Edmonds would work with her, a pertnent wish since only that afternoon the latter had resigned from the executive board in protest over the tactics of the nominating committee which had brought back only Miss Height's name for the presidency and made a recommendation that no person holding a public elective office should be eligible for the presidency of the council.

The two women in the middle of the floor have had a long-standing disagreement from Delta days of which both are still members, so speculation was on whether or not those differences could be resolved. A high Republican spokesman said. "This Administration is very proud of Dr. Edmonds and she has been of tremendous service to the party." This was significant since the Council needs bi-partisan support in its program. And for Miss Height commenting on the installation ceremony said. "She ought to be fitted with boxing gloves. She'll need them."

* * *

Society Scribe Gerri Major was a casualty of the NCNW banquet. The heavy aluminum cover from a hot dinner plate on a loaded tray carried by a waitress flew off and struck her a glancing blow on the side of the head. Dr. Dorothy Ferebee who was presiding was called from the platform to give her first aid and then ordered her to bed. The hotel physician wro examined her later said she was not seriously hurt, but poor Gerri not only missed her dinner but the program as well.

* * *

Conversation at the press table was in part on nominations for the best dressed woman at the convention and a sizeable mention went to Cleveland Councilwoman Jean Capers for the lavish wardrobe she brought along including a white leather coat trimmed in mink and an ermine Cossack hat with a black coat trimmed in the same fur.

* * *

John Blue has resigned as executive director of the American Council on Human Rights to work on his doctorate in sociology and Pat Roberts Harris is studying law at night at George Washington university, so she can look forward to the day when the shingle outside her husband's law firm will read "Harris and Harris," attorneys.

So . . . this is Washinaton

Defender

By ETHEL PAYNE

The color bars have been down since 1953, but Negroes in Washington, generally still cling to the provincial ways developed during the decades of an imposed separate society, which shows that custom is a hard thing to shake off.

Of the estimated 350,000 to 400,000 Negroes here, the vast majority work in government, but few bother or are concerned about the workings of national politics.

This is strictly an 8:30 to 5 p m. city and when the household (everybody works including father) comes home they automatically shed their work.

VOTELESS TOWN

There are many reasons for this. First, this is a stateless, voteless town and home rule is something talked about, but a long way from the reality of achievement; hence, the overall apathy of Washingtonians about the affairs of government.

Secondly, there is an unusually high percentage of individual home ownership here. This makes for home living, and home livers are prone to stay at home, putter around the house and garden, entertain a few friends now and then, and forget about the cares of fast urban living.

Not that there isn't plenty of socializing. There are more clubs here per square yard almost than any other city in the country, but this is a poor place for the night club circuit.

PRAYER PILGRIMAGE

Recently, Washingtonians have been lambasted for not participating in the May 17 Prayer Pilgrimage rally. Washingtonians are not mass meeting folks.

When you fill up the Metropolitan Baptist church, (seating capacity, 4,000) for something on a burning issue other than a regular church service, that's big news.

Furthermore, people were skeptical and a little frightened of the prayer pilgrimage. They had dire misgivings of having the Hatch Act thrown at them if they showed up. Indeed there was ample evidence of underground work done to scare them into staying away.

In addition, there was a great deal of plain jealousy among some of the ministers who inadvertently helped to boycott attendance by sitting on their hands.

One prominent high cleric who could have said the word to bring out at least 5,000 of the faithful got piqued because he wasn't asked to appear on the program and left town the morning of the pilgrimage. The Hatch Act forbids employes of government to participate in partisan politics.

DAVIDSON FEUDING

About the hottest thing right now in Washington besides the weather is — believe it or not — not national civil rights, but the latest running feud between peppery gadfly, Eugene Davidson, president of the local NAACP, and the Washington police department.

This time, Davidson backed up by the association board is demanding the resignation of Chief Robert Murray on grounds of inefficiency and condoning police brutality.

Murray has fired back a salvo, saying that Davidson should be the one made to resign. The chief says he doesn't intend to be intimidated by Davidson or the NAACP and he'll run his department as he sees fit.

Editorially, the Washington Evening Star has demanded that Davidson put up or shut up with some documented evidence supporting his charges.

Gene, always one to appreciate the printed word, whether it be praise or damnation, realizes he has stirred up a hornet's nest, but is still busy adding fuel to the blaze.

In the latest round of exchange, Murray has charged Davidson with inciting Negroes to resist arrest.

He said that in the Ninth Precinct last week where 100 arrests were made of colored people, 50 per cent of them had to be handcuffed and restrained from resisting arrest and assaulting police officers, all because of inflammatory statements made by Davidson.

Murray said that Davidson and the NAACP were trying to force the Police Department into a corner where policemen would be totally ineffective in enforcement of the law, afraid to make an arrest, and of no value whatsoever to the responsible and law abiding citizens of the District of Columbia.

Davidson owns a real estate company. His wife, Mrs. Edmonia Davidson, a prominent YWCA and social worker before her marriage, recently completed a nine months survey of migrant workers in the South under a grant of the National Council of Churches in America.

Besides being a voteless town, Washington is noted for the female of the species outnumbering the male by so wide a margin that many matrimonial bent gals, discouraged by the shortage of available men, have either given up and gone back home, or gone out and brought back husbands with them.

However, two exceptions to this rule are gals from California who came East for positions with Congressmen, landed husbands and have now permanently settled down as Washingtonians.

Contralto voiced Juanita Terry originally came as secretary to Congresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas. When she was defeated for the Senate by Richard M. Nixon, now vice president, Juanita moved over to the office of Sen. Hubert Humphrey, soon changed her last name to Terry.

Attractive Iverna Jones came here as secretary to Cong. James Roosevelt. In less than a year's time she was married to Atty. Frank Bourne. She still holds a staff position in Roosevelt's office.

Another maid who deserted the spinster society is attractive, pert Pat Roberts, executive secretary of Delta Sigma Theta sorority, who won the heart of handsome, affable lawyer Bill Harris.

Pat now divides her time between her job and puttering with pots as Mrs. William Harris.

A CEREMONIAL CENTER, Washington has perhaps more ceremonies than any other city in the world. Two reasons for this is that the town is the capital of a leading nation and is visited constantly by world dignitaries; and because of the presence of several universities. At a recent ceremony at Howard university, Dr. Martin Luther King (left) leader of the Montgomery bus boycott, and Jackie Robinson, former Brooklyn Dodger star (right) received honorary Doctor of Laws degrees during school's 89th commencement. Also in photo are Howard President Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson and Patrick M. Malin, New York, executive director, American Civil Liberties union.

SO . . . this is Washington

Defender
By ETHEL L. PAYNE

Famed newsman William Worthy's sister Ruth has all the same resoluteness of her intrepid brother.

Chicago, Ill.

When a Washington automobile agency, made the mistake of repossessing her car one day after a payment fell due, Ruth took them into court produced evidence that she had mailed a check which they claimed they had not received, got a $2,000 judgment against the company, plus $33 in court charges.

Ruth is employed by the District Board of Education.

Sat. 7-13-57

* * *

Story behind the "leak of the secret" marriage of pretty Dolores Ponton and Howard law graduate Leander J. Shaw was the desire to avoid publicity since the stormy break off of Dolores' engagement to Disc Jockey and TV M. C. Bob McEwen.

Shaw told reporters he wanted to keep the marriage which took place two weeks ago in the office of Congressman Adam Clayton Powell quiet because he was going to St. Louis without his pretty bride to open up a law practice, and "it will be better for me if I'm single for awhile."

Only attendants at the wedding were petite Barbara Cooper and Edward Pondexter, jr.

* * *

WHAT'S BECOME OF: Annie Lee Moss? Remember her.

The pathetic sobbing middle aged decipher clerk for the signal corps who was suddenly shot square into the glare of publicity when Joe McCarthy accused her of being a Red agent and charged the Army with harboring subversives?

The case was a high point of McCarthy's televised row with the Army. Mrs. Moss a widow, who was an active church worker and community leader, won the sympathy of millions after Sen. Stuart Symington asked her if she embraced the teachings of Karl Marx.

Turning bewilderedly to her attorney George E. C. Hayes who sat besides her, Mrs. Moss asked in voice that carried all over the country, "Who's he?"

Mrs. Moss' troubles stemmed from the delivery many years back of copies of the Daily Worker to her home.

She testified that she had urged her husband to stop the deliveries. After extensive hearings, she was cleared of charges of being subversive, but the Secretary of Defense specified that she should not be returned to a sensitive post.

She works now in the accounting division of Army Finance, and once more the cloak of anonymity has dropped over her.

Asked what her feelings were about the death of Sen. McCarthy, her inquisitor, she replied. "I don't have any ill will against anybody. God takes care of everything."

She lives with her son in the modest home she was buying in northeast Washington.

* * *

A report on Washington's domestics reveals that they work a typical 8:30-6:30 dinner day, a total of 12 hours. They average $30-$35 and carfare, if they live out and $20-$25 plus room and board if they live in.

There is an oversupply of day workers, but a terrific shortage of "live-ins" since this demands a seven day week with time off at the generosity of the employer.

The District minimum wage and maximum hour laws do not apply to domestic workers. There is a steady trend away from day work to charwomen jobs in government buildings and business offices, where the workers get the benefits of unemployment compensation vacations with pay, shorter hours and other fringe benefits.

Surveys show that in comparison with the rest of the country, wages for domestics are lower than in other cities and they have not risen at all in comparison with salaries in other categories.

Employment agency officials are now trying to educate prospective employers on how to keep good help when they get it. Some of the tips include offering a cup of coffee when the person arrives, giving them liberal use of radio and TV while ironing, explaining how to operate household equipment, and most important, not nagging, but praising for work well done.

* * *

The District got a new president of the Board of Education. He is school board member Walter Tobringer, an attorney. He was at one time a staunch ally of militant Maggie Butcher.

Maggie, incidentally, has recovered from her recent illness, but is still in retirement from her arduous civic labors. She spends her time now resting and relaxing, reading and watching her favorite TV programs and cooking meals for her daughter, Sheryll who works in the District public library.

In the Fall, Sheryll will enter Georgetown university to major in history and literature and Maggie is scheduled to go back to teaching at Howard university.

* * *

The argument over the Supreme Court's release of Arthur Mallory who was sentenced to death for rape because of failure of the police to arraign him first before they obtained a confession, has started a whole maze of legal argument.

Police Chief Robert Murry contends that it is not always convenient to get a judge to handle arraignment proceedings, especially if it's over a weekend.

Others argue that there are 57 district judges in Washington and some of them should be able to be reached at all times. The question has been raised of setting up an emergency pool, similar to the type doctors have, to take care of problems requiring immediate judicial attention.

* * *

Montgomery County, Md., has announced the integration of two more schools in the Fall. This will bring to 51, the total of integrated schools out of the county's 100. A total of 32 percent of the 3,017 Negro pupils in the county will be under integration.

MRS. AILENE EWELL, founder of the national nursing sorority of Chi Eta Phi is honored at the 25th anniversary of the organization during its recent convention in Washington. Left to right are Congressman Walter Judd of Minnesota, former medical missionary to China who addressed the banquet, Mrs. Ewell and Mrs. Maezell Dickerson of Baltimore, supreme basileus.

SO . . . this is Washington

By ETHEL L. PAYNE

Some encouraging news in the integration picture was a report last week by outgoing Washington School Superintendent Hobart Corning who said that marked improvement has been shown in pupil achievement tests even though Washington is still below the nation's norm. The report did not break down the tests by race, but a large percentage of slow learners it was claimed came from low income Negro families who had formerly attended segregated schools.

After taking a long hard look at the facts, District Commissioners canceled a scheduled performance by Fats Domino at Griffith Stadium on the advice of Police Chief Robert Murray, who claimed that the rock and roll show would frenzy the cats so, that there wouldn't be enough police to cool them.

Robert E. McLaughlin hastened to explain that this does not mean that ole Fats is barred from the city. They just want him to get a smaller place that won't require as much handling. A rock and roll session last year at the District Armory resulted in some bashed heads and busted up furniture and brought out emergency riot squads.

First diplomatic party of the Fall season was that given Sunday, Sept. 1 by Major and Mrs. Seth Anthony who held an informal cocktail party in their home. Major Anthony is Charges D'Affaires of the Ghana Embassy. Mrs. Anthony only recently joined him there.

* * *

Washington's Willard Hotel was the first downtown spot to let down color bars, long before the end of bias went into effect in 1953. This liberal policy was set by the late Maxwell Abbell of Chicago owner of the [illegible] hostelry where President [illegible] stayed and a string of other hotels. But now aft-

AL WHITEHOUSE (left) executive director of the Industrial Unions department, AFL-CIO, and James Hoffa, vice president, Teamsters union, arrive for Washington meeting of the AFL-CIO ethical practices committee. Teamsters dified demands by AFL-CIO that it carry out a housecleaning within its organization. (INP)

ings were canceled and the affairs have been moved to the Presidential Arms Hotel.

* * *

Upset of the week: Mrs. Bessie Mercer Freeman was unseated as financial secretary of the National Beauty Culturists League and the office vacated. Under the late Mrs. Cordelia Greene Johnson, head of the association, Mrs. Freeman virtually controlled the money of the group, refused to turn over any authority to acting president Katie Whickham after Mrs. Johnson passed.

But at the New Orleans convention, Mrs. Whickham was elected president in fact. Now the association plans to open headquarters in Washington on 15th st. and they have asked Mrs. Freeman not only to turn over all the books, but silver, china, linen and other items belonging to the organization which she has kept in her home.

* * *

Reported going to Africa on a teaching fellowship is Howard U. English and dramatic instructor, James Butcher, husband of Dr. Margaret Just. La Ursa Snelson Hedrick, former secretary of the National Association of Colored Women in Washington, was the guest of honor at a 4-H club banquet at Howard last week. Mrs. Hedrick is now on the staff of the Illinois State Juvenile Commission.

Although Congress adjourned without approving a new juvenile judge for the District, best bets are that it will be passed next session and that the post will go to a Negro woman lawyer. Mentioned as possibles are Margaret "Peggy" Hawthorne and Marjorie MacKinzie Lawson.

* * *

Seen at the Washington Airport, Joe Louis lounging against a post while his female golfing companion took care of the ticket business at the Eastern Airlines ticket counter. Public Housing Administrator, Dr. George Snowden at the Capital Ticket counter checking in for a flight to Detroit and the Urban League convention.

* * *

Round of adjournment parties in the Capital included a most exclusively swank cocktail affair at the Officers club of Bolling Airfield in Washington. Hosts were Lt. Col. Daniel James, Captain Oliver Kerr, and Restaurant Owner Billy Simpson. Guests included Capitol Hill secretaries and Congressman Charles Diggs. Sen. Jacob Javits and Daphne Coleman who brought along her father and Sen. Stuart Symington's Chris McCrearv had her husband in tow. Dorothy Quarker told me she was going back to Detroit to take over the Congressional office of her boss, Charlie Diggs, while Congress is in recess. Assisting their husbands were Pretty Mrs. Billy Simpson and charming Mrs. Oliver Kerr.

* * *

Bustling Gene Davidson, president of the District Branch of the NAACP is the son of the first executive secretary of the organization in Washington, Shelby J. Davidson. Gene has been on the exectuive board of the branch since 1941 and has headed the D. C. chapter since 1952.

He is currently working on documentation of police brutality charges which the association has leveled against the police department and Police Chief Robert Murray. The charges will be aired in October. Three of the 35 board members are white and about 5 percent of the 10,000 in the branch are white.

* * *

Ceylon's Ambassador to Washington, R. S. S. Gunewardene is one of the most outspoken of the diplomatic set. He bluntly complains because he doesn't see Negroes at more high diplomatic functions, wants to know why they aren't good enough to be included.

Gunewardene also wants to know why Negroes don't invite more foreigners to their homes to get better acquainted. He's busy now with double duty as ambassador and UN chief delegate for his country, as well as heading the important committee which condemned Russia's interference in Hungary; but the busy diplomat says he wants to take time out to make an extensive tour of Negro centers of population.

SO . . . this is Washington

31a vogue

By ETHEL L. PAYNE

Defender

Patsy Graves wired the hostesses for the party for Ruth Mueller that she was very sorry she could not attend because she was flying that evening to Idlewild to meet a friend from India who was arriving in the states. Folks are speculating whether the handsome Indian who stepped off the plane is a blossoming romance from Patsy's tour there. She expects to go back in October and sighs estactically, "I just love the country and the people". She's a home economics instructor for the International Cooperation Administration.

Chicago Ill.

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Dr. Ralph Bunche just committed a faux pas. When he received a letter asking about the labor situation in Uganda, he attached a note saying this should be directed to the attention of "James E. Wilkinson, who is a member of the International Labor Organization."

Pat. 9-7-57.

The letter duly arrived on the desk of J. Ernest Wilkins, Assistant Secretary of Labor in Charge of International Affairs who promptly sent back a cool note to Bunche saying, "J. does not stand for James nor has it ever stood for James."

• • •

While Sen. Strom Thurmond was filibustering on the senate floor last Wednesday evening, speaking barely above a whisper to save his voice, some newsmen bummed rides to the airport where nearly every other Democratic senator had gone to meet William Proxmire, elected the night before to fill the vacant seat of the late Joe McCarthy.

They nosed in on a conversation between Sen. Alexander Wiley, the Republican senator from Wisconsin, heard him say, "God Bless you son" as he shook hands with Proxmire, recorded that for the breakfast table readers and then crashed a cocktail party being given for the senator-elect. When Lyndon Johnson spied a reporter from an arch Republican paper freeloading on Democrat liquor, he had him unceremoniously evicted.

Next round in the long night of the Senate was when Johnson escorted Proxmire into the Senate chamber and then engaged in a duel with Minority Leader William Knowland over a technicality of whether the Wisconsinite could be sworn in and seated that night.

Johnson read a United Press report from Madison, Wis. saying that the GOP governor had stated that he was desirous that Wisconsin have full representation in the Senate as soon as possible, but Knowland demanded that the swearing in be delayed until an official wire of certification was received from the governor and this would have to wait until morning because the governor was enroute to Milwaukee and would not return to Madison until next morning.

From this point on, Lyndon who was fortified by the cocktails proceeded to mercilessly needle the redfaced Knowland with the mischievousness of a school boy tormenting a chained elephant while the late gallery stayers snickered and giggled out loud.

So Proxmire, who was slumped wearily on one of the leather divans at the rear of the chamber, went to his hotel room, still the senator designate from Wisconsin.

Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia, after a row with House Southern Democrats over his statement that there would be no filibuster, emerged from the caucus, telling newsmen he expected attacks from the opposition but he didn't anticipate nipping from his own flank.

• • •

All of this confirmed reports over a split among Southerners and the reason why Thurmond made his surprise motion to send the bill back to the Judiciary Committee, which was defeated late Tuesday by a vote of 68 to 18. Undaunted, Thurmond filibustered for six hours Wednesday night while seven other senators used up an average of 52 minutes apiece.

• • •

Pat Roberts Harrison and her husband Bill, after waiting in vain for Congress to adjourn, left on a motor trip to Canada. She's executive secretary of the Deltas.

Rumour had it that Belford Lawson was asked to come to Minneapolis and introduce Sen. Frank Church at a meeting after protests arose over his scheduled speech there; but later reports said he had canceled his engagement.

The resentment was over his support of the jury trial amendment Lawson was asked to do a similar thing in Boston after Sen. John Kennedy voted last June 20 to send the bill back to the Judiciary Committee.

The jim crow Local 330 of the National Association of Post Office and General Services Employees warned the parent body that they would pull out of the union if they were not absorbed into the group as a whole. Some of the members have already joined the American Federation of Government Employees an AFL-CIO group which is integrated.

The other union has 90 days to act on the petition of the local.

• • •

A spontaneous boom has begun to draft Juanita Jackson Mitchell of Baltimore as next president of the National Council of Negro Women. Though she hasn't even been asked yet and certainly has made no indication of being interested in the post, members from several states are convinced that the dynamic lawyer would be just the person for the job.

• • •

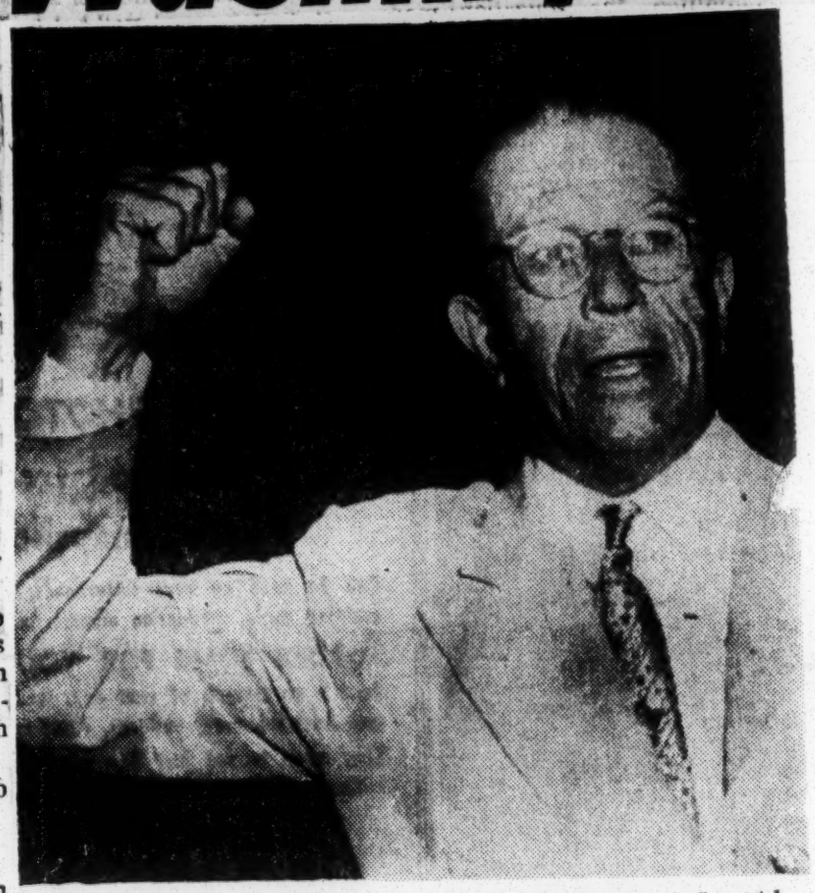
Another active council member, Mrs. Aline Ewell, was recently named director of the Iona Whipper home for unwed mothers in the Capital.

• • •

Charles Dargans and his sister Mrs. Maude Richardson of New York were the house guests last week of their younger sister, and her husband Mr. and Mrs. Robert Fleming. Charlie was modestly declining to take any bows for being newly elected Grand Oriental Guide of the Shriners at the convention in Philly. He's director of public relations for the New York State Shriners.

• • •

Cora Brown, new assistant counsel of the Post Office Department, is shopping for an apartment in Washington. She was scheduled to move in with the E. Franklin Fraziers of Howard U. but plans were changed after they accepted an exchange fellowship abroad.



SEN. ALLEN J. ELLENDER of Louisiana prepares to take the Senate floor for a speech on the civil rights bill. At time photo was made, Sen. Ellender was waiting for Senator J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina to complete his one-man filibuster against the bill. Ellender said he planned a reasonably short speech though he had a 50-hour talk prepared.

Northern Negro Lax In Citizenship Duties, Ethel Payne Tells Forum

Negroes in the South are showing an extraordinary amount of courage and willingness to stand and fight for their rights, whereas their brothers and sisters in the North are showing a tendency to slack their citizenship responsibilities.

Defender p 14

This was the view expressed by Defender Washington Correspondent, Ethel L. Payne when she talked on the topic "A Reporter's Report on Desegregation" last Sunday evening at the Park Manor Congregational church.

Miss Payne's report was followed by a panel discussion by four Chicagoans who also participated in the forum sponsored by the Chicago Chapter of the Natona Links, Inc.

The panelists were Miss Maggie Madden, director of the Mayor's Commission on New Residents; Louis E. Martin, editor-in-chief of the Defender; Alderman Leon Despres of the Fifth Ward; and Gerald Bullock, president of the Illinois Conference of NAACP branches.

Miss Olive Diggs, staff member of the Chicago Land Clearance Commission and a member of the Links, was the moderator of the panel and Mrs. Madeline Stratton was chairman of the program committee. Other committee members were Mrs. Oneida Cockrell, Mrs. Edith Sampson, Mrs. Bess Faulkner, Mrs. Thelma Jackson, Mrs. Elizabeth Manley, and Mrs. Florence Wilkinson. Mrs. Eolis Buchanan is president of the Chicago Chapter.

Making a roundup of her recent travels in the South, Miss Payne linked what is happening in the South today to the world conference of colored peoples at Bandung, Indonesia in 1955, the Independence of Ghana in 1956 and the surge of subjugated people every where towards freedom.

"Sputnik may have pushed Little Rock off the front pages, but it has not made the problem go away," Miss Payne declared.

The more America is torn apart over the racial question, the more vulnerable she becomes to attack and the more the Reds gain on us in the psychological advantage, was her assertion. "Just as all roads used to lead to Rome, now all lanes in the South led to the ballot box."

Miss Payne concluded by saying the Northern Negroes have a responsibility of their brothers and sisters who are on the firing line in the South to exercise their free right to vote in unprecedented numbers, so that this will encourage them in their efforts to win the ballot.

She urged increased financial support of the NAACP and other organizations which are leading the fight for desegregation.

Miss Madden spoke on the problems facing new arrivals to the city, while Ald. Despres stressed the necessity for breaking down more barriers in housing. Mr. Bullock said that despite pressure brought to bear, there were still many segregated schools in Illinois, both thrw gerrymandering neighborhood lines and by outright local policies.

Mr. Martin spoke of the need for more concerted effort by militant leadership to meet the challenge of integration.

Rev. William Faulkner, pastor of the church brought greetings from the congregation.

SWAPPING feminine chatter, this trio relaxed just before going in to the forum sponsored by the Chicago Chapter of the National Links, Inc., last Sunday evening at the Park Manor Congregational church. 70th and South Parkway. Left, Miss Olive Diggs, moderator of the hanel discussion on "Practical Problems in Desegregation." Miss Ethel L. Payne, Washington Correspondent of the Defender who spoke on "A Reporter's Report on Desegregation," and Mrs. Madeline Stratton chairman of the program committee.

THIS IS WASHINGTON

Blue Card Is Prestige Mark For Queen's Visit

By ETHEL L. PAYNE

Arlington, just across the bridge from Washington, has long been considered the enlightened part of Virginia, but the issue of school de-segregation has all but destroyed the flowering liberalism here. Last week, the bigots in the Defenders of State Sovereignty, another name for White Citizens Council, succeeded in branding Arlington with an ugly reactionary label, when they forced a local school PTA to cancel the appearance of the Howard U. choir at one of its meetings.

Three years ago, the famed choral group made headlines in another racial incident when they were barred by District police from singing at a GOP rally at the Uline Areno and President Eisenhower apologized for the incident.

Wrapper

Mrs. E. Frederick Morrow made her introduction to official Washington when she and her husband of a month, who is on the White House staff, appeared as guests of the President at the White House reception for Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip.

P. 3

The former Catherine Gordon Boswell of Chicago has not yet moved her things here, because their new home in Washington is undergoing extensive decoration. The Morrows will be at home after Nov. 8.

Chicago Bel.

* * *

Glamorous Etta Moten and her husband, Claude, scored a sociall bullseye when they landed an invitation as the luncheon guests of Queen and her consort in the Senate Dining Room of the Capitol.

Sept. 10-26-57

If you were lucky enough to get one of those coveted invitations to the British Embassy reception you had to be luckier still to hold a blue bordered card. The red edged one simply admitted you. The blue one entitled you to be among those privileged to shake the Queen's hand. To keep down an explosion, the Embassy carefully included all of Washington's rival hostesses including those two famed protagonists, Gwen (Mrs. Morris) Cafritz ond and Perle (Hostess with the Mostest) Mesta; not to leave out Mrs. Merriwether Post.

You might lay it on Sputnki, but suddenly the Russians have become very popular here in Washington. People, who before wouldn't want to be seen walking past 1125 16th st., N. W., are now calling the Embassy and asking for invitations to the anniversary of the Red Revolution.

* * *

After arguing in vain with her boss about what to wear, Maxienne Dargans triumphantly clipped out of the paper the correct male attire for the Brittish Embassy reception for Queen Eliazbeth and Prince Philip, sent it to Congressman Adam Clayton Powell in New York had the satisfaction of not only having the last word but of seeing him impeccably turned out when he arrived at the Embassy with his blue card of admission.

Dr. Roscoe Brown of the D. C. Public Health Service, has just completed a book on his late famed uncle who worked 67 years for the British Embassy in Washington. A bachelor with several college degrees, Charlie Brown went to work Oct. 1, 1888 after serving as valet to the Spanish ambassador. Brown became the librarian for the Embassy, received scores of citations including one from King George VI and labor leader Ernest Bevan. He died in Dec., 1955.

Last week, another long time employee, Chester Barksdale, messenger for 37 years, was presented by Lord Caccia, the British ambassador, to Her Majesty and received a citation from the

The heads of Commonwealth countries with embassies occupied high ranking places at all ceremonies attendant upon the Queen's visit. Representing Ghana was Major Seth Anthony, the Charges D'Affaires, who is serving until an ambassodor is named.

Instruction to the press took up 21 pages of legal size paper.

Mrs. Daisy Bates of Little Rock drew nearly as much press attention as the Queen when she spoke before the workshop of the American Council on Human Rights Saturday in Washington and before the Baltimore NAACP on Sunday.

Intrepid gadfly Eugene David son, president of the local branch of the NAACP, is happily buzzing despite, cross burning on his lawn and a suit of $50,000 slapped on him by a white policeman named in the NAACP brutality suit, against the Metropolitan police and the District.

Dr. Robert Mance, treasurer of the AME church, has opened medical offices in Washington. He formerly lived and practiced in Columbia, S. C.; but moved here after his election two years ago to the church position.

Africa House had the formal opening of its new home last week. When a member of the Indian Embassy staff entered the foyer of a ped a well-dressed matron coming large Washington apartment, mostly tennanted by Negroes, he stop down the elevator and told her he was looking for a maid to clean his new apartment across the street in a building inhabited, with his exception by whites.

Withering him down with an icy stare, the Negro woman replied. "I don't know who could have told you this was the place to find a maid. If you can't get one in your building among the tenants there, I suggest you try the Charleson around the corner: "P.S. The Charleston is an all-white apartment hotel!

Story of the week: Contributed by Dan Powell and Phil Weightman. Two small boys, one white and one Negro who were fast friends went fishing one day. They rowed out in the middle of the lake and were looking for a good place to drop their lines when the colored lad fell over board. The white boy jumped in and pulled him back to the boat. The story got back to the Chamber of Commerce who decided to put on a testimonial dinner and present a medal to the white boy for his courage and heroism in the interest of better brotherhood in the community. When the citation was given, the dinner officials called on the little white boy to speak. Said he. "I didn't jump in after him because he was my friend. I saved him because he had the bait in his pocket!" Moral: This can be applied to politics.

SO . . . this is Washington

Defender 3/1/57 Chicago

By ETHEL L. PAYNE

The local branch of the NAACP feud with Chief Robert Murray and the police department has now reached the headline stage.

Latest development is that the District Board of Commissioners voted to ask the FBI to investigate charges made by Eugene Davidson, some documented, that brutality is permitted and Negro officers are deliberately kept from promotions.

The department says that the cases presented by Davidson so far have been of persons with long records, a woman solicitor for immoral purposes, habitual drunkards, and known felons.

While this has nothing to do with the principle involved of brutality, some lawyers say Davidson's case is weakened by this.

However, two weeks ago, Dr. Harry Jones, a prominent Washington physician was passing the scene of an automobile accident where a young Negro boy was lying in the street.

The doctor stopped his car, got out and went to offer assistance. He was arrested and charged with disorderly conduct and jailed until bond was furnished for him.

And when a traffic accident occurred last week, an elderly white man who asked a white policeman to cross the street was assaulted and beaten so badly by the cop that bystanders had to pull the officer off the man.

When a House District Committee signed a report praising Chief Murray, Cong. William L. Dawson, was the lone member not to sign. Dawson said he could not go along with the report.

A prominent lawyer in the District described the city as a "police state" administered by Southerners who believe in brutality.

* * *

It's trying to be kept quiet, but a member of the staff of an embassy is under medical care for a mental breakdown brought on by his encounter with American prejudice in its rawest form.

The young man who has been in this country for several years, most of it spent on the campus of Princeton university where he was pursuing a doctorate, was recently assigned to the diplomatic post.

The crackup came when a white woman called him a vile name on the street and he had to be rushed to a doctor. The medic has recommended that after treatment, the diplomat be sent home for a rest and then allowed to return here.

* * *

While everybody who can is ducking the heat of Washington and going to the seashoare, Revella and Sherman Briscoe are busy with paint brush on the new house they recently purchased on Quackenbush st. N. E. Briscoe is information specialist for the Agriculture Dept. and Revella is public relations director at Morgan college.

* * *

That handsome man you see in the Senate gallery daily is Bob Reed, a member of the Capitol detective force.

* * *

Among the temporary expatriates from the city are Marjorie and Belford Lawson who are summering at their Oak Bluffs, Mass. home.

* * *

Among the crop of new house hunters are Elaine and Howard Jenkins — he's just back from the ILO conference in Geneva, Switzerland where he served as legal consultant to the American delegation.

AFL-CIO Theodore Brown is looking for a place to bring his family down from New York, and going to the seashore, Revel. now that he is permanently assigned to the Civil Rights department.

* * *

The secret rooms and hidden mazes of the Capitol building are a perfect setting for an Alfred Hitchcock mystery.

After beating the corridors for four years, the other day I got lost in the catacombs of the back stairways and had to holler for help to get out of the joint!

As I was being led out, I thought gee what a spot for a crap game!

* * *

The girl who threw her hour old infant down an elevator shaft in the Dunbar hotel last week because "she didn't want it" only added more to the unsavory reputation of the place which is shunned by people who want good service and decent surroundings.

* * *

A sad note was the closing of the Florida Ave. gift shop run by Lonnie Aden for many years and a delightful place to spend hours of browsing and picking little articles. The changing character of the neighborhood with business moving away is the reason; but Aden still maintains his art gallery in his home.

* * *

Most people are glad to leave a hospital; but the case is the reverse for patients of Merribelle Windsor at Freedmens. Reason: The svelte bronze nurse with the perfect model's figure also has one of the sunniest dispositions on the staff.

* * *

Social event of the week is the Liberian Independence Day celebration at the embassy and coming up on the calendar is the formal opening of the Ghana embassy.

* * *

While attention is being focused on civil rights bills before Congress with the main target of attempted change the South, the prevalence of racial discrimination in another part of the country is being overlooked.

The fact that a number of members of Congress from this area have been teaming up with Southerners in an attempt to either hamstring or completely block civil rights is all the more proof of the state of affairs there.

In 1953, following an address before the National Newspaper Publisher's Association by Judge Irving Mollison in which he cited widespread bias in 13 states, a national Committee on Human Rights for the Western States was formed with headquarters in New York.

Made up mostly of lawyers, the committee has compiled facts on racial discrimination which it has printed in pamphlet form for distribution.

VICE PRESIDENT William R. Tolbert of Liberia (left) is greeted by Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard university, at a reception honoring Tolbert at Washington's Liberian Embassy. In center is William Rountree, deputy assistant secretary of state for Near East, Asian and African affairs.

The latest one is entitled "Another Look At Human Rights for the Western States."

The report says in part: "Since the publication of the first brochure on Human Rights for the Western States, the crisis in respect to basic human rights in places at public accommodation has deepened and grown more acute.

"The need for enactment of civil rights legislation to correct the evil and discriminatory practice refusal of human beings in public places is now more urgent."

None of the states in the mountain and plains areas have civil rights statutes.

* * *

ARIZONA — Discrimination and segregation are prevalent in Bisbee, Warren, Lowell, Douglas and Yuma. Hotels, restaurants, cafes, bars and night clubs, generally exclude Negroes in Tucson and Globe.

The same situation exists in Phoenix where the first class hotels have accommodated only nationally prominent Negro personalities. Here there is segregation in most of the leading movies theatres.

* * *

IDAHO — There is a policy of racial discrimination in taverns, bars, night clubs, and places of entertainment and amusement in Poatallo and Boise. Most hotels and many restaurants refuse to serve Negroes.

* * *

MONTANA — Many of the 500 or more colored soldiers stationed at Great Falls Air Base have been turned away from eating places, theaters, hotels and barber shops.

In Butte, there are only three places where a Negro may eat and two of these are operated by colored people. All others are off limits.

In Helena, Negroes are not generally served in places of public accommodation and generally throughout the state, hotels are cool to Negro patronage.

* * *

NEVADA — The situation affecting the Negro is almost on a par with the Deep South. In such places as Reno, Las Vegas, Hawthorne, and Henderson this prevails.

There are 5,000 colored people

in Las Vegas. They can't gamble downtown with the whites. They can't live in the hotels and they can't eat in the restaurants.

Although Negro entertainers' names appear on the marquees of big places, Negroes are not welcome as patrons.

* * *

NEW MEXICO — In predominantly Anglo Saxon southern New Mexico, near the Texas border, it is common to discriminate against Spanish speaking white people, Mexicans, Indians and Negroes. It is difficult to get a meal in Albuquerque.

NORTH DAKOTA—The patronage of both Negroes and Indians is generally discouraged by first class hotels and restaurants.

* * *

SOUTH DAKOTA — In the southeastern part of the state around Sioux Falls area Negroes are denied service in some restaurants, bars, taverns, and places of recreation and amusement.

* * *

UTAH — A recent survey by a restaurant trade journal revealed that only about one fifth of the places of business throughout the state served all races, and one half of those responding said they did not serve Negroes.

Generally, Negroes are refused service in hotels, motels, motor and trailer courts, restaurants and bars, taverns, bowling alleys, etc.

* * *

WYOMING — Hotels, restaurants, bars, and taverns and other places of amusement in Cheynne and Laramie discourage and refuse service to Negroes.

Repeated complaints have been made by Negro airmen at the Francis E. Warren Air Base near Cheyenne. There is only one barber shop in which a Negro can get a hair cut in Laramie.

Oregon enacted a civil rights law in April, 1953.

Civil rights bills have been introduced in the legislatures of Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, Montana and Wyoming, leaving only the two Dakotas where none have been presented.

Governor Simpson in 1955 recommended the passage of a civil rights bill in Wyoming in 1955, but the bill failed. However, on Feb. 20, 1957, the bill did pass through the efforts of the governor and civic groups.

The Case Of Drew Pearson

Advertiser - Alabama Journal Montgomery, Ala. Aug 3-23-57

THE CONVENTION of Alabama mayors in Birmingham was the largest and most successful ever held by that vigorous body. The two star attractions were Senator John Kennedy of Massachusetts, a dazzling national political figure on whom center great expectations, and Columnist Drew Pearson. The convention impressario soon discovered that Pearson drew much better than Senator Kennedy and seating became a problem.

This incident undergirds our own estimate of Columnist Pearson. He has sagged some in recent years, but he retains his magnetism for the reading public in a measure that sets him apart from most or all other syndicated political columnists.

This durable popularity of Pearson is the cross to bear of a great many of the 650 editors who buy the *Washington Merry Go Round*. They do not believe in the general accuracy of Pearson, would not tolerate his fanciful reporting from a reporter on their staff, but continue to print Pearson because readers evidently continue to want him despite all.

★

NOT TWO WEEKS ago the managing editor of one of the world's most important newspapers visited *The Advertiser*. For a half hour we and this editor swapped dismaying experiences with Pearson, but disconsolately agreed that the fellow was holding our respective readerships hostage.

Last autumn a magazine editor, in a letter to *The Washington Post*, came to grips with Pearson's claim that he is 85% correct in "his predictions of things to come." On the contrary, this analysis demonstrated, Pearson's predictions ran about 85% wrong. Examples in 1956:

Adenauer will step down during the year. Sir Anthony Eden, whose health is worse than the public realizes, will take a much less part in the British government. Next spring or summer Red China will begin its long-awaited attack on Quemoy and Matsu. The Matsus will be captured by the Chinese. A slump is due for mid-year. However, I predict the Eisenhower Administration will dust off various public works plans reminiscent of Harold Ickes' PWA days. Congress will vote a very modest tax relief for low-income groups only. In midwinter President Eisenhower will announce that he will not run again. On the Democratic side, Adlai Stephenson will get the nomination; but Harry Truman, once bitter against Senator Kefauver, this time will throw his weight to Kefauver for vice president.

★

PROPHECY, of course, is the frailest of human faculties, it might be said in defense of Pearson, and in any event, what he dishes up is, and can only be, billed as prophecy.

But this defense cannot be erected in defending Pearson from wild, irresponsible reporting of events past. The presidential campaign last year showed what malicious fiction Pearson is capable of.

President Eisenhower was due for the mid-campaign "head to toe" physical examination at Walter Reed Hospital. Pearson wrote that Ike had 'apparently suffered a mild relapse" en route to Minneapolis.

A special press conference had to be called to neutralize this whopper.

Pearson wrote: "Ike was hustled into his plane, the *Columbine*, without bidding goodbye to local dignitaries." In fact: Ike said goodbye to a swarm of local GOP leaders and shook hands with about 30 persons.

Pearson: "At the next stop, Seattle, Ike. . . . closed himself in his suite for 24 hours, seeing no one but his family and physician." In fact: Ike was visiting around in that period and addressed 125 members of a campaign fund committee, shaking hands with all 125.

And on it went. A check with any of the 80 reporters traveling with the President would have informed Pearson of his errors.

★

MANY other examples of Pearson's work might be adduced. But what complicates one's judgment of Pearson is that now and again he comes through with a sound, significant disclosure that has eluded the rest of the press. And he has courage. Finally, he writes with a passion for folksy simplicity, injects some human juice into it along with some corn that is not of the bantam variety, and thus beams his stuff smack on the wave length of the mass of newspaper readers.

Yet, *The Advertiser* must acknowledge that it is less concerned about Pearson's incompetent reporting than it was before its astonishing experiences with the Northern press in reporting Montgomery race scrimmaging. But of course we are responsible for relaying Pearson's column, whereas the Northern press is a curse and nuisance for which we are not responsible.

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

Post + Times Herald P. 11-d Wed. 7-24-57 Washington, D.C.

Kasper's Role Is Recounted

By Drew Pearson

In reviewing the bitterness stirred up at Clinton, Tenn., it's important to remember that the confused young man who stirred it up, John Kasper, is a close friend of Ezra Pound, who broadcast for the Axis during the war. Pound escaped trial as a traitor only on the plea of insanity.

Pearson

Kasper also was on such intimate terms with Negroes that he attended Negro dances in Harlem, and brought a Negro girl, Florette Williams, from New York to Washington to visit Ezra Pound at St. Elizabeths Hospital for the insane.

With this background, Kasper, who has spent most of his life in the North, went South to organize White Citizens Councils and to stir up trouble against the race with which he had been so intimate in New York.

against the jury-trial amendment. He has told Sen. Douglas of Illinois, the Democratic civil rights leader, that all he needs to do is to raise 15 votes to defeat the jury-trial amendment. Northern Democrats, however, are having trouble finding even 15 Democratic votes. Such Senators as Jackson and Magnuson (Wash.), Mansfield and Murray (Mont.) and O'Mahoney (Wyo.) have indicated they will vote with the South for trial by jury . . . Vice President Nixon has been using his influence with Republicans to stop talk of compromise. He is probably the toughest negotiator for a strong civil rights bill . . . Southern Senators have agreed to let the debate roll along without any undue obstruction for the first couple of weeks until they see what kind of compromise they are getting. They are convinced they will get some important compromises.

Horizon

Courier

By P. L. Prattis

Sat. 4-27-57

Pittsburgh, Pa

Negro Crime

THERE WAS a kind of inevitability to the question about the rate of Negro crime which was pressed upon Jackie Robinson when he appeared on the "Meet the Press" television program. Jackie is thick in the fight for the rights of all Americans. But, unhappily, where the rights of Negroes as Americans are conderned, these rights are always tied in with the duties of responsible citizenship.

Mr. Prattis

Most people who raise questions about the citizenship responsibility of Negroes and the Negro crime rate are against first-class citizenship for Negroes. The questions they raise are mere dodges. This charge, of course, does not apply to Lawrence Spivak, who asked Jackie the question. Spivak's question, coming from a reporter, was impersonal and unbiased.

■

WHITE PEOPLE, Americans, should be ashamed to point the finger of scorn at the Negro because of crimes attributed to Negroes. Nor should they expect the Negro, by himself, to do anything substantial about reducing the rate of crime, true or attributed.

No unbiased student could study the statistics and background of so-called crimes committed by Negroes without reaching the conclusion that whites are responsible for most of the crimes attributed to Negroes, crimes of every sort.

If the Negro was given the same kind of fair shake in American society which all other segments of our population receive, his "crime" rates would be no different from those of the general society—except that they might be lower.

There is an easy way to prove that Negroes are not addicted to crime. Go to any country, Haiti, Liberia, Ghana, Ethiopia, even the colonies in Africa, and one will find that where native peoples have not been contaminated by the white man's ways, they do not condone nor commit his type of crimes.

■

THEFT AND murder are rare in Haiti. How does one explain the difference between the crime rates in Negro Haiti and in Negro Chicago or New York, except to note that the Negro is the victim of the white man's society?

The United States is the most lawless land in the world. We do not boast about this fact. Rather, we deplore the segment of so-called Negro crime and challenge Negroes to control crime within the group.

Negroes will never be able to control crime within their group as long as whites set the example of lawlessness for [illegible] and as long as the [illegible] metropolitan centers condone and encourage certain types of criminal activity in the ghettos because [illegible] they are able [illegible]

[illegible] a self-righteous [illegible] "[illegible]" Negro, he [illegible] by the lugu[illegible] made him [illegible]

Horizon

Courier P.8

By P. L. Prattis

Sat. 4-20-57

Pittsburgh Pa.

Richard M. Nixon

HOW is Vice President Richard M. Nixon to be assayed? In terms of his poltical comportment before 1952 or in terms of his political behavior since 1952? Is it any fairer to apply that old adjuration about a leopard changing his spots to a politician than to apply it to a group of people?

Mr. Prattis

In the political game where, as in love and war, all is fair, Mr. Nixon hurt a great many people before 1952. There are some persons who will never forgive him for the kind of campaign waged against Helen Douglas. He was the beneficiary of the campaign, certainly, for he was elected to the Senate. But was he responsible for the type of promotion? The question can be answered, but I don't have the answer.

■

IT IS EASY for some of us to look backward to the thirties when Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Associate Justice Black to the Supreme Court. All of us wailed about a former Klansman going on the court. Then, too, we talked about leopards who do not change their spots. But, if Mr. Black ever had any spots, he certainly did change them. Those who feared him most when his appointment was an issue have had cause to love him most since he became a member of the Supreme Court.

What do time, circumstances and opportunity do to a man? Certainly, in some situations, bring out the worst there is in the man. But, obversely, man can be challenged to develop the best that is in him.

Almost ever since Mr. Nixon became Vice President the vision of his possible future has been intoxicating. With the President he has had fellowship with deep integrity. He has been given responsibility and he has done his jobs well. He has become almost as valuable to Mr. Eisenhower as the President is to him. Working alongside the President, he has seen the wide and long vista of public service and the needs of human beings in the world today.

I AM CONSTRAINED to believe that the Nixon of 1957 is a greatly changed man from the Nixon of 1951. Of course, I know that he knows that there is a chance that the good he does now may pay off, politically, in the future. But I believe he has deepening convictions about himself, his role, and which side he must play on.

He has taken over from the President some of the latter's most difficult and delicate jobs. To Nixon falls the role of leadership in the areas of human relations, race relations, civil rights and in that awesome task of winning men's hearts for the free world.

The jobs given him are ones which call for dedication. If you don't develop deep convictions about what you are doing, you'll easily trip yourself and be exposed as a sham. If Mr. Nixon hasn't already decided on whether he wants to be a hypocrite or a great man, he'd better do so soon. I think he sees greatness beckoning to him.

Horizon

Courier P.8

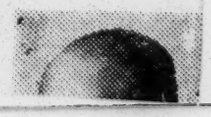
By P. L. Prattis

Pittsburgh, Pa

Who Pays Taxes?

Sat. 5-11-57

AMONG other slanders and canards against the Negro, uttered by white supremacists like Senators Beastland and Talmudge, and their ilk, is the one that the poor and lowly and inferior Negro does not pay out much in taxes and it therefore becomes a burden of the white taxpayer to dig for money to support so-called Negro schools, hospitals, relief, etc.



Mr. Prattis

I think the economists generally would back me up in saying that the consumer (the man who buys goods and services) pays the taxes, whether he be rich or poor. There is no gainsaying the fact that the masses of the people in our country (the middle classes and the poor) pay most of the taxes, either by way of income taxes or taxes which are passed along in the way of price increases. You can't escape paying the taxes for corporations if you buy their products.

17 million American Negroes are said to spend 17 billion dollars each year. It is asserted that one-third of the income of Americans goes for taxes, Federal, state and municipal.

■

IF MY MEMORY is correct, that amount is in excess of the total Federal budget back in the good old twenties.

But, even if Negroes were not commensurate taxpayers (which they are), what do Senators Beastland and Talmudge (and others of their ilk) have to say about what is owed to the Negro?

The period of slavery (when Negroes were not paid for their toil) from 1619 until 1863, covered 244 years. When emancipation came, there were four million slaves. If one may conservatively assume that there was an average of TWO million slaves during the 244-year period and place a fair value upon their labor, what was this labor worth.

If one says that the value of the labor of these slaves was a paltry $100.00 a year, the total value of unrequited slave labor for the entire period amounts to 48 billion, 800 million dollars.

What difference it would make in the Negro's economic, social and cultural position if Senators Beastland and Talmudge (and others of their ilk) would pay off this debt of FIFTY BILLION DOLLARS to the heirs and assigns of the unrenumerated slaves!

■

NEGROES MIGHT be willing to "buy" a little segregation if they could contrive to have this debt paid, for they then would know that they had the wherewithal (capital) to win their own place economically, socially and politically.

But Senators Beastland and Talmudge know what they are doing. For 91 years their aim has been to keep the Negro poor and to blame him for the evils of poverty.

They say they are superior, but they don't feel they are. They need the artificial restrictions of a segregated system to hold the Negro back and maintain their dominance.

Horizon

Courier

By P. L. Prattis

Sat. 5-18-57

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Can You Be Sure?

P.8

I HAVE just finished reading the latest book of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. It is titled "The Ordeal of Mansart." The publishing company is Mainstream Publishers, 832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y. I do not propose to try to review this book, one of three to be published in 1957, 1958 and 1959, in this space. Rather, I would like to share with you a comment which Dr. DuBois makes at the end of his book and emphasize, if I can, the value of the comment.

Mr. Prattis

In substance, Dr. DuBois, now in his 90th year, writes that neither he, nor you, can be too sure of the truth of the past and present. You seek truth all your life and you are never sure when you find it.

This is a rather remarkable statement to come from a man who has been regarded as a leading American scholar for more than 60 years. It is all the more remarkable because, for more than 70 years Dr. DuBois has been trying to find scientific validity and order for the facts of living of our times as he has seen them.

■

THAT HE should acknowledge that one can never be sure is all the more remarkable because Dr. DuBois has held to his strong convictions about facts and principles over the long period of his working life.

Much of this life is disclosed in his new book, covering the period from 1876 to 1916. Readers of the book will recognize easily the **dramatis personae** used by Dr. DuBois. They will recall "Black Reconstruction" as he develops the theory that the Negro has been and is an unhappy pawn in the fight between big business, as represented by Northern capitalists, Southern aristocrats, and the poor whites of the South.

The theory is intriguing, and it may be true—but can you be sure? Or do you want to be sure in these days and times?

I suppose it is up to the young in heart to be sure and daring. How much of the great work of men is done after doubt begins to creep in upon them? Or do men do their best work, do they find the truest truth in the face of doubt?

How, for example, can one explain the motives of men and be sure he is right? Of peoples? Of nations?

■

DO POETS sense truth or do scientists plot and organize it?

"The Ordeal of Mansart" is historical fiction, truer, Dr. DuBois believes, than history can ever be. He has looked behind the acts and behavior of men, the forces of the times, for understanding and the true picture. He has used imagination.

The great savant has been at it for many a long year. Yet he is not too sure about the pinned-down fact. Are you?

The question is of tremendous importance as we still seek our way out of darkness in these troubled times.

Horizon

Courier

By P. L. Prattis

Pittsburgh Pa.

Who's the Loser?

Sat 5-23-57

WHOM does segregation (denial of rights and and privileges to participate fully in American life and the American dream) hurt the more, the nation or that class of citizens who have been dubbed Negroes? The damaging effect on the Negro can be ascertained through crime statistics, educational achievements, economic standards, health, and the cultural lag.

Mr. Prattis

There is no similar method of computing the damage to the nation. Under pressure, the military services finally woke up and reluctantly acknowledge that segregation was not the best way to make use of the nation's manpower resources. Given the chance, side by side, with his white fellow-citizen, the Negro has always proved his mettle. Unfortunately, the opportunities for American Negroes to prove this have been very few. They are shut out from American society (in the broad sense)—North as well as South.

HOWEVER, let us consider two fields of endeavor: one where he has always had at least a forty-sixty chance, and the other where he may be said to enjoy a thirty-seventy chance as of today.

The first field is boxing. Oh, yes, I well remember what Arthur Brisbane wrote about how easily a gorilla might have whipped Joe Louis. But no gorilla could have whipped Joe Louis had he been forced to OBEY THE SAME RULES. The RULES make it necessary to have more than brawn and stamina. They require SKILL and BRAIN. Let MAN set the rules and he'll whip the GORILLA every time.

Negroes practically dominate the prize fight ring, from top to bottom. White champions are accidents. Marciano came along when the REAL CHAMP was a victim of age. In boxing, where they have had a sixty-forty chance, Negroes have proved their mettle.

In baseball, Negroes have only a thirty-seventy chance as of today. White stumble bums make major league teams and stay on them.

DESPITE this arbitrary restriction, Negroes are showing their mettle on major league teams and many more are pounding at the doors of major league clubs. If they were white, many of those in the minor leagues would be brought up.

As this is written, despite the small percentage of Negroes on major league teams, they are at the top, or near the top, in batting, runs batted in and home runs. Hank Aaron is pacing the Milwaukee Braves and Frank Robinson is blasting the way for the Cincinnati Redlegs. Simpson and Minoso are doing the same job for Kansas City and Chicago.

Just sports, you say. All right, Mr. White Man, if you don't think Negroes can do as well in science and other fields, give them a chance. You might be surprised. The nation is the loser as long as these Americans are not given a chance.

Horizon

Courier p. 8

By P. L. Prattis

Pittsburgh Pa.

Ethiopia: $175,000

Sat. 6-1-57

SENATOR Everett Dirksen, Illinois, who is a slippery eel if there ever was one, slithered all over the television screen when he was recently questioned on "Meet the Press" about the President's budget and civil rights. He is in favor of everything when he opens his mouth and against everything when he swings into action.

Mr. Prattis

Like a good many other Senators, on both sides of the aisle, Senator Dirksen has joined in slashing the budget of the United States Information Agency. Out of the 72 billion dollars sought in the present budget, less than $150 million was asked for our principal propaganda agency. This is a measly sum, in comparison (much less than the cost of an aircraft carrier of questionable value), but the solons have had a gleeful time hacking away at the USIA request.

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ONE OF the things Senator Dirksen couldn't understand was spending $175,000 to get over the American point of view in Ethiopia.

At other times, much has been made of the fact that, on a recent tour abroad, Dizzy Gillespie was paid at a RATE better than that paid the President of the United States.

Apparently, the Senator from Illinois, knowledgeable as he tries to be, is unaware that our country is engaged in bitter, competitive courtship for the heart of the world. We'll either win the heart of the world and the moral support of the peoples of the world, or lose their support and risk destruction and oblivion in an all-out war.

Geopolitical currents have changed since Senator Dirksen went to school. Asia has become important. So has Africa. So has Ethiopia. If we can sell our brand of democracy to Ethiopia at $175,000 a year, our country is getting a bargain.

■

WHEN THE USIA induced Dizzy Gillespie to go abroad to make friends for us, it did so at bargain rates. All musicians and entertainers—white and colored—of Gillespie's caliber, make much more than the President's RATE of PAY when they work at home. They are paid at a rate four or five times as great as that of the President.

As a matter of fact, taking time out to work for USIA and their country, is both a patriotic and a public relations gesture. It is not a pay-off in any sense of the term.

The United States Information Agency, smartly-administered, could cut down several billion dollars allegedly needed for defense. The job of the agency is made more difficult because of the manner in which our military might is spread out for all to see.

Sure, our military might shows STRENGTH, but it doesn't prove DEMOCRACY, BROTHERHOOD, RESPECT FOR OTHER PEOPLES, A DEFENSE AND WILLINGNESS TO HELP. USIA DOES.

It's a serious mistake to cut its budget.

Horizon

Courier

By P. L. Prattis

Sat. 3-23-57

Ghana and Us

Pittsburgh, Pa.

WHEN the Gold Coast crown colony and British Togoland protectorate became the independent Dominion of Ghana, March 6, Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister, spoke to members of the Dominion Parliament with great pride and wisdom. He indicated that he could see Ghana playing a dominant leadership role in the aspiration of all African peoples for freedom. He said that Ghana would not have to beg for help, that the new dominion has the material means to support itself.

Mr. Prattis

Mr. Nkrumah was proud to boast that the annual per capita income in Ghana is $140. He said that that might seem small when compared with a per capita income in the United Kingdom of $900, but he emphasized that Ghana's per capita income is two and one-half times that of Nigeria and three times that of Tanganyika. He also stressed that the per capita income of Ghana exceeds that of India Pakistan or Ceylon.

■

I THINK Prime Minister Nkrumah has reason to feel proud. But how would he feel and what would he say if he had the American Negro community to work with? There are some 16,000,000 American Negroes. A conservative estimate of their annual income is 16 billion dollars. That means that the per capita income of the American Negro is $1,000, higher than that of the United Kingdom and seven times as great as that of Ghana.

The tragedy of the American Negro community is that its leadership has not reached the point where its economic potential can be mobilized for the benefit of the group. Money is power, as Nkrumah knows, but the American Negro can never get enough of his money in one place to use it for his advancement or defense.

The Federal, state and municipal governments probably take a billion dollars of Negro money in taxes each year. But after that big bite is taken, there is no organized Negro money except in a few insurance companies and banks.

Horizon

Courier p. 8

By P. L. Prattis

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Negro Business

Sat. 3-30-57

EARLY this month, the new president of the National Negro Business League, Frederick D. Patterson, former president of Tuskegee Institute, and present director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, met with the board of directors of the National Negro Business League in Washington. Three principal ideas were formulated by businessmen who came from many sections of the country.

Mr. Prattis

These ideas were (1) to eliminate double standards of business operation; (2) to open credit channels to minorities, and (3) to drop the name Negro from the title of the organization.

The foregoing are all steps in the right direction.

I am concerned, though, about seeing Negroes enter into the mainstream of American business. I like credit, but I am more concerned about capital (from which credit flows) which Negroes themselves can help to control. It is certainly all to the good to eliminate the double standard of doing business.

■

I HAVE repeatedly written in this column that the Negro, 100 years away from slavery, has failed to meet the challenge of the American free enterprise system. More than 90 per cent of all Negro businesses (including Negro newspapers) depend upon segregation, the color line or the treatment of Negroes. They make a special appeal to Negroes.

This is not true of any other group. All other groups go "down town" to operate their businesses. They go where the general traffic flows. They cater to the big market. Negro businesses are in the Negro ghettoes. Negroes do good to hold on to a small percentage of that business.

Recently, I had dinner in a Chinese restaurant in Times Square, New York. There were seats for 680 persons. I was the only person of color in that restaurant except the Chinese waiters and cooks and the Chinese manager. I contemplated about the fact that that was a big operation, depending upon food, service and entertainment, not race. If that restaurant, with 700 seats, fills up five times a day at an average of $2 a plate, not counting drinks, there is an intake of $7,000 a day, or $2,220,000 a year. Add another $800,000 for drinks and you have a tidy little THREE-MILLION-DOLLAR business.

There are about 17 million American Negroes with an annual income of some 16 BILLION DOLLARS a year. But there are 170,000,000 Americans with an annual income of some FOUR HUNDRED BILLION DOLLARS a year. This is our market if we can organize our capital, make ourselves worthy of credit, and prove that we have the KNOW HOW to win against the big competition.

League members used to meet and boast about their small successes. It is time we should face up to the fact that we have not demonstrated, we are prepared to do business.

By P. L. Prattis

31a negro

The Mousetrap

Courier p. 8

Sat. 4-13-57

Pittsburgh, Pa.

I LISTENED to a sermon preached recently by the Rev. Clarence Jordan, white Southerner, who has established an integrated farm community, known as Koinonia, near Americus, Ga. The Ku Kluxers and the White Citizens don't like the idea of Negro and white farm families living on the same farm and working together — as equals and brothers.

Mr. Prattis

The Rev. Mr. Jordan believes he understands the reason his enterprise has been the victim of economic and legal pressures and actual physical violence—bullets and bombs. He says that you encounter stiff resistance whenever an attempt is made to change the RELATIONSHIP between Negroes and whites living in the South.

■

DURING the period of slavery, he pointed out, the relationship was one of MASTER and SLAVE. When the pressures for a change of this relationship grew, a Civil War followed. Since that time, the effort has been to maintain a paternalistic, or FATHER-AND-SON relationship in which the Negro keeps his place as the SON and the GREAT WHITE FATHER metes out the meager rewards.

Today, according to Mr. Jordan, the tide of history is engulfing this FATHER-SON relationship in favor of a relationship as BROTHERS. The white South is reacting as violently to this change as it did to the change of the MASTER-SLAVE relationship.

Negroes are often caught up by this FATHER-SON mousetrap. If they find their rightful place (and keep it), they can pull the GREAT WHITE FATHER'S leg and obtain what seem like great advantages for themselves, as individuals.

Many Negroes become confused by the prospect the mousetrap offers. They don't know whether to stick their necks in the trap or smash it.

■

WE HAVE HAD an example of this recently in Dr. Clennon King, professor of history at Alcorn College. Professor King wrote a series of eight articles for the State Times, a white daily in Jackson, Miss. The articles are lousy, no matter how you look at them.

But Dr. King is not lousy. He's a smart man. He knows how to write and how to think. But he himself has not bridged the wide gap between the FATHER-AND-SON relationship to the white man and the BROTHER-TO-BROTHER relationship. Or he isn't prepared for the latter.

That is the reason that he, smart as he is, stuck his head in the mousetrap. He was a dutiful SON, expecting FATHER to protect and defend him. He forgot to remember that the white man in the South is not the Negro's FATHER. If he's anything, under God, he's his BROTHER.

The MOUSETRAP is ready-made for all suckers who don't know this.

Horizon

Courier p. 8

By P. L. Prattis

Pittsburgh, Pa.

White Crime

Sat. 4-13-57

NEGROES, in proportion to ALL WHITES, may accrue to themselves an undue proportion of the crime statistics, but who commits the WORST crimes and the most DELIBERATE crimes? The worst Negro crimes are crimes of passion and may easily be traced to the difficult, frustrating conditions, economic and otherwise, under which American Negroes must live. But what about the whites who have no apparent REASON to commit atrocious crimes?

Mr. Prattis

Let's pass over the acid-blinding of Victor Riesel, the labor writer. That was simply business as some white folk conduct it. Of like character are the extraordinary excesses, to say the least, one of Dave Beck, or numerous Congressmen who have gone to jail for stealing. But what about the following:

- In April, this year, Mrs. Beatrice Lachelli, went on trial for the paring knife fatal stabbing of her husband, who, she claimed, forced her to dance naked before his friends. Grisly comedy and grisly sequel.
- Also, in April, the 32-year-old mother of 12-year-old Betty Balke, near Chicago, was held for strangling Betty to death after a birthday party. The mother became enraged because of the manner in which the child had dressed her hair.
- In May, at Waterbury, Conn., police arrested George J. Davies, 38, for killing two girls, one 17 years old, the other nine. Davies choked the girls first, then stabbed them with a screw driver.
- In April, a 62-year-old woman, living near Pittsburgh, admitted that she hacked a 69-year-old woman to death with a meat cleaver in an argument over attending the furnace.
- Also in April, two men in Los Angeles, after being put out of a tavern, returned, put a torch to a can of gasoline, set the place afire and caused the death of six people.
- In May, 14-year-old Andrew Casey, enraged by an argument over his homework, seized a .22 caliber rifle and shot his mother and sister to death.

■

THE ABOVE are merely a tiny sampling of the atrocious crimes committed by the superior (?) race. Every day the newspapers will shock you with another. None of the foregoing covers any crimes against Negroes.

Horizon

Courier

By P. L. Prattis

Sat. 5-4-57

Negro Crime II

Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE SIMPLE statistics of Negro crime and delinquency are enough to distress all self-respecting Negroes who form the large, if not dominant, majority in every Negro community. But since most Negro crime is the result of causes for which the Negro community is not responsible and cannot control, there is little that the most vocal and determined leadership among Negroes can do to alter the statistics.

Mr. Prattis

As indicated last week, the white man is responsible for whatever difference there may be in moral standards; and I am not sure that there is a difference in the moral behavior and attitude of groups of whites and Negroes of similar economic, cultural and social status. The moral standards in "Tobacco Road" are certainly no higher than in "Porgy and Bess."

■

THE WHITE man has always been a cheater morally, as MacKinley Kantor so well brings out in Andersonville. During the days of slavery the planters and their sons were most often roues. Their first game was likely young slave girls. From these easy conquests of chattels they moved to adultery among their neighbors. All of this set a fine example for the slaves, the "trusted" ones who observed "Massa's" behavior.

Promiscuity among the slaves themselves was encouraged if there was a chance of healthy offsprings to add to the master's wealth.

A large percentage of Negro crimes are committed against Negroes. The root cause of this, extending to the present time, goes back to slavery too. Slaves were indoctrinated with the notion that they were "no good." They had no rights which whites were bound to respect, nor were there codes of conduct which compelled them to respect one another.

■

FURTHERMORE, they were fashioned into antagonistic groups (the house slaves, mostly brown and yellow illegitimates, and the field slaves, mostly black workers). The hostility engendered between these two groups has persisted until today. They tend to despise themselves and each other.

But what happens when the ancestors of these groups commit crimes among themselves? The white man who controls the agencies of crime control indulges the Negro. Study any community, any state and find out how many Negroes suffer capital penalties for capital crimes committed aginst other Negroes. Find out what happens when they commit larceny or burglary against one another. The white man's law and the white man's courts relax for crimes committed within the Negro group.

But not for crimes against whites. If the law were applied as strictly for crimes against Negroes, the statistics of Negro crime would tumble precipitately.

Why do whites who have the money, the education, the culture, commit so many of these crimes? Why do American whites commit so many more and so much more heinous crimes than European whites.

Any police court reporter will attest to the fact that police blotters are filled with the names of white drunks and bums? They're "superior" and they have a white man's chance in the world. I suppose they even have better I.Q.s.

But they end up as human wastage. What excuse can whites offer for this numerous group among them?

Horizon

Courier P.8

By P. L. Prattis

Sat. 6-29-57

Facts, Figures

Pittsburgh, Pa.

IF AND when the President's civil rights bill reaches the floor of the United States Senate, other members of that self-styled august body will discover that the scholarly Paul H. Douglas (D., Ill.) has been to school. While the Southerners, led by Senator Sam J. Ervin, former North Carolina jurist, are talking about a "way of life" and moot constitutional questions, Senator Douglas will confront them with some facts and figures.

Mr. Prattis

Recently, the Senator from Illinois pointed out:

In Alabama only 10.3 per cent of Negroes over 21 years old in the 1950 census were registered to vote.

In Blount County, "there are 429 potential Negro voters, but not a single Negro has voter registration."

In Bullock County, there are 5,425 potential Negro voters, but only six Negroes are registered.

In Clay County, there are 1,010 potential Negro voters, as of 1950, but not one of them is registered.

In DeKalb County, there are 443 potential Negro voters, but none is registered.

In Jackson County, there are 1,242 potential Negro voters, but none is registered.

In Lowndes County, there are 6,512 potential Negro voters, but not a single Negro is registered.

In Marshall County, there are 605 potential Negro voters; not a single Negro is registered.

In Morgan County, there are 4,641 potential Negro voters; not a single Negro is registered.

In Tallapoosa County there are 5,083 potential Negro voters; not a single Negro is registered.

In Wilcox County there are 8,218 potential Negro voters; not a single Negro is registered.

Senator Douglas, with expert help, has compiled similar figures for all the Deep South states. These facts and figures show why there is such a big political payoff for race prejudice in these states.

If the potential Negro voters could ever be registered and induced to cast their ballot, for either Republican or Democratic candidates in Federal elections, a vast change would come over the face of the South.

Just as soon as the Negro gets the vote, he'll find new "friends" popping up all over the South, regardless of the "way of life."

Horizon

Courier

By P. L. Prattis

Sat. 8-31-57

John Kasper

Pittsburgh, Pa.

WHITE Southerners accuse Northerners of being two-faced on the race issue. Southerners insist that the relationship between the two racial groups in the South is much more friendly, generally, than is true in the North. They also charge that incidents involving racial hostility in the South are "blown up" out of proportion by Northern newspapers, including the Negro press.

Mr. Prattis

Maybe the Southerners have something there—as bad as they are. There is no question about the everyday friendly relationship between white and black Southerners. Except for the symbols of segregation which you see all over the South, you would never suspect you were in a section where one race cruelly tried to dominate the other.

SOME OF the worst race-baiters have actually been born and bred in the North. There were many pro-slavery Northerners, and Northerners were those who fought most insistently against being drafted into a war to "free" slaves, and against having Negroes made members of the Union Army to help save the Union.

Now, today, we have John Kasper. Also, we have John Hamilton, the Massachusetts-born racist, who works, or used to work, out of St. Louis. His vocation was stirring up racial hatreds. His avocation consisted of aberrations from normal sex life.

Kasper is a Northerner, too. He was born across the river from Philadelphia in Camden, N. J. He grew up with colored boys and girls. He went to school and to college with Negroes. He spent his playtime with Negroes. He spent much of his time with a colored college girl whom he took to Washington with him to see Ezra Pound, the poet, who is now confined to a mental institution.

All of a sudden, Kasper turns violently anti-Negro. He can't peddle his stuff in the North. So he goes South.

■

ONE CERTAINLY wonders about his motivation, knowing his past history. Is it to make money? Was he rejected by the colored girl? Is he angry at some other former colored friend? Or has he chosen to transmute Pound's hatred of Jews into hatred of Negroes.

These questions are difficult to answer. But some important leads to understanding Kasper are being published in the Courier, beginning with this week's issue.

The N. Y. Herald Tribune learned of Kasper's earlier life and put a trained reporter on his trail. This reporter has come up with most of the skeletons in Kasper's closet. One discerns that Kasper is not peddling the same thing that Southern whites have in mind. Some Southern whites talk hatred, but most of them don't. Actually, the Southern white simply wants to be let alone as top dog on the roost. He doesn't hate the Negro, but neither does he want to share with the Negro.

The Southern white talk about race-mixing and mongrelization, but he comes closer to the truth when he expresses his fear of the Negro taking over. He is afraid of the vim, vigor and vitality of the Negro, physically and mentally, if segregation restrictions are removed.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

31a Negro

My Mailbag

RECENTLY, I received a letter from one of those readers who honor such humble scribblers as I by making us aware that they (the letter writers) are aware of our existence. This writer was highly sardonic, but also critically to the point—if you can get it. Because I think you may enjoy reading this letter, I am reproducing it herewith:

Mr. Prattis

I am irrationality. Down with intelligence!

I am cynicism. Goodness is a fraud! Sympathy is a square!

I am cringing fear. Everyone is against me! Strange demons abound!

I am snarling hate. My home is the jungle of crocodile's crunching jaw, lion's ripping claw, and snake's venomous hiss! I detest those who differ from me in race, nationality, color, religion, country, state, city, neighborhood, looks, clothes, mannerisms, education, wealth . . .! At times, I even feel bitter against my parents! Phooey on life!

Society created me. I am its Frankenstein! It failed to persistently teach me ethics—the Golden Rule—in school. It made me callous with the vulgarity, crime—and horror-filled comic books and other literature, movies, radio, TV! I was fed prejudice since birth by parents, neighbors; and soaked in the intolerance that I often noticed even in high places! I read hate sheets! Law and order, live and let live, civilization? What . . . who? Never heard of the bums!

I am the wielder of club, iron bar, stone, bottle, stink bomb, knife, faggot, lynch rope, gun, explosive . . .! My delight is to sneak up on the weak, to maim and . . . kill with evil leer and hysterical rage I tramp on gardens of trust, hope, love and happiness! I know not pity! Bestial? So what!

I am riot! I am disorder: man-made earthquake, tornado, pestilence!

I am sickness: emotional and mental. I am Criminal Insanity!

Sat. 9-28-57

I am . . . the PREJUDICED MOB! I drip with the innocent blood of the ages! My ears are filled with the moans of the anguished! My eyes have beheld the countless horrors inflicted by my madness! Hah! Hah! Hah!

Yes, I am the Mob, Mob, Mob! Flinch when you hear my approach! Did you ever witness a mob gather to do a generous deed? Don't hold your breath, Mister . . . you never will! Hah, Hah, Hah, Hah!

The foregoing letter, written by S. G. Herman, was accompanied by the following note:

"As a white-skinned human this is my little effort at resenting hatred against my fellow humans."

Mired in the Slough of Despond as many of us must often be, such letters can give new hope. They are staunch proof that some whites recognize the common brotherhood of human kind.

Horizon

Courier 31a

By P. L. Prattis

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 10-5-57

Morality

WHO IS moral and who is not? Who is immoral and who is not? Who is amoral and who is not? Which individuals? What peoples? What nations? What tribes? What colors? What races? The sociologists and the anthropologists must certainly have some of the answers to the foregoing questions. But too few of us get around to the guarded tomes of the scholars. All we know is what we read in the papers, pick up by word of mouth, or observe with our own eyes.

Mr. Prattis

The question is important because the Anglo-Saxon makes a great point of being moral, sexually and otherwise. When you are a minority group, like the Negro, and must live among these mixed-up Anglo-Saxons, you must submit to slanderous references about lower moral standards—usually of sex.

■

SO FAR as pure morality—a sentiveness to what is right or wrong and a tendency to do the right—is concerned, a member of a minority group like the Negro would be forced to conclude that most whites are both immoral and amoral. They commit immoral acts which are plain for the Negro to see. They lie. They steal. They break their word. They connive. So much of their normal behavior is immoral that one is bound to wonder how much sense of morality they have.

When these whites try to organize statistics to show that moral standards (particularly sex) are lower among Negroes than among themselves, you are almost forced to cry. Any objective traveler with reasonably good eyes and ears can find out in a hurry that the lowest sex standards are in Latin-American, Anglo-Saxon America, England, the Scandinavian countries and the rest of Europe.

The literature bears this out. One can learn by reading Krafft-Ebing's works, or those of Bertrand Russell, Frank Harris or the latest—Kinsey.

This sex mess does not prevail among African and Asian peoples. Nor does the indifference to moral principles prevail among them.

■

THE ANGLO-SAXON is the most sneaky guy to do a dirty trick, or betray a girl, on the face of the earth—and some of my best friends are Anglo-Saxons.

The Anglo-Saxon, generally is a brute compared to the Jew the Arab or the East Indian At the same time we had the Puritans in America, their criminal cousins were despoiling black African slave women in the South. Whatever the Negro may be lacking in moral standards, he did not bring from Africa—he picked up his new, ugly habits from whites. Whites taught both him and the Indian to drink. Whites introduced both him and the Indian to venereal diseases.

Whites brought Negroes to this country as slaves and broke up all semblance of family life. Mores existing among Negroes today are built upon the shattered fragments of a forgotten culture.

Horizon

Courier

By P. L. Prattis

Sat. 9-14-57

Pittsburgh Pa.

The Half Loaf?

ROY WILKINS, NAACP secretary, and the leaders of organizations which have associated themselves with the NAACP in leading the fight for a civil rights bill, have been criticized for agreeing to accept the Administration's civil rights bill as finally compromised by Senate and House. E. Frederic Morrow, a White House aide, told postal employes in convention that Washington (White House?) was disappointed because Negro leadership was willing to accept the half-loaf of civil rights. Let's see what the "half-loaf" is.

P. 9

Mr. Prattis

FIRST, it creates a Federal CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION, with subpoena powers. This is a powerful, legally constituted group which has the statutory authority to inquire into violations of civil rights, to make recommendations to Congress and to place the facts as it finds them before the bar of public opinion.

SECOND, it establishes a special CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION within the Department of Justice.

THIRD, it empowers Federal prosecutors, with or without the victim's consent, to obtain injunctions against ACTUAL or THEATENED interference with the right to vote.

■

IN OTHER WORDS, Federal prosecutors can move against INTIMIDATION and SUBTERFUGE by state authorities or by employers or mobs where the right to vote is involved. No longer is it necessary that the victim BEAR THE EXPENSE of going to court.

Individuals who refuse to obey a court injunction involving voting rights can be imprisoned for civil contempt by a Federal judge, sitting without a jury, and held until they agree to comply.

The Federal Court may also act in CRIMINAL CONTEMPT cases to punish offenders where the penalties are not in excess of 45 days imprisonment or a $300 fine.

■

THE OTHER HALF of Mr. Morrow's loaf consists of:

FIRST, all civil rights such as employment, housing, public accommodations, etc., which were not included in the original Administration bill.

SECOND, giving Federal prosecutors the right to act, with or without the victim's consent, in denial of use of public libraries, public schools, public swimming pools, public golf links, public tennis courts, public conveyances, etc.

THIRD, giving Federal judges the right to punish, without restrictions and without jury, in all cases where court orders involving civil rights of any kind are involved.

I think Mr. Wilkins was correct in taking the semantically loaded half-loaf. I think Mr. Morrow is right in demanding the whole loaf. I think he is mischievously wrong in criticizing those whom he would dub half-loafers.

The year 1958 is just ahead of us. The job now is for everybody to go after the WHOLE LOAF. This can best be done by Negro voters in next year's elections.

Horizon

P. L. Prattis

Roy V. Harris

UNLESS the secret is locked in FBI files, I think the public generally (even the Negro public) has overlooked the significance of the probable role the astute lawyer, banker, publisher and politician, Roy V. Harris, is playing in the segregation versus integration battle. This role was first pinpointed by our correspondent, Trezzvant W. Anderson, in Georgia in June.

Mr. Prattis

Courier

Mr. Anderson spent the better part of a day riding around with Mr. Harris in the latter's car in Augusta. Mr. Harris was at pains to explain three aspects of his various endeavors: (1) to help and befriend Negroes; (2) to destroy the NAACP; (3) to oppose integration.

Pittsburgh

■

AFTER DESCRIBING Gov. Griffin's bitter opposition to public school integration, Mr. Harris told Mr. Anderson:

"He's going to use the State Highway Patrol, the National Guard and every able-bodied white man in Georgia, if necessary, to guard the schoolhouses. Rules may be okay, but how will they look up against those tanks, rifles and machine guns."

There are many leaders in the pro-segregation fight. One is John Kasper. Another is Asa Carter of the Northern Alabama White Citizens Council. Another is David L. Lawrence, editor of U. S. News and World Report. Another is Roy V. Harris. Of these four, the two most dangerous (because they're smart) are Lawrence and Harris. One, Lawrence, is a Northerner, born in Philadelphia. Harris is a Georgian.

Sat 10-19-57

Harris is the master strategist. He told Mr. Anderson of the Georgia plan in June. In August, he and Governor Griffin went to Little Rock to visit with Gov. Orval E. Faubus. The Courier has shown them having breakfast together. There are repeated reports that Faubus was compelled to do the bidding of the White Citizens Council of Arkansas; in fact, he is a member. The Georgia plan was made to order for him.

■

HE HAS BEEN reluctant to talk about his meeting with Griffin and Harris. It is noteworthy, however, that after Federal troops had moved in and Southern Governors arranged a White House meeting, Griffin didn't go although he was appointed to the committee.

The excuse given was that the President wanted to discuss the entire range of segregation whereas the Governors had been commissioned only to discuss the presence of Federal troops in Little Rock. Afterwards, it was clear that that is all they did discuss.

But Griffin ducked. And behind Griffin is Herman Talmadge, U. S. Senator, and behind them both is the strategist for segregationists, Roy V. Harris. He must be watched.

Horizon

Courier

P. L. Prattis

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Quo Vadis

Sat 10-26-57

MY LAST experience with the late Senator Robert A. Taft began pleasantly and ended unpleasantly. I was one of four newspapermen who interviewed the Senator on television in 1952. Prior to the interview, Mr. Taft had been affable, cheerful and talkative. After the interview he left me sternly alone.

Mr. Prattis

The occurrences in Little Rock and elsewhere have recalled for me the question I posed for the Senator at that time, his heated retort and my angry response. This was in 1952, before the Supreme Court decision on school segregation. But segregation per se, all forms of it, was looming as a more and more ominous issue. Mr. Taft at the time was seeking the nomination for the presidency. I thought he ought to have an intelligent, positive opinion about the problem of segregation.

■

I SAID to the Senator: "Mr. Taft, you will recall that one hundred years ago the slavery issue grew and grew until we had a civil war. Do you not see a parallel today in the segregation issue? Do you not think we should do something to solve the problem of segregation?"

I was thoroughly unprepared for his sharp, challenging response. Instead of answering the question in the context of my thinking, he shot back: "What! Do you want another war?"

Of course I did not. I had not thought of war as a solution. I was asking him for a solution that would allay the rising tensions and prevent war. We were on television. I thought his question an unfair one. Each of us showed his teeth before the TV audience.

I did not want war then. I don't want war now. But Little Rock has shown us how explosions may occur. The South's reaction to the sending of Federal troops to Little Rock was apoplectic. We have today in the South a conspiracy against the Federal Government. On one hand, the conspirators propose to fight off integration. On the other, they mean to repel Federal troops.

■

SENATOR OLIN JOHNSON, South Carolina, and John Bell Timmerman, governor of that state, have both spoken treasonous pieces. One South Carolina county has purchased submachine guns to fight Federal troops. Griffin of Georgia and Faubus of Arkansas unquestionably collaborated. They won't admit such because admission would stamp them as conspirators.

Which way are we going in our land today? We now know that we still have an unreconstructed South which thinks of itself as something exceptional and different. It is completely out of step with America as a whole.

Just as Negroes were not the cause of the Civil War, they will not be the spark that sets off another. White Americans must find peace among themselves.

Horizon

P. L. Prattis

Who Pays Taxes?

Pittsburg Courier

THE ASSOCIATION of Citizens Councils of Louisiana Inc. is assiduously circulating the propaganda canard that Negroes do not pay taxes. W. M. Rainach, president, has obtained tax statistics for Claiborne Parish (county) for 1957 from the sheriff of the parish. In a memorandum sent to many persons (including the Courier), Mr. Rainach states:

Sat 11-2-57

Mr. Prattis

"The figures (on tax collections) are startling. Of $577,689.80 to be collected by the sheriff, $7,906.45 will come from Negro taxpayers. Our white population is 48 per cent of the total; our Negro 52 per cent. This means that 48 per cent of our people (the whites) pay 98.6 per cent of our taxes. The remaining 52 per cent (the Negroes) pay 1.4 per cent.

"I do not have tax reports as yet from other Louisiana parishes, but the Claiborne Parish picture is typical, not exceptional, for this state. Doubtless, it is typical of each county in most Southern states.

"The Southern Negro goes to good schools, rides over good roads, and gets free health service from money provided not by Northern, but Southern taxpayers. Who are the Southern taxpayers?

"These figures give the answer. They show who is doing what for whom in the South."

■

IT IS disturbing when one realizes that there are many stupid people, North and South, who will take the foregoing figures at face value.

They will not take into account the fact that you do not pay direct taxes unless you own property against which taxes may be assessed, or have taxable income. The people, or corporations, who own property and have taxable income pay direct taxes, regardless of their color.

The really startling fact is that NINETY-FOUR YEARS after Emancipation there are so few Negroes who have been able to acquire property and earn taxable incomes. The Negro after slavery, had to start from scratch. The white man owned nearly everything. By forcing the Negro into a "place," he has withheld from the Negro the economic opportunity to acquire the bases for direct taxation.

■

ONE SHOULD not forget that most of what the white man in the South "owns" has been acquired through exploitation of Negro labor, before and after slavery. Slaves did not pay any taxes either, but they created the wealth of the old South.

Indirectly, the Negro and the poor white pay more proportionately in taxes than the so-called middle-income and rich whites. These indirect taxes, not generally seen by the ordinary taxpayer, must be paid on things you use. As a rule, they are passed on to the consumer by the manufacturer through a higher price.

In terms of their income, it is probable that the 52 per cent Negroes in Claiborne Parish (and other parishes and counties throughout the South) pay just as much in indirect taxes as their white counterparts.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

31a night

Delinquency

Courier

IS THERE any relationship between forced school attendance, the modern maturity of "children" and delinquency? I have long thought so. Recently, I came across the results of studies made in England which make one wonder whether we are regarding young people as "children" too long and keeping them in school too long. I quote herewith from a letter circulated by Aims of Industry:

Mr. Prattis

"The belief that today's youth are not what they used to be has just been proved to be right as far as the young people of Britain are concerned. And with this fact established, a new social problem is facing the country.

Sat. 10-12-57

"ONE OF Britain's leading experts on child development has made the discovery that over the last century, children have been reaching maturity about four months earlier every 10 years. Convention, however, has refused to acknowledge that, say, a 13-year-old is at least a year older, physically, than his or her parents were at the same age, and two years older than their grandparents.

"There is a blunt refusal to accept that the average English girl is today physically fully matured at the age of 13, and a boy at 14. But these are the findings of careful research by experts.

"British tradition demands that a child remain a child until he or she leaves school, and this in spite of the fact that school life is lengthening and that children cease to be children much sooner.

"The English schoolgirl of 16 or 17 is officially still a child and has to wear a gym-slip that ends above her knees, and regulation school bloomers underneath it. She is forced to conform to rules and regulations and a way of life designed for children. The same applies for boys, except that they do not have to wear a gym-slip or bloomers.

■

"THE RESULT is that they are leaving school far too soon—to escape from regimentation.

"A serious rebellion is now threatening, and the authorities do not quite know what to do about it. But it is not Britain's youth who must adjust themselves to changing conditions. It is their parents and the authorities who must do so."

It can be assumed that American children are like British children. They grow up, mature fast—more rapidly than their parents and grandparents. But because the nation needs well-trained citizens, particularly in the sciences, these boys and girls are kept in school, and they are expected to be children.

They are not children and, in proving they are not children, they are often delinquent—or so we say. They are mature enough to be mothers and fathers. But they are pressed to keep on in school—until they become delinquent.

Horizon

P. L. Prattis

31a

Non-Violence

THE REV. Martin Luther King Jr., catapulted into the middle of a situation pregnant with symbolic significance and, tangentially, into the national and international spotlight, preaches love of your enemies and non-violence. I think he gave a superb and dedicated and courageous leadership in Montgomery, Ala., at a time when it was needed. I deplore the feeling of some people in Montgomery that they were shoved out of the picture and did not get credit for the spadework they had done.

Mr. Prattis

Courier

Nevertheless, I am coming to think that I differ seriously with this young Montgomery leader, despite the fact that I believe he deserves all the plaudits and honors he has received.

P. 9

■

I DIFFER WITH his theory of non-violence. In the struggle which the American Negro is going through to attain freedom or first-class citizenship, non-violence can be no more than a diversionary tactic. It is not sound strategy. It will not solves our problem.

You may ask me: "Are you, therefore, for violence or fighting back? I shall answer that question clearly and candidly in succeeding columns.

But I want to take the position here, after searching back through the little history I know, that I do not know of any instance where a racial group or minority, so situated as we are here in the United States, has ever won full freedom and full citizenship by simply using the tactic of non-violence.

Pittsburgh

I am acquainted with the classic so-called example of India. I think that non-violence, as practiced by the Indians under the leadership of Gandhi and Nehru and others, was a most valuable tactic in the liberation of India. But I do not believe that non-violent opposition alone won the Indians their freedom.

Sat. 11-30-57

I KNOW THAT there were innumerable differences, concrete and abstract, in the relationship of the Indians to their English overlords and the American Negro and his white overlords. In India the Indians were a majority and the English a tiny minority. In the United States the whites are a ten-to-one majority against the Negro minority.

The Indians had a tradition of suffering which sustained them in their darkest moments. The Negro has tried to forget the suffering of his past. The educated tenth of the Indian population identified itself with the struggle of the masses. The educated Negro, as so well documented by E. Franklin Frazier, prefers to identify himself with the middle-class white rather than the masses of his own people. Indians almost "enjoyed" suffering. Negroes abhor it. Dr. King says: "If they bomb one of our homes, let them know that they will have to bomb a hundred thousand." The Negro of today simply is not ready for that type of showdown.

More of this, anon.

Horizon

Courier 9/7

P. L. Prattis

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 11-23-57

Fighting Back

THE nations of the so-called free world stood on their collective toes and cheered when some Hungarian "patriots" rebelled against their Communist overlords and the puppet government set up by Russia. To be trite, the streets of Budapest "ran with blood" as these anti-Communists (one hopes) fought the Communist armored columns with sticks and stones. 'Twas a losing battle and thousands of them were compelled to flee the country. Thosaus are now in the United States on jobs Negroes could not get.

Mr. Prattis

Who would have cheered had Little Rock or Montgomery Negroes decided to resort to force and fight back? Why does not the Negro ever choose the course of bloody sacrifice? There is no way to compare the Hungarian situation with that of the disbasement of Negroes in Mississippi and some other Southern states so far as freedom is concerned.

■

THESE THOUGHTS come to mind in connection with a significant anniversary. A Courier reader has written a poem to signalize this anniversary. It is a tribute to Nat Turner, Negro minister, born Oct. 2, 1800. He died on the gallows Nov. 11, 1831, upon the unsuccessful conclusion of a slave insurrection which he led in Virginia in the year of his death. The poem, by an anonymous friend, reads:

NAT TURNER

I know a gentle soul whose even fare
Is quiet contemplation with an air
Of melancholy, yet of sweet repose
In all he does, or nobly undergoes.
His midnight grief, and even noonday's tall,
Radiant hour, hover at the brink, to fall
For him beneath that trackless, cosmic tread
Which yields him peace, his ample daily bread.

But his is not my place, nor his my role
Nor inclination; I declare revolt
Against this godless state; I'll smash each bolt
That binds this sullied structure, though the toll
Be blood, and we are lost in that red flood,
For Him—and His slain Son—then be it blood!

There were many slaves who fought back unsuccessfully, as did Nat Turner. This much can be said: only men and peoples who do fight back ever win solid respect.

Horizon

Courier P.G.

P. L. Prattis

Pittsburgh Pa.

Non-Violence — II

LAST week I wrote that I differ with Dr. Martin Luther King's Jr. theory of non-violence insofar as it is intended to create the impression that it will win first-class citizenship and respect for the Negro in America. I stated that I regard the articulation of the non-violence theory as a diversionary tactic in our struggle and, I might add, an excellent device.

Sat 12-1-59

Mr. Prattis

Dr. King expatiated on his theory of non-violence at the the convention of the National Council of Negro Women in Washington recently. With supercharged and polished eloquence, he exhorted: "If they take the life of one Negro, let them know that 100,000 Negroes are ready to take his place; if they bomb the home of one Negro, let them know that they may bomb 100,000 homes, but we'll carry on with our God; if they bomb one Negro church, let them know that we'll stand our ground if they bomb 1,000 churches."

THIS EXHORTATION won applause, but even as the applause crescendoed to the rafters, I wondered who among those who were applauding would actually offer his life, his home, or his church.

The East Indians staged a long campaign of non-violent resistance, but Indians, in background, outlook and religion, are not like American Negroes. Furthermore, non-violene resistance did not win freedom for the Indians. It was only an aspect of their fight for freedom.

The British, thousands of miles away, were up against more than 400 million Indians. They were compelled to use FORCE to subdue Indians. At one time in Peshawar, the British flew over Indian crowds and shot them down like cattle. But, basically, the British police force in India was made up of other Indians. These Indian police were interested in a British pay envelope. They were not too much interested in murdering or beating other Indians, although they were compelled to do so at times.

THOUSANDS OF Indians did die twisting the British lion's tail and many other thousands went to jail. In their peaceful resistance, there was plenty of violence. There was so much violence that the British reached the point, after World War II, where they could no longer afford to maintain a military and a police force in India big enough to keep the huge population subdued. So the Laborites, on the advice of Sir Edward Cripps, gave up.

Violence, in many shapes and forms, won independence for India. It also won respect for Indians. Non-violence, as a preached tactic, won the sympathy of the world. It will do the same for the American Negro.

But the Negro, despite all the odds against him, must steel himself for something more challenging than non-violence, or even passive resistance, the latter of which American Negroes know very little about. Figuratively, he must be prepared when the occasion demands to put his fist in somebody's face if he is going to win respect.

Horizon

3 a negro

P. L. Prattis

Courier P.G.

Pittsburgh Pa.

Non-Violence — III

IT IS wrong to give the impression that the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. believes that love and non-violence (or passive, or peaceful resistance, if you please) will solve the race problem. Sat 12-1-59 Originally, he does not and he has publicly said so. The Montgomery Improvement Association, which he heads, recently concluded its second anniversary celebration and spelled out a practical 10-point program to achieve full citizenship status which goes much further than love and non-violence.

Mr. Prattis

When I differ with this persuasive and solidly schooled young man on the basis of trying to use love and non-violence (with American Negroes) to win the respect of the American white man, or of anybody else, I am expressing my fear that this philosophy (expressed by Jesus first, I suppose), first formalized by Thoreau and put to use first by Gandhi, may be overemphasized as a practical, useful method of achieving citizenship status for the American Negro.

THE ZEAL, self-sacrifice and training necessary to make a program of peaceful resistance (if that is to be equated with non-violence) simply does not seem to exist among Negroes, North or South. Nor is there the unity required. One class of Negroes is docile, depends upon the white man and prefers to depend upon the white man as the easy way out. Another class of Negroes is concerned with living (good living, if you please) and is not prepared to make any sacrifice that is not conspicuous for the benefit of the rest of the group.

Of course, I am not telling the Rev. Mr. King anything he does not know. Despite his most extraordinary achievements in one community, the Negroes there are not united behind him. They are not prepared to offer a thousand lives for one taken, a thousand homes for one burned, or a hundred churches for one bombed.

WHY SHOULD we have to organize and educate our people to vote? If they were like East Indians, they would leave the farms and kitchens by the thousands and show up at the polling places even though they were not allowed to vote. That would be a dramatic demonstration of their desire to vote. If they are against segregated schools, they would refuse to send their children to such schools and set up schools of their own. If they pay for public parks and libraries which they can't use, they would go to these parks and libraries by the hundreds and fill the jails by the hundreds. The leaders should be the first to go to jail. That was the way of Gandhi, Nehru and hundreds of others.

We like to gloat that the American Negro has lived and the American Indian has died. This is not true. Indians fought almost to extinction, but in so doing they won respect. Now their number is growing. White Americans are proud to boast of their Indian blood, fighting blood. They feel they are disgraced by the tinlest strain of Negro blood.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

SO OFTEN in our apparently fruitless struggle for common decency we are exhorted to resort to sweet reasonableness by such friends as Eastland, Talmadge, Russell and their considerate kind, North and South, that sometimes it seems necessary to examine this reasonableness. Let's take a peek this week at two similar situations, one North; the other, South. Let's see if it makes any difference where you are and whether you are black or white.

Mr. Prattis

Two weeks ago, G. Franklin McSorley Jr., 20-year-old son of the former chairman of the Pennsylvania Turnpike Commission, was caught prowling early in the morning in the backyard of E. E. Moore, assistant to the president and vice president of the U. S. Steel Corporation. Mr. Moore did not know whether the prowler was black or white.

Mr. Moore availed himself of a gun, threw open a window, shouted to the prowler that he had a gun and ordered him to stop. When the prowler ran, Mr. Moore fired into the ground and forced him to stop. In the meantime, Mrs. Moore called the police.

■

YOUNG McSORLEY, son of a wealthy father, was haled into Morals Court. All he could say was, "I guess I was a little drunk."

The magistrate, E. N. Johnson, decided that the youth had done no harm and discharged him.

Now let's go to Ensley, Ala., just outside Birmingham. Last October, Charles H. Hamilton, 26-year-old Negro was caught on the first floor of the home of an elderly white woman. The woman's son-in-law, armed with a gun, held Hamilton until police came.

After he was arrested, it was alleged that Hamilton had his shoes off and that his trousers were not completely on. There was no evidence, or charge, that he had broken into the house, that he had attempted to attack anybody, or that he had stolen anything.

Hamilton was tried before an all-white Alabama jury, found guilty of violating an Alabama law, and sentenced TO DIE IN THE ELECTRIC CHAIR.

■

TWO WEEKS AGO, Circuit Judge Wallace Gibson turned down Hamilton's plea for a new trial. Four Negro lawyers have come to Hamilton's defense. They will take the case to the Alabama Supreme Court and, if turned down there, to the U. S. Supreme Court.

These lawyers believe that Hamilton's worst crime is being a little looney, or just plain crazy—just like McSorley was "a little drunk." McSorley did no harm and was turned loose. Hamilton did no harm and was sentenced to the electric chair.

This is justice in Southern white courts at its sweet best—especially now. White jurors are incited to return verdicts, based not on the evidence and the law, but on an emotional desire to retain the indefensible so-called "way of life" in the South. This way of life is no different from that employed (enjoyed?) by the Reds in Russia and China, or the Dutch in South Africa. All these ways of life are based on defiance of the laws of God and man.

Horizon

Courier p 8

By P. L. Prattis

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat 3-23-57

Lies, Lies, Lies!

AS THE leader of the Southern Democrats in their fight against any civil rights legislation, Senator Richard Russell of Georgia will unquestionably establish himself as the leading liar in the United States. Most white Southern politicians are good liars where the Negro's pursuit of happiness is involved, but Russell must have been voted the best.

Mr. Prattis

He showed his mettle as the civil rights engagement in the Senate began by describing President Eisenhower's tender efforts to protect rights guaranteed by the Constitution as a "cunningly contrived plot to force school integration and racial-mixing in the South at bayonet point."

■

I, FOR ONE, am happy over the prospect of a filibuster. I hope it will be a good, long one. I hope liberal Republicans and liberal Democrats who support the Eisenhower bill will participate in this filibuster. It will provide them with a golden opportunity to track down and nail the lies that will be told by Russell, Eastland, et al.

There are nearly 170 million Americans. Forty million live in the Southern states which fight civil rights. More than 25 per cent of that 40 million are Negroes. There are approximately 28 or 29 million so-called Southern whites — although thousands of them can't be sure they're white.

The other 130 million Americans live in the North, East and West. About six million of these are Negroes. The other 124 million are white.

I have mentioned the foregoing figures to make a point. It is that the 29 million whites in the South try to set standards for the 124 million whites who live in other sections, particularly where race relations are involved. They can do this because the 124 million whites in other sections are busy making money and pursuing happiness, while the 28 million whites in the South are busy trying to keep the 11 million Negroes in their "place."

■

MOST WHITE Americans, the 124 million, don't know the kind of a raw deal Negro citizens in the South receive. They are not taught in their schools about how unequal and debasing the separate and unequal practice of segregation is. Nor do the churches bring them the knowledge.

The filibuster is going to give the 124 million whites a chance to learn the facts. They will learn for a fact that of eight million potential Negro voters in the South, seven million are disfranchised by force and other illegal means. They will learn that "separate but equal" school systems mean the worst system for the Negro, and sub-standard systems for both Negroes and whites. They will learn that "separate but equal" means that Negroes must ride in the rear of buses and in the front of trains (where the risks from accidents are greater).

By providing an opportunity for the American people to become educated on this issue, the Southerners may have created a boomerang which will react against them in the Senate.

Horizon

Courier p 8

By P. L. Prattis

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat 3-16-57

Dixie Devils

THE NATIONAL Association for the Advancement of Colored People is much more important to Southern whites who want to keep Negroes in a status of enforced segregation than it is to most Negroes. Otherwise, out of a population of 16 million Negroes, there would be more than 400,000 Negro members. There ought to be at least five million members.

Mr. Prattis

The white South — legislators, politicians of varied stripes, White Citizens Councils, Ku Klux Klan, etc., etc. — has trained its biggest guns on the NAACP. From their point of view, the NAACP is the head of the snake they want to kill. They figure that if they can keep the NAACP out of the South they can render the Southern Negro helpless and keep most of them in a state of isolated serfdom.

■

ONE OF THE most artful devices being employed against the NAACP is a legal one. In various states, the NAACP, or its lawyers, are being charged with something called barratry. That is a crime under the old English common law, but the sort of crime which has had little significance in modern times.

Simply, barratry is committed when a lawyer sees a chance to start a legal action, seeks out a client, induces the client to retain him and starts the action. It might be said that whenever a lawyer goes out after trade he is committing barratry.

Under modern conditions, nobody pays much attention to the old law because, technically, all lawyers seek trade by one device or another.

But this old law is being revived against the NAACP in the South. If the NAACP is to continue its work in the South, Negro leadership in the South must educate itself and its followers as to ways of beating the barratry rap. It can be done simply.

■

IN THE FIRST PLACE, an aggrieved person should not go to the NAACP office for help. Such a person should go DIRECTLY TO A LAWYER. It doesn't make any difference whether the lawyer is a member or officer of the NAACP. Any person who wants to institute a case has the right to retain the lawyer of his choice. The lawyer so retained has the right to seek additional legal help, or means to pay for the case if the client is unable so to do.

The NAACP stands ready to carry on the fight in the South. But individuals, or organizations, must FIRST go to counsel. If this is done, Southern prosecutors will not be able to take the NAACP into court and accuse it of barratry.

The foregoing is an attempt to spell out an important tactical change. It is so important that every Southerner who reads this should clip it out and pass the word along. If you don't understand after you have read this, go to a lawyer and ask him to explain. I am sure that any lawyer will do so without cost.

Horizon

Courier p 8

By P. L. Prattis

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat 4-20-57

Althea Gibson

THE ALTHEA GIBSON, queen of the tennis world, would not exist had there not been AN Althea Gibson. There had to be an Althea Gibson with the talent, potential skills, determination, etc., so that there could be an Althea Gibson who would earn the right to receive a golden plate from Queen Elizabeth symbolizing Queen Althea's sovereignty on the tennis courts.

Mr. Prattis

But as many persons seem to know, there is and was more behind Queen Althea than the potential of little Althea Gibson, born in Sumter, S. C., some 29 years ago. One truly hopes that Queen Althea will have the humility to recount all these many persons, white and black, who helped her—financially and spiritually—and say a prayer of gratitude for them.

■

THE EXISTENCE of Althea Gibson as the queen of tennis points up a valuable lesson. Although born with the natural talent, Miss Gibson would never have become tennis queen without helping hands who believed in her. Through long years, there were people who stuck by her because they believed in her. They enabled her to play tennis, to perfect her skills. Some of them taught her.

In this respect, she is not unlike others who reach the top in sports, or in science, or in the professions. They must have time. They must have economic support. They must be able to work at their "trade" without financial worries. All through history the geniuses have had their patrons, persons who believed in them and supported them.

Faith in Althea has paid off. But what now—now that the door is open? Jackie Robinson walked through the doors of organized baseball (due to the efforts of others) and kept the doors open for scores of others. What will Queen Althea do?

■

AS A member of the American Lawn Tennis Association, Miss Gibson should know the best tennis talent there is among Negroes. Will she help and encourage this talent as she was helped and encouraged? Will she find sponsors for this talent, male and female?

There are certain sports, such as tennis, where you can't get far if you don't have time and money to travel and play—to compete against the best.

Indeed, one would not expect Miss Gibson to be a patron. But she can tell talent when she sees it. And from her present high position it would seem that she could win the confidence of sponsors. If Miss Gibson will recognize and accept this as a part of her new responsibility as queen, I am sure that she will not only find the girl who will some day wear her crown, but also the boy who will some day win the singles title at Wimbledon for the United States.

May the reign of Queen Althea be a long one and may she find her own successor!

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier p.8

How Victims of Color Bias Feel

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 1-5-57

DO WHITE persons, even the most sincere friends of Negroes, know what it is like to live in a society where what you are and may become depends on color? Are they able to sense the deep sense of humiliation and insult which thousands of Negroes, North and South, must live with everyday? Do they know what they are saying when they advise Negroes to be patient under conditions no white people would tolerate, conditions which most whites (like the Hungarians) would resist with force?

Mr. Prattis

■

RECENTLY A young man Ed Chambers, a Catholic who has worked in Friendship House in Harlem, had the "color line" turned on him. Here is what Mr. Chambers wrote about his experience in Community, a Catholic publication:

"We had a rather crowded but pleasant journey to Chicago for our annual Friendship House convention—with one exception.

"On our way to Washington, D. C., to pick up Jim, Greg and Done, we stopped at the open air market in Baltimore to buy some fresh fruit and take a break from driving. I wandered into one of the local bars.

"On this hot Saturday afternoon the bar was full of Negroes being served by a white bartender. When I ordered a glass of beer, I was informed that I could get it several blocks down the street.

"After I complained that I was thirsty and preferred drinking here, the bartender only served me disdainful looks while nervously mixing drinks for his dark-skinned customers. I asked him who owned the place, and was rebutted with threatening oaths.

"Angered at him, and infuriated that the fellows to my right and left were drinking beer (it was a hot afternoon with five hours of constant driving under my belt) I left—besides, he was bigger than I was.

"I was so mad I walked several blocks to cool off, and then I didn't care if I got a beer or not. When I returned to the car, I didn't mention it to anyone. (I could never figure out why Negroes didn't talk more about discriminatory incidents. Now I know why.)

"I had gotten the works. Even though I understood the bartender's position, he had caught me without any guard up, and his blow had hit home.

"In our society, the only discrimination I'm used to is the economic one. When I was discriminated against because of color without expecting it, the hurt really lingered.

"Today, nearly a month later, the same frustrating emotions I felt at the bar are very much a part of me. I try to rationalize it away . . .

"But try as I may, there is still a bitter taste and resentment lodged within me. There is little love in my heart for that white bartender in those overcrowded Negro slums in Baltimore."

Horizon

By P. L. PRATTIS

Courier

Hungarian Goulash

Pittsburgh, Pa.

31a

THE CYNICISM of America's Negro citizens in respect to the Hungarian's "fight for freedom" is thick enough to be slashed with a knife and solid enough to be weighed on scales.

Generally, Negroes are astounded by the mourning concern for the Hungarians which has been propagated by public and private agencies. They can scarcely trust their own eyes as they observe the American reaction.

Mr. Prattis

This does not mean that America's Negroes are not for freedom. Neither does it mean that they are not against the Communist menace. The fact that they are has been amply demonstrated.

Sat. 1-12-57

AMERICA'S NEGROES are well aware that, even as of today, a Civil War and the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the United States Constitution, did not and have not made them free. They can look back upon 93 years of worse than second-class citizenship and see all the rights and privileges of free men which they have been denied.

Could the Hungarian get the job for which he was fitted in his own country? The American Negro can't. Was it worthwhile for the Hungarian to train for the job of his choice? Too often it isn't for the American Negro.

Did the Hungarians have to go to segregated, inferior schools? American Negroes must do so. Were Hungarians segregated in churches, theatres and other places of public accommodation? American Negroes are.

Were Hungarians forced to ride in the rear of buses and in separate jim-crow trains, or to use separate waiting rooms, rest rooms and restaurants? American Negroes are.

Can the friends of Hungarians point to a record that shows that more than 5,000 Hungarians have been lynched by the Communists? That's the record for American Negroes.

■

WHAT WAS the equivalent of the White Citizens Council and the Ku Klux Klan in Hungary?

All right. Would you say that Hungarians were denied freedom because they did not have a government of their own choice? Do Negro citizens have any choice in selecting those who are to govern, or any influence in shaping governmental policy, in most of the states of the United States?

Hungarians were exhorted to throw off the yoke of the oppressor, to use all available arms, and to meet force with force. They were lauded for shedding their blood.

Negro Americans are exhorted to be PATIENT — to pray and to rely on goodwill.

Is there any wonder that Negroes, observing what is happening all over the world today, must conclude that the freedom most whites talk about is for "white folks only"?

Horizon

Courier

By P. L. Prattis

Pittsburgh, Pa.

You Gotta Be Nice to White Folk

Sat. 1-26-57

THE two most "liberal" Governors in the South are Leroy Collins of Florida and Frank Clements of Tennessee. Last week, they informed their public about their "liberal" philosophy in the area of race relations.

Mr. Prattis

In substance, Governor Collins said in Tallahassee: "We'll probably have integration. But Negroes are trying to obtain it the wrong way. They should try to 'persuade' and 'educate' white people, rather than use the boycott and other methods that smack of force. Also, Negroes should prove by their behavior that they merit and deserve integration."

The foregoing is not a direct quotation. Neither is what follows from Governor Clements: "White folk can submit to the law and physical integration and still be superior, in their minds, to the Negro. White superiority or supremacy should be a matter of thought and spirit."

■

PUT TO THE TEST, what Governor Collins was telling his "Negro friends" in Florida is that they should spend another one or two hundred years trying to "persuade" and "educate" Southern white politicians and others to the notion that Negroes are equal human beings. He wants Negroes to beg for their rights as though these rights were privileges to be granted through the kindness of the white majority.

In addition to begging (without offending the white man) for their rights, Governor Collins wants Negroes to emulate middle-class white behaviour in public to show that they deserve to sit in front of the bus or go to an integrated school.

What behaviour tests do the so-called "poor white trash" have to pass in order to enjoy the full rights and privileges of citizenship? White murderers, burglars, thieves, rapists, forgers, counterfeiters, moonshiners and what not, are all accorded first-class citizenship rights.

■

JUST AS Governor Collins poses an unrealistic challenge to Negroes, Governor Clements does the same for whites in Tennessee.

"Think you're better!" declaims Governor Clements.

He must know, even as he exhorts white Tennesseeans, that they do not have the inner capacity to think they are better. The nub of the entire problem in the South is in this weakness. The whites, poor whites, rich whites, white politicians, can all SAY they are better than Negroes, but in the inner recesses of their minds there is a GNAWING FEAR that they may be WRONG.

They just aren't sure what this virile man whom they've kept imprisoned with segregation might do if they lot down the bars.

It is as impossible for the Southern white to THINK he is better than Negroes as it is for the Southern Negro to PERSUADE the Southern white to get off his back.

Horizon

Courier p.8

By P. L. Prattis

Pittsburgh, Pa

Color Illogic

Sat. 2-23-57

ALL colored people like all other colored people. I am colored. Therefore, all colored people like me. Does that make sense? Can you divide the world on the basis of color? If you are colored, are you being wise to say, regardless, that you will stick, irrevocably, with the colored peoples who have the numbers and reject the whites who have the know-how?

Mr. Prattis

We Negroes in the United States are always looking for some tie with other peoples that binds. The motive of our search can be understood, but does it make sense? Are all so-called colored peoples for us? Are all so-called white peoples against us? Who is colored? Who is white?

Let's take the Afro-Asian bloc in the United Nations. Who, within that bloc is our kind of colored folk. Certainly not the Iranians. Nor any of the Arabs. There are many Arabs whose blood has become mixed with that of dark Africans. But the Arabs are not (and do not consider themselves) a colored people. They are Semitic whites. They are no more colored than many American whites whose colored blood doesn't show.

■

HAVE THE Chinese any heart for our problem? Even when Japan was on top, did you ever hear a strong voice from Japan taking note of our problem?

Let's take Nasser and Egypt.

You should go to Egypt. The people on top are white and consider themselves white. The Sudanese and the Nubians in Egypt do the dirty work—just like Negroes in the United States.

The Arabs, closer to the fire-arm than the native African, have engaged in the slave trade for centuries. When the slave trade was at its height, Arabs were busy rounding up African natives and selling them to white slave traders.

The Arabs enslave black Africans today.

One would have to do some very careful picking and choosing among colored peoples to find those who are concerned about our tribulations.

■

EVEN IF THE Arabs were colored, where do they get their come-uppance these days? From the white nations of the West who want their oil and from the white Communist bloc which wants to detach them from the West.

In a sense, Russia and her satellites have turned traitor to the West and Western civilization. That is a strategic play to make communism dominant throughout the world.

In the same manner, many so-called colored peoples (who waste no thought on us), woo the Russian bear in the interests of their own nationalism.

If we choose our world friends simply on the basis of color, we may find that we have chosen those who care less for us and have sacrificed those who care most.

Colored peoples are no more united in the world today than whites.

Horizon

Courier

By P. L. Prattis

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 3-2-57

History Repeats

I hope Dr. John Hope Franklin, eminent historian, and our J. A. Rogers, also eminent, will agree that in the periods of the Negro's "times of trouble" in the United States, the Negro ministry has given him his most courageous and unyielding leadership. A cursory glance backwards seems to disclose that men and women of the church, their faith in God, carried on the most relentless fight against slavery. The greatest abolitionist of them all, Frederick Douglass, was an ordained minister.

Mr. Prattis

Our people have come upon another "time of trouble," to borrow a phrase from Toynbee. I have pointed out before in this space the parallelism between the "trouble" which afflicted us before the Civil War and those which afflict us today. The great pre-Civil War issue was slavery versus freedom. The great issue today is segregation versus integration.

■

IN A sense, today's great issue lives because yesterday's was not resolved. The Negro is still seeking freedom.

I believe it should be recognized that just as the strongest and best leadership in the fight against slavery came from the ministry, the Men of the Book have the same opportunity today for successful leadership in the fight against segregation.

Our ministry is demonstrating that in the South today. The successful battle in Montgomery was waged by ministers. Ministers are the modern Joshuas in Tallahassee, Atlanta, and many other points in the South. While they do not eschew the courts, they hit the Southern white man at his weakest point by exposing him as a sinner against God.

■

I BELIEVE that although we must seek various solutions to our present problem, we must welcome and support and encourage our ministers. They are much better equipped for the job than they were 100 years ago. But, above and beyond their training, their skill and their faith is the fact that they BELONG TO US. WE PAY THEM.

The best leadership, other factors being granted, is secure leadership. You can't call the tunes for a man when you have no control of his bread and butter. The millions of Negroes who listen to our preachers weekly pay for the bread and butter of these men. Economic pressure from the White Citizens Councils cannot reach them.

The foregoing is not meant to infer that our ministers would not be courageous if we did not pay them. The intention is to encourage continued support. For every church that is bombed, we should build another. For the home of every Negro minister that is dynamited, we should construct a better one.

The support we give our ministry as it gives us leadership will cause troubled minds among the white ministry and laity as well.

Horizon

Courier P.8

By P. L. Prattis

Pittsburgh Pa.

Paul Robeson

TWO of our most gifted Negroes of the past century are again having their troubles with the Government. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, who celebrat- his 89th birthday Feb. 23, was engaged, as this piece was written, in a somewhat hopeless effort to obtain a passport from the State Department so that he might accept the invitation of Prime Minister Nkrumah to attend the Independence celebration of the Gold Coast. Paul Robeson is trying to fight off an effort of the Government to seize, for taxes, a chunk of that $25,000 peace prize he received from the Soviet Government.

Sat. 3-9-57

Mr. Prattis

■

IT IS DIFFICULT for American Negroes of this generation to understand what Dr. DuBois has meant to native African nationalism. But the Africans remember that the voice of DuBois was the first one, loud and clear, which they heard speak for freedom for the Africans. Dr. DuBois founded the Pan-African Congress. He helped to give the African leaders direction. How odd that he should be barred from the Gold Coast Independence celebration when he set in motion the forces that were to lead to independence.

I do not know whether the Government has a right to collect on Robeson's prize. What interests me is that Mr. Robeson's tax return for the year involved indicated a gross income for him and his wife of some $6,000. I recall reading in Time magazine 10 or 11 years ago a report on Robeson's income. He had made $104,000 the year before.

Before Mr. Robeson allowed himself to become tangled up with communism and decided that he would use his position of eminence to speak out for his people, he had an assured income of large proportions.

■

I DO NOT know whether Mr. Robeson is a Communist. I doubt it. He stated, under oath, in 1947, before a committee of the California Legislature that he was NOT a Communist. Since then he has refused to discuss his political views or alignments.

The figures mentioned above show the sacrifice which Mr. Robeson has made because of his convictions.

I think such a sacrifice would be true of any Negro, Communist or not, who could disturb the authorities in his defense of Negro rights. Robeson had to be cut down in the same way an effort is being made to hamstring and kill the NAACP.

Bold defense of the Negro's rights is often a costly venture.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Courier

Million-Dollar Check

Sat. 3-16-57

GEORGE BARRETT, correspondent for the New York Times, has visited in Montgomery, Ala., talked to Negroes and whites, and come back with a story (Times' magazine, March 3) which makes sense. His article is published under the somewhat idiomatic title, "Jim Crow, He's Real Tired." This means that Jim Crow is either going to wear out and take a rest—or die. This is the fear of almost all Southern whites profanity and aspersions cast aside, and the solid conviction of a constantly growing number of Negroes.

Mr. Prattis

Pittsburgh, Pa.

MR. BARRETT has discovered that the so-called "new Negro" is EVERY Negro who has profited from education, economic opportunities and a knowledge of what is going on in the world. He has also learned that there is not one Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. but, literally, THOUSANDS of Martin Luther Kings Jr. The Martin Luther King we have heard about is only a SYMBOL of the attitude, the thinking and the determination of thousands of other Negroes throughout the South. There are Montgomerys all over the South, Mr. Barrett observes.

P.8

Negroes are confident, as well as determined, notes Mr. Barrett. To prove the point he quotes a Negro woman in regard to the Supreme Court decisions and the ultimate defeat of the segregationist cause. She said:

"Did you ever dream of getting a million dollars some day and buying all the things you've wanted? For us, right now, it's like suddenly getting a million-dollar check from the United States Government. We've waited a 100 years for it, only it's Friday afternoon and the bank won't open until Monday. It really doesn't matter if we don't get the cash until Monday. A week-end is not so long now."

That's what the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils are up against. Negroes know that they have a million-dollar check which these and other whites MUST cash when Monday comes.

■

THE DILEMMA in the South does not belong to the Negro. It is the problem of the Southern white man. He is the one who must try to extricate himself from his dilemma while the Negro stands firm with faith in his arsenal of love, law and liberation.

It will do no good for these Southern whites to fight the NAACP. As valuable as the NAACP is, the objective of the Southern whites will not be achieved by putting the NAACP out of business. The goals of the NAACP are rooted in the hearts of Southern Negroes. They will fight the good fight in their own way, buttressed by education and economic status which they did not have 100 years ago.

Eventually, the Southern white man will have to sit down and talk turkey with the Southern black man.

Long racial debate seen by Lawrence

News p.1
Birm. 6-2-57
Birm News,

BY GEORGE PRENTICE
News staff writer

The problem of segregation-intergration is not a sectional but a national problem, the editor of a national news magazine said here Saturday night.

David Lawrence, editor of U.S. News and World Report, [illegible] en route to Tuscaloosa, where he will address graduates of the University of Alabama Sunday, said the lem must be approached all over the nation and not as a sectional thing."

LAWRENCE

IN CONTEMPLATING the outcome of the current controversy, Lawrence said "It's like a debate. We cannot tell who is going to win until all arguements are in and the debate is over."

"This debate will last many years," he said.

He pointed out, however, that "there is much more talk about the situation now than there was when the Supreme Court handed down its ruling in 1954.

"PEOPLE are studying the question more, but what affect that will have on public opinion and the courts is hard to say," he continued.

He said like many basic issues, it "takes time to form the policies of the nation."

"We must bear in mind," he said, "that a nation trying to govern itself by a constitution must govern by principles. My interest in this matter always has been based on constitutional principles."

Behind the Headlines

By ROBERT M. RATCLIFFE
(National News Editor)

NO MORE "YANKS"—Canadian Broadcasting Corporation has banned the use of the word "Yank" in describing their Southern neighbors. "Yank" isn't exactly a distasteful word, but "Jap" is, and most Americans are guilty of using it. We here in the USA could follow the example set by CBC.

ANDERSON

■

COLLEGE POOL—Don't look now, but small white colleges are copying the successful program set up by the United Negro College Fund. They have found that this is the best way to keep their institutions alive.

■

TOP BOX OFFICE—All tickets were sold weeks before Miss Marian Anderson arrived for her U. S.-sponsored concert in New Delhi, India. Her renditions of spirituals drew warmest applause.

■

WAY AHEAD—Long before sputnik went zooming into space, science and industrial programs were stepped up at the following Southern colleges and universities: Tennessee State, Florida A. and M., Hampton, A. and T., Grambling, Mississippi Vocational and Southern.

■

HATCHET MEN—Anti-Negro whispering campaign defeated Cincinnati's Vice Mayor, Theodore M. Berry, in his try for a fifth consecutive two-year term in City Council.

DO MISS—Livingstone College's homecoming queen is a "Mrs.", according to a news release from the institution.

■

FACING DEATH—The once thriving little city of Tuskegee, Ala., is facing financial ruin. It's about to rot on the vine and soon will be a ghost town . . . and 99 per cent of the town's white merchants would rather go bankrupt than see voting rights returned to the growing Negro population. Negroes, mostly employed by Tuskegee Institute, stopped spending their money in Tuskegee after politicians gerrymandered them out of the city limits. One unnamed white merchant takes a sensible view. Says he: "It is time that the white people realize that the days of slavery are over. The Negroes here are well educated and they pay taxes. They should have a voice in how things are run."

■

FLEEING—1,241,000 persons, more than half of them Negroes, have migrated from Texas farms since 1940.

■

NEW LOOK—Bennie J. Cole, public relations director at Southern University, Baton Rouge, La., has come up with what he calls the new look in college brochures. It's a unique job, plenty of white space, eye-catching pictures and very little type.

■

FAMOUS ALABAMANS—In case you didn't know, Alabama has produced a lot of famous names. For example: Hank Aaron, Nat (King) Cole, Congressman William L. Dawson, Ex-Congressman Oscar DePriest, William C. Handy, Dr. Percy Julian, Erskine Hawkins, Joe Louis, Willie Mays, Ex-Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell, Jesse Owens, Satchel Paige and New York's Judge Myles Anderson Paige.

■

SHORT QUOTE—"Race, color or creed does not determine ability."

Behind the Headlines

By ROBERT M. RATCLIFFE
(National News Editor)

Big Story Under Wraps

Courier Sat. 6-1-57

NOTE TO THE BOSS: There's a big story in Mississippi. But not a soul wants to talk about it. It's about a high school principal who was fired because he allegedly used the words "Uncle Toms" in his speech to the state teachers' association. The principal, himself, feels his chances for future employment in the state will be worth less than a dime if the story is published.

■

The Jays of Cleveland, Ohio, composed of a bunch of attractive ladies, are all set for their second annual horse show . . . scheduled for Sunday, July 7, 10 A. M. to 10 P. M., at Berea County Fairgrounds. It's being staged for the benefit of the famed Karamu House building fund. The Jays answer to the names of Alice Collum, president; Alma Langford, vice president; Anita Lewis, corresponding secretary; Elizabeth Perry, treasurer; Gloria Jones, recording secretary, and Carriebell J. Cook, parliamentarian.

■

Softball teams representing DuPont Co., Peerless Woolen Mills and Combustion Engineering, Inc., pulled out of a Chattanooga (Tenn.) commercial softball league after the league admitted a team sponsored by the Ku Klux Klan.

■

NEWS ITEMS THAT ESCAPED ATTENTION OF MOST EDITORS — New Hope Baptist Church in Cleveland, Miss., burned to the ground after NAACP meeting was held in its auditorium; three crosses fired on hill overlooking South Clinton, Tenn., following parade of Ku Kluxers through Negro community; **Rev. Simon Peter Montgomery,** Negro pastor of predominantly white Methodist Church in Old Mystic, Conn., handed in his resignation without comment; ch- and labor leader's home in Bessemer, Ala., bombed during renewed campaign for integration.

■

FATHER DIVINE, according to insiders, planned secret burial for himself, with his followers to be told that he had gone to Europe for a long rest.

■

Students at **Tuskegee Institute** deserve praise for passing up their Sunday dinners on May 19 and allowing money set aside for the meals to be transferred to rebuilding fund for the campus chapel, which was destroyed by fire.

■

Mixed Church a Success

The first integrated Methodist church in Pittsburgh has proved a successful venture, the annual Pittsburgh Conference was told . . . Elected 1957-58 queen for Texas Southern University is pretty **Josie Haller** of Houston . . . **James Herndon** of Memphis is mighty proud of the hole-in-one he made on a local golf course . . . His brother-in-law, **Charles (Bo) Spearman,** newly named head football coach at **Arkansas A. M. & N. State College,** can be a hero next fall if his team wins just three games (Arkansas' win streak, here of late, has been two games a season).

■

Barring **Barbara Smith** from the lead role in a drama-opera at the **University of Texas** is the second time this school year that segregationists have pulled this kind of stunt. Earlier, they stopped students in the law school from paying a high honor to a Negro girl . . .

Behind the Headlines

By ROBERT M. RATCLIFFE
(National News Editor)

Mississippi's Warrior!

MISSISSIPPI ISN'T all bad or, if you prefer, all of Mississippi isn't bad. The armed forces have integrated units in that state and Mississippians dare not make too much of a fuss about it. And, there are two schools down there with mixed faculities—**Tougaloo College,** near Jackson, and **Piney Woods.**

Brightest spot of all, however, is that Catholic institution, **St. Augustine's Seminary,** a school for young men studying for the priesthood, located in the heart of picturesque Bay St. Louis, Miss. St. Augustine's has Negro and white students as well as a mixed faculty.

MR. DIGGS

Charles C. Diggs Sr., Detroit funeral director and insurance executive, has realized a lifelong dream — providing a recreation and vacation area for his 325 employes.

His employes now may spend week-ends or their entire vacations on Mr. Diggs' health and recreation farm which boasts an eight-

White citizens of Bay St. Louis don't seem to mind having the seminary in their town, which is on the Gulf and almost out of Mississippi anyway. And, if they did, there's a lady publisher down there who would tell them off in a minute.

Mrs. Jeanette C. Carmichael, white, publishes a weekly four-page tabloid that answers to the name of "The Light." Her Bay St. Louis paper wouldn't win any journalistic prizes, but just the same she gets over her point.

Not too far back, she whipped up an editorial suggesting that many of the segregationists in New Orleans and other part

bedroom brick house and such facilities as swimming, boating, fishing and horse-back riding.

Louisiana would, if they did a little investigating, find Negro relatives in their family trees.

Now, her most recent editorial comes out for civil rights and a lashing for Mississippi's Senator Eastland.

Says Mrs. Carmichael:

"The civil rights bill will undoubtedly pass. This in spite of Senator Eastland and other such selfish men. To hear him talk, two-thirds of the United States Senators are Communist-tinged because of their favoring of civil rights.

"The real truth is that the Senator, himself, leans far, far to the right of true American beliefs.

"We have read with a lot of interest the series of articles in the Saturday Evening Post by John Barlow Martin and feel ashamed that so many of our otherwise finer and just people of the South have such warped views of the civil rights question.

"In Alabama we have one Sam Englehardt, planter. He is undoubtedly a fine man in most ways, but his blind spot is the rights of his fellowmen.

"His county is 85 per cent Negro, 15 per cent white. I consider in a county where 85 per cent of the population is colored, the majority should rule. If I lived there I would expect this. If it was oppressed, I would then invoke civil rights laws for my protection. These laws would work both ways, remember.

"I consider that persons of other races should have every legal right that I have and that I would die to keep. No more and no less.

"The House of Representatives voted by about two-thirds majority for the civil rights bill. The Senate is about the same ratio, according to public statements by the Senators. Then by what rule of right or justice has some opinionated handful of men the gall to attempt by trick, or by filibuster, to prevent this bill from being voted upon?

"We hope right and the civil rights bill will prevail."

Behind the Headlines

By ROBERT M. RATCLIFFE
(National News Editor)

Courier Sat. 8-17-57 P. 7
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Setback for Catholics!

THE CATHOLICS have worked hard and spent a lot of money in recent years in their effort to win over American Negroes. And they have been fairly successful because the Negro membership in the Catholic Church continues to rise.

Catholic churches and missions for Negroes are scattered all over the South; more Negro youngsters are studying for the priesthood, and more top executive positions are being made available in the Catholic Church to trained colored men and women.

Althea Gibson

This, despite the fact that most Negroes in this nation are openly opposed to the Catholic faith.

But, now comes something that could hurt the successful campaign staged by the Catholics among Negroes in this country. And that something is a letter written by the Association of Catholic Laymen (white) of New Orleans. The letter bypassed desegregation-minded Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel of the Crescent City and was sent to Pope Pius XII. It urges the Pope to stop racial integration in the Catholic Church.

This type of thinking on the part of some white Catholics could also cause Negroes in the Catholic Church do some thinking of their own.

ALTHEA GIBSON, the world's number one woman tennis player, invaded Pittsburgh last week to compete against the British for the Wightman Cup. Yep, she had trouble with the reporters. Or, rather the reporters would say they had trouble with her. Althea is abrupt. She can say No as quickly as she can say Yes, and when she doesn't want to be interviewed, she just doesn't want to be interviewed. Jackie Robinson and Ted Williams had their troubles with sports writers, too.

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier P.8

Pittsburgh Pa

Sat. 11-20-57

BILLY Graham has been doing some good by the racial integration in his New York meetings but, so far as much of what he says goes, he might as well be with those Jewish prophets, dead these thousands of years, he quotes so much. He predicted the other night that New York City would be destroyed just as how God allowed an alien king to destroy Jerusalem unless New York got down on its knees.

Mr. Rogers

This is a favorite threat of the evangelists and there's nothing in it. All the great cities, good, bad and indifferent, of the past, were destroyed. Memphis, Luxor, Alexandria, Babylon, Palmyra, Athens, Rome, Carthage, to all of whom, Jerusalem was nothing more than a village, went down And there are hundreds of others in Asia, Africa and Central America. If the exploiting powers hadn't found it profitable to take up the Old Testament, we'd have heard no more about Jerusalem than we hear of Meroe, Zymbabwe, Songhay, Timbuctoo and Dhlo-Dholo in Africo, or Vizyanaghar and Anghor-Vat in Asia.

■

IF THESE cities had got down on their knees and even stayed there, they would eventually perish as the individuals of which they were composed. The force that controls all this is change. And just as there will be a day when no living New Yorker will be alive, so there will come a day when there will also be no New York, nor United States, Britain, Russia, France and Japan.

Perhaps there will come a day though when men will love their fellowmen enough to prevent war, and thereby give longer life to their civilizations. Wars, even wars that are won, are the first step to ruin. Look at all the mighty wars England has won, and where is she now? When America entered World War 1, she started to write her finish, too.

AND I CAN'T resist saying that but for oppression of the Negro, America might never have got into that. Who took us into it? Woodrow Wilson. And how did he get in? Through the solid South, the disfranchisement of the Negro. This is history I don't need to read. I was living then, and it burned itself deeply into my memory. Coming to Washington, he brought with him a host of Southerners, whose only qualification was how to keep down Negroes. These were the ones who largely were to direct America in a world crisis—utter greenhorns, including Wilson, himself, with his slogan to "make the world safe for democracy," Wilson, whose first step on arriving in Washington was to set up jim crow in Government offices there.

Sometimes I am tempted to write a book showing how slavery and oppression of the Negro, past and present, have hurt this nation and could yet prove its ruin.

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier

Pittsburgh Pa

Sat. 11-27-57

THE U. S. News & World Report has a sly way of getting across its color prejudices. In an issue some weeks past it mixed its crime among Negroes with school integration. Now it uses pregnancies among Negro school girls with the same July 12, 57). From incomplete research it highlights a statement that pregnancies among Washington's Negro school girls are almost 15 times higher than among white ones. Then, evidently on its own, it adds that such pregnancies have been "most rapid in the years since 1954 when separate schools for Negroes and whites were ended."

Mr. Rogers

The article comes from a report prepared by Dr. John R. Pate from school records, which said: "Of the 23 junior high schools in the city of Washington, we have records on children from thirteen schools . . . The statistics of the public schools included in this report cover a period of eight months. **In practically every school the report is not completely accurate, falling short of the total number of pregnancies . . .** " Nevertheless, this magazine presents this inaccurate data as to make it appear true and startling. It has in a bold, red-lined box:

"Total pregnancies reported: 190. Among Negro girls: 178. Among white girls: 12."

■

IF, THEN, school integration is the cause, we must assume that the rise in Negro juvenile pregnancies is due to white youths—a matter that has never been of any concern in past centuries, and isn't now. And those only 12 white girls, how are they to be explained? Would there be none? Well, some white girls get pregnant in all our cities.

Economic status, as the report points out, has something to do with illegitimacy. Not only in American but in Europe, the white man's land.

Moreover, it was the whites who established sexual immorality among Negroes. The evidence on the subject is very vast. As C. G. Parsons wrote in 1855, "The female slaves cannot be otherwise than degraded. Subjected at all times to the passions of the whites, chastity and refinement are out of the question." Nor did great Americans, as Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Patrick Henry set an example. We have records of their affairs with Negro women.

■

AS REGARDS crime among Negroes, that is even more of white origin. It's safe to say no criminals came over on the African slave ships, but they did, in droves, on those bringing whites. Yes, Negroes got their criminality, like their religion, from the whites.

Further proof that the U. S. News & World Report aims to stir prejudice is that, though the report does not deal with integration, it notifies its readers to see Senator Russell's effusions against the latter on p. 70.

Are We Idiots? . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier 10-26-57

AS A STUDENT of history, I've run across nothing that equates such fantastically stupid and altogether incredible situations as the American race question — situations so utterly lacking in sheerest commonsense that I'm convinced the only place one ought to find them is in an insane asylum. And they aren't rare. I've been running across them daily for many, many years. For instance this from New Orleans. Barbara Ann Remo, a 12-year-old Negro girl in a state-wide competition, won first prize as a singer in the New Orleans Symphony Orchestra and was scheduled to appear next Jan. 23 in a concert. But she will not. A jim-crow law of 1956 forbids Negro artists appearing with whites.

Mr. Rogers

Now what is back of these and similar restrictions? Fear of intermarriage. Let her appear with them and the whole thing will wind up with a black man and a white woman in bed. That bugaboo has been fed to the ignorant whites until it has become the great horror of their lives. And makes America look like a land peopled with idiots.

What can be more fantastic, for instance, than the Little Rock situation. While this nation was in the throes of a bitter argument and political fight, not to mention the spending of millions of dollars, over whether this or that color of humanity was the right one, Soviet Russia, far poorer and less better equipped accomplished the greatest feat ever in the entire history of the human race—launching a satellite into outer space. And it is broadcasting the exact time it will be over this or that city of the United States, over which it passes seven times daily.

Now what's much worse is that Russia is a military rival of America and is out for world domination. She recently announced that she has developed an inter-continental missile, or bomb, that she can deliver anywhere, including the USA. These announcements seem to make her threat true. One announcement said that the satellite would be over Little Rock at 6:16 on a morning last week.

You heard the old one about Nero fiddling while Rome burnt. While we were arguing about color, Russia inflicted on America a great defeat. One English paper said that the satellite now made America "a second-rate power."

I have a vast collection of what the foreign papers have said and are saying. Seymour Freidin, writing from Vienna, says, "Little Rock, today, looks like slavery and abolition and a nation to be convulsed in civil war. From Eastern Europe blares a chorus of blazing propaganda. Newspapers emblazon front pages showing Negroes beaten and harassed."

Kenneth Holland tells from Warsaw, Poland, how greatly American prestige has been lowered . . . "Our enemies gloat over our failure to provide basic human rights . . . The Communist press has outdone itself . . . These papers have never before had such ready made copy."

Little Rock, together with the Russian "moon," is going to make America's allies think twice about siding with her.

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier 10-19

AFTER the immense publicity, national and world-wide, evil Southerners have been receiving for the past 18 months, it was refreshing to see at last an honest-to-goodness decent one get the spotlight in the person of Tallulah Bankhead, one of the greatest of living actresses.

Mr. Rogers

On a Mike Wallace television interview she condemned the long line of politicians and racists which have plagued the South for the past 80 years as Tillman, Vardaman, Rankin, Watson, Bilbo, Talmadge, Eastland and Thurmond. She called the Klan and the White Citizens Councils "shocking, vicious and horrible as any Gestapo." Kasper, she said, "is a fanatic. No one could be more evil."

She thought that Sam Rayburn, Richard Russell and Lister Hill "do have affection and respect for Negroes, but they are politicians. They face political and voting problems," which, in effect, means that they are not honest, that they act as they do for what they can get out of it. She called Senator Kefauver (a quite different type from Russell) "very courageous."

Sat 10-12-57

AS REGARDS so-called intermarriage which these wicked, grasping politicians use as a bugaboo, she thought it unfounded. Her secretary, she said, is a mixture of white, Indian and Negro, and that the secretary said, "My grandfather didn't rape anybody." "Ignorance and panic" are what affects the South most, she said. "I don't know what these people fear. I think the majority of Southerners' opinion show a sad lack of understanding of the Constitution and the Golden Rule."

She thought that "there are wonderfully good and kind people in the South who believe that Negroes should have every opportunity of education and equal facilities, yet do sincerely believe in segregation. Not believing in integration doesn't mean that Southerners don't have love, respect and affection for the Negro. I think that Southern whites, though misguided, have much more affection for Negroes than any other people in the United States." It could be also, Miss Bankhead said, that they have more affection for dogs, horses and monkeys, than anywhere else. Bilbo used to boast of his love for Negroes and Eastland told how well he treated those who worked for him.

■

SHE PRAISED the non-violence tactics of the Rev. M. L. King. "The wisdom of the Negro race is outstanding. I think the bus strike is a great example . . . there's a lesson in patience and tolerance in that strike for everyone—colored and white," she said.

She declared that while she was proud to be a Southerner, she was "not proud of **all** the South," nor, she added, of all the United States. "I think it is a bloody sick country . . ."

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier pg

Pittsburgh Pa 7-57

CIVILIZATION continues to sink lower and lower in Virginia, which, before the Civil War was, next to Louisiana, the least race-mongering of the Southern states. So-called mixed marriages were legal there, and many such were reported in the census of 1830 and 1844. In 1837, too, as Count Arese, a visitor to America, relates, a Negro who had served under Washington, was a guest of honor at a great Fourth of July banquet at Richmond. However, in 1957, 120 years later, invitations to certain noted Virginians to a banquet were canceled when it was discovered they were colored.

Mr. Rogers

After the Civil War, race restrictions were tightened. Marriage between those with more than a fourth Negro strain and so-called whites was banned, then it was an eighth until it became a 100 per cent so-called race purity one. In short, up to 1924 and later, some colored children could attend white schools. Now this year Virginia voted to close up the public schools rather than open them democratically.

■

THE ABOVE recalls what H. L. Mencken, one of the greatest thinkers of his time, and a Southerner, said over 40 years ago of civilization in Virginia. Writing in Smart Set magazine on the general backwardness of the South, he said:

"Consider, for example, Virginia, in the old days undoubtedly the premiere American state, the mother of Presidents and statesmen, the hatchery of national ideas and ideals, the home of the first American university worthy of the name . . . Well, observe Virginia today. It is years since a first-rate man has come out of it . . . Politics in Virginia are cheap, ignorant, idiotic; there is scarcely a man in office above the rank of petty job-seeker . . . A Washington or a Jefferson dumped there by some act of God would be denounced as a scoundrel and jailed overnight.

"Elegance, esprit, culture? Virginia has no art, no literature, no philosophy, no mind or aspiration of its own . . . Not a single contribution to human knowledge has come out of her colleges in 25 years; she spends less than half upon her common schools, per capita, than any Northern state spends. In brief, an intellectual desert, a paradise of the fourth-rate. There remains at the top a ghost of the old urbanity, a bit wistful and infinitely charming. But there is no thought under it, no cultural pressure and vigor, no curiosity and enterprise."

■

HE GOES ON: "The mind of the state, as it is revealed to the nation, is pathetically naif and inconsequential . . ." Now could anything be more inconsequential than while the Russian sputnik was passing over the state, and most of the nation was aroused to its danger, the only issue in the Virginia election was color of skin!

History Shows . . . 31a . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier P. 8

Correction: A typographical error in last week's paper made it appear that Mr. Rogers had written that Negroes had first come to Jamestown, Va., with the Spaniards in 1562. The date should have been 1526.

Sat. 5-18-57

THE BIG talk now is the March on Washington, May 17. Big wall posters in New York announce it. Will it go through? Franklin Roosevelt stopped the first with his FEPC. But Eisenhower, it is felt, won't or can't stop this one. Won't because he's a segregationist at heart. They cite the time he came out for jim-crow in the Army.

Mr. Rogers

Some who voted for him are really sore. He can attack strongly atrocities abroad, but is so silent about them here you'd fancy he never even heard of them, they say. They compare him to Woodrow Wilson, Democrat, who never once said anything against the many lynchings and race riots of his eight years. Many are sore, too, at the 32,000 Hungarians he brought in "to take Negroes' jobs."

■

ONE BELIEF reminds me of some of the fantastic things I heard on the American race question in Europe last year. It's a Chicago concoction but it also sounds like a Moscow one. Eisenhower, it claims, never had a heart attack at all, but pretended to have one so that he wouldn't have to say anything on the Till murder.

For my part, I think the President's silence is political. He has his program to put through: Southerners dominate Congress and they will knife it. To hell with America. Jim crow, their mainstay, comes before everything else. They have always blocked national reforms that will hurt jim crow.

■

WILL A march on Washington help Negroes? Very definitely! There's already an ever-mounting opposition to the treatment of Negro citizens in the white press and population, North and South. It will also increase sympathy for the Negro's cause abroad. At the same time it will hurt America, as a whole. I can see the march headlined in the European press and newsreels as were the riots in Kentucky and Tennessee last year. And although it is being advertised as a prayer-pilgrimage, I can see headlines in Moscow, East Berlin, India, Egypt, Sudan, China: "17,000,000 American Negroes Rise In Open Revolt."

What a chance for Moscow to show us up for what we said about them on Hungary.

Sheerest commonsense, not to mention any kind of statesmanship, should prompt Washington again to stop this march by doing the right thing. But will it? I predict not. Eastland and his ilk, not Eisenhower and those who are fighting for civil rights, rule there. The march will have no more effect on jim-crow Congressmen than a pin-prick on the hide of a rhinoceros. You tell them it will damage America. So what?

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier P. 8

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 6-1-57

BRITISH General Montgomery has put his foot in it. Wise-cracking with Ike he said that Lee was a dub at Gettysburg and that had he been in command, he'd have fired Lee.

The South, all steamed up, says, Montgomery laughts, "That battle has never had so touchy about Lee since it was a good thing for the South he was beaten. Lee fought not so much for slavery as for independence. The original 13th Amendment, passed 1861, and signed by Buchanan, virtually made slavery perpetual. While it was being ratified, the South started the war. During the war, some 30 attempts were made to get the South to keep slavery and stop fighting. General Gordon, Confederate, and Ku Klux head, later said that if the South only wanted slavery, the war could have been stopped at any time. One chief cause of the war was that the North dominated in Congress. The South, with its huge slave population, lost out in representation. A slave counted as only three-fifths of a person.

Mr. Rogers

■

THE SOUTH in the 1860's was much poorer than the North. Thus, had it won what it wanted, it would be a petty state. In any case, not now an integral part of the richest, most powerful nation on earth. But while it was good for the whites that Lee lost, it was bad for the Negroes. There was much less color prejudice then in the South than in the North. Had there been no Civil War, the race question in the South would probably have been solved by now. Negroes used to buy white people there—in Louisiana as late as 1828. Intermarriage was legal in such states as Virginia and Tennessee.

■

BUT WHAT happened after the Civil War? As compensation for the loss of the Negro, the South passed most repressive laws and became far worse than the North. To Congress came such rabid Negro haters as Tillman, Watson, Vardaman, who advocated lynching. The Congressional Record of those times is full of their venom. All of which was the most vicious ingratitude. Why were these harangue-outangs able to be in the Congress of the great United States. Why are Eastland, Talmadge, Ellender able to be there now and have so much say in world affairs? It's thanks to the Negro, who, as Lincoln said no less than five times, provided the balance of power that saved the Union. But for the Negro's aid these grate men (they grate on your nerves) would today be small frogs in a small puddle—an independent Confederacy.

■

LEE WAS a traitor. He had taken an oath of loyalty to the USA. In Europe he would have been hanged. John Brown, who did far, far less, was hanged. Lee is worshiped and defended now because he gives backbone to jim crow.

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier P. 8

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 6-8-57

BENJAMIN FINE of the New York Times, who has been studying integration in the South, has had a series of encouraging articles on it, especially from Tulsa, Okla., scene of one of the worst race riots some years ago. He tells of one teacher who took her class of Negroes and whites to a lunch room. They refused to serve the Negroes and the whites wouldn't eat there. The teacher took them all to her home; they prepared something and "all had a grand time doing it."

Mr. Rogers

Eleven girls, one a Negro, who had been guests of the class of journalism of Tulsa University, were given passes to a downtown movie. The Negro girl was refused and the white girls gave back their passes.

"The Tulsa high schools," says Mr. Fine, "cooperate together, regardless of race. The high school teams play against each other . . . Negro and white students sit together on a first-come, first-served basis. Negro and white referees are used," he says.

■

MUCH THAT he and others have said show that the jim-crow spirit is much alive; but that it is on the way out there can be no valid doubt. When it goes it will be the end of a hard fight of 300 years to keep it alive—a fight in which no holds were barred. Abuse, fantastic lies, laws, lynching, appeals to save white womanhood, above all the use of the Bible and what was supposed to be in it as that "curse" on a black skin in Genesis.

After long years of study and observation in America and other lands, I am convinced that color prejudice would never have existed had it not been cultivated for economic reasons. I have given abundant evidence in my books, from first-hand sources, to show that in Europe a black skin, from the time of Ancient Greece, attracted rather than repelled. All the royal courts of Europe had their Negro favorites.

■

ON THE other hand, a white skin was at first repulsive to primitive Asians, and especially Africans. Livingston said that nothing created greater consternation in an African village than the first visit of a white man. He said the mothers picked up their children and ran and even the dogs ran away howling. But, he added, it was quite different when the Africans got used to seeing white people. In the appendix of my "Sex and Race," Vol. 2, I have given several pages of quotations from what white explorers have said on this as well as what scholars have said on the attraction of a black skin for the whites.

I know many American whites who have less color prejudice than some mulatoes. This is still more so in the West Indies. I knew West Indian mulattoes who could equal or excel almost any Southern white at that. Can color prejudice be then so smart in whites who think mulattoes their inferiors?

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier p. 8

Pittsburgh Pa.

Sat. 6-15-37

THE day of the white man in Asia and North Africa is over. England, France, Holland, Germany, have been pushed out or are almost so. How can America hope to make a go of it when the money she gives away creates friction not only with powerful Russia but in the very lands to which she gives it? How can she hope to win over Japan and Germany when here at home the North cannot win back the South over a war of 96 years ago. It's the height of all that's fantastic for America to tax her people so heavily—even to borrowing money—to give it away to people who don't like her. There's a powerful undercurrent of dislike for Americans in Europe, especially England and France, and it could explode there some day as it did in Formosa. In the 1920's I saw an anti-American riot in Paris.

Mr. Rogers

■

THERE'S GOING to be a terrific reaction to all this here at home some day and there are signs of it now. The very best thing America could do would be to pull out bag and baggage and come home now, or some day she will be inevitably pushed out. Her entrance into world wars since 1917 has certainly not helped; in fact, probably made things worse.

■

MANY REASONS are given for the explosion against America on Formosa, roost of Chiang kai-Chek, America's pet, to whom she has given not only $6,000,000,000, but on whose behalf she fought a war. Some charge it to the luxurious living of Americans compared with the poverty of the Chinese; others to communism. I haven't seen a single writer who gets down to the real cause.

Now, as a boy, I read the life of the English General Gardon, and learnt how much the Chinese hated white people even then. They called them "foreign devils," and still do. The Chinese, with their ancient culture, thought themselves the best people on earth. They were heavenly—"The Celestials" and when the Europeans, principally the English, treated them like dogs, they butchered white missionaries.

ENGLAND FOUGHT two wars with China (1839-'44 and 1856-'60) to force opium on the Chinese. I recall, in my own time, the Boxer Rebellion, when a white face in China was a death warrant just as a black one was in a race riot here. I remember, too, the riots against Chinese on our West Coast, the Chinese Exclusion Act; and Senator Hiram Johnson.

The riot against Americans in Formosa has its roots in the 16th century when the European, principally the English, went over the world, establishing a white skin as a symbol of superiority. Now such hate for a white skin has been deposited in the history of Asia and Africa, it will last for centuries yet. The sins of the fathers are being visited on the children. No man, said Emerson, ever had a point of pride, that it did not prove injurious to him.

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier p. 8

Sat. 6-22-37

Pittsburgh Pa.

THE SOVIETS have just published a history of the USA, of which the New York Times has given a brief summary and then condemned editorially. The anti-American campaign, it says, has been stepped up. "Soviet soldiers are being told that this country was settled by scoundrels who murdered Indians and then brought Negro slaves here to do the work whites would not do, etc., etc." It also mentions Russia's own history of "subjugation of peoples, past and present.

Mr. Rogers

Now Russia's history is a gory one of cruelty under the Czars. The latter could order anyone to death. One noble lady who offended a Czarina was, by her order, stripped nude and knouted to death in a public square. The Russian slaves were treated worse than American Negro ones. Cruelties—since the 1917 revolution—are a product of all that just as in Georgia and Mississippi today jim crow stems from their cruel past.

However, I'm wondering how much that editorial writer knows of colonial life in America, and as late as say the 1840's. Has he ever read James Oneal, "Workers in American History," J. B. McMaster, or any of the many themes appearing in university publications?

■

AMERICA WAS England's garbage pail. Dr. Johnson of that time wasn't far wrong when he called Americans "a race of convicts." There were then some 30 offenses the penalty for which was death, then later transportation to America. This continued until 1783. That year, as you can read in the "Annals of Newgate Prison," two shiploads of convicts arrived. America, now independent, refused them. Georgia was largely a convict colony and the wretchedly poor.

Many of the first American ladies, if not the most, were prostitutes, picked up off English streets. The first cargo of women were very likely of this kind. White prostitutes were even shipped with the freed English Negro slaves sent to Sierra Leone in 1787.

■

WITH THE exception of the Quakers, the Wesleyans and a few others, the majority of the early colonists would be regarded as "scoundrels" now. Most of them were a brutal, very pious, Bible-quoting lot. It has been rightly said of the Pilgrim Fathers, "On landing they fell on their knees, then fell on the Indians."

White slaves died like flies on slave ships from Europe. Arriving here they were put up for sale, along with Negroes, cheese, etc., in Wall St. And, the word "slavery" was used for the white. If a white ran away he was branded in the face with an "R" (runaway). Even white children born in America were kidnapped and sold as Negro slaves after being put in a tanning pit. (See reproduction of one in my "Sex and Race," Vol. 2, p. 213.)

Why is this all hushed up today? I'll say next week.

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier p. 8

Pittsburgh Pa.

Sat. 6-26-37

I SAID LAST WEEK regarding the new Soviet history of the United States and the New York Times' attack on it that while Russian history was gory, much of what the Soviets said about America, if not most, was true. I told of the great number of convicts and prostitutes shipped here from England; of the slavery of white people here and how white runaways were branded in the face with an "R."

Mr. Rogers

White American history has been prettied up and the black one uglified. Take the Pilgrim Fathers. Why did they come here? A few days ago I asked a Negro professor of history that, and he gave me the stock answer: "In search of religious freedom." Which is not true.

Imagine my surprise whin I went to Delftshaven, Holland, and found they had started, not from Plymouth, England, but from there. They had gone to Holland 12 years before, had found religious freedom as one of their leaders, Governor Bradford, said, but suffered from poverty; so they left in great regret. The ship was the Speedwell. That broke down in England and they, with others from England, took the Mayflower. Encyc. Brittanica says, "They fled to Amsterdam . . . They sailed from Delftshaven in July, 1620." In short, material, not religious need, drove them here.

■

THESE PURITANS were religious fiends. Read of their torture of white Quakers and Quaker women. They tied the latter nude to the waist to carts and flogged them out of town. Others of their tortures equalled the Spanish Inquisition.

On the other hand current histories paint the African ancestors of Americans as the worst savages and cannibals. Cartoons still do. On the other hand there is great silence on the cannibalism that existed in Europe as late as the 17th century, or that among white people in Virginia about the same time; or among whites in California in the 18th. All lies, eh? Well, I have undisputable proof. But I had to dig to find it. On the other hand, no Negro convicts or prostitutes came over on the slave-ships from Africa. The only parts of Africa today with prisons are those civilized by the whites and near-whites.

■

NOW TO MANY Negroes, history, even their own, is a waste of time . . . except it is Jewish legendary one as told in the Bible. Why bother about the past? Tell us of the here and now.

Should not our leaders—ministers, lodge officials, politicians, etc.—pay more attention to see that our true history is presented? The Soviet version of white American history, though largely true, brought sharp attack from the white press and patriotic bodies. And they are on top.

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier P. 8

MARCH, 1957, will be the 40th anniversary of "From Superman to Man." What made me write it? The bitterness then against Negroes everywhere—in Congress, the white press, the lynchings, the race riots. The younger generation can have no idea of what almost a crime it was to be a Negro in America in those days.

Mr. Rogers

Anti-Negro books were common. Thomas Dixon's "Clansman." Shufeldt's "The Negro: A Menace to American Civilization"—a best-seller, advocated the castration of all Negroes. Stirred by these attacks, I gave up art and took to writing.

When the book was finished no publisher would accept it. I got it out myself. Friends of mine took it up. A maid gave her employer, Miss Baber, of the University of Chicago and she wrote me, "'From Superman to Man' is the best literature I have read on the subject. I am placing it on the required reading list for my classes." She also bought copies for leading educators and had me speak to her classes.

■

FROM THE Catholic Board for Mission Work Among the Colored People also came high praise: "We are using it as a textbook for our own advancement in the knowledge of the race question," it said.

The Interracial Committee of Philadelphia bought copies for every judge and member of the Board of Education in that city. In short, the praise, even from those who read it now for the first time, is tremendous.

I have since written nine books and four pamphlets. "Sex and Race" received highest possible praise from the great H. L. Mencken and was used as supporting authority in the brief of the U. S. Supreme Court against jim crow in the dining car case (No. 25, 1949). Emperor Haile Selassie, while in New York, sent for me, bought 128 copies of "World's Great Men of Color," and said, "This is the information I want my people to have," and gave me a gold medal.

praise showered on them was money, I'd be a millionaire. Some of this praise is given in a leaflet which will be sent free for three cents postage. The publishing powers will change some day. White America is slowly seeing the light of real humanity. In my own time I've seen the U. S. Supreme Court sanction jim crow—and then kill it.

■

BUT AM I ready to give up? Far from it. Destiny has put me in this job and I'm going to face it. I think, too, of the sacrifices preceding Negroes have made and which have made present better conditions possible for all of us. Still, sales to help pay the printer would be welcome.

I know these books will come into their own some day. If the

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier Sat. 3-2-57 P. 8

SOME interesting items of the past few days. The Hungarian immigrants. Representative Francis Walter says he's taking steps to halt them. "We should stop the refuge program right this minute," he says. He adds they come here not to escape persecution but bad economic conditions. Well, wasn't this just what I said last December? Eisenhower's offer to bring them to America brought them flocking out like flies. Walter also declares that "the vast majority" of the first 6,200 "refugees" were really

Mr. Rogers

Communist "oppressors who wanted to get away from the wrath of freedom fighters." The London Daily Mail also told, last January, of the many Communists who had come into England as refugees.

IN SEVERAL Southern states calling a white man a Negro is libel. The South Carolina Supreme Court has just ruled to that effect. Many "colored" will feel that calling them that, too, is an insult. Whites say the word is bad and Negroes follow suit as usual. But any term used to describe citizens of darker skin is wrong. Negro, by the way, comes from "niger"—the River Niger, now Nigeria. People from that region came to ancient Rome and deposited that word in Latin—niger, nigra, nigrum. Terms used to describe the so-called white man are even more inaccurate. Caucasians were originally black people, and some in Russia still are. As for "white," sunlight is the only white thing. If a "white" man wasn't colored, he'd be transparent. As for "whites," that's awful.

There's not a single name now on top that wasn't once despised—English, Anglo-Saxon, Christian, American, actor, woman, etc. Carnegie and Rockefeller were once names that meant nothing. Therefore, arguing over names is an absolute waste of time. It's the treatment, not the name, that hurts.

■

MEXICAN HOTEL men who refuse Negro tourists to please some white Americans will be severely punished, according to an order from Mexico's Secretary of the Interior. There has been an increasing number of such complaints, says Ultimes Noticias, which also reports that the Hotel Men's Association approves the order and deeply regrets that for the good name of Mexico it was necessary. When Mexico freed her slaves in 1825, she wrote equality into her constitution and has lived up to it.

Negro business and professional men are migrating to Ghana. One planning to go soon is Dr. Robert E. Lee, dentist of 2 Gates Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. He will leave as soon as he finds a capable Negro dentist to take his place. His wife, also a dentist, is already in Ghana.

History Shows

Courier P. 8

FOR Negro History Week I went to speak at Lynchburg Theological Seminary and College (Va.), and never did I find myself more in the element I loved because the spirit is that of self-help, independence, and of Negroes doing for themselves.

Pittsburgh Courier

Mr. Rogers

No racial group can rid itself of an inferiority complex without practicing self-help and spiritual independence, is the feeling there.

Lynchburg is a liberal arts college with classes in general education, business training, stenographing, bookkeeping, stenography, bookkeeping, business administration and a graduate school of religion for training ministers and religious leaders. Its dynamic and devoted president, Rev. M. C. Allen, told me, "We disagree with any idea that holds that mere formal education should be used to develop character. Independence is essential in building initiative, in developing the best whether it be in business, politics or any other field. The educational system that does not encourage initiative morphines one's creative genius. It encourages begging. No one respects a beggar. That is the type of training that develops an inferiority complex."

Sat. 3-9-57

■

RESULT, THE college is run entirely by Negroes. The fine, modern building on its ten-acre site on a hill with a commanding view of the countryside was built and designed by Negroes. The plant is valued at $1,500,000. The auditorium is spick and span and one of the finest I have ever seen.

The college was started in 1886 as the result of a white instructor striking down a Negro girl. When the students protested, the white president of (of Whelan College, where they were) told them if they didn't like it to get out. They did, and on very slender funds from the Baptist Convention. Later it went heavily into debt, but under Dr. Allen's able leadership over a half-million dollars was raised to pay it off.

The spirit is that Negroes can do anything other racial groups can. And it's all done with that quiet assurance of people who believe in themselves.

■

I ASKED Dr. Allen how the white Lynchburgers felt about this spirit of independence. He said they liked it and that the white businesses make substantial annual contributions. One white woman left the college $110,000, and there have been other bequests. We will receive money from any source, said Dr. Allen, but we always make it clear the college will run itself.

In fact, I found the white people friendly. They told me, "Good morning" as I walked about the countryside. The local bus is not jim-crow, but most of the Negroes sit in the rear from habit.

History Shows . . . .

By J. A. Rogers

Courier P. 8

Pittsburgh Pa. Sat. 4-13-57

APRIL 6, 1917—40 years ago this week. How I remember that date! Woodrow Wilson, in taking America into World War I, had said it was to "make the world safe for democracy." That phrase made me angry. Wilson was then the oustanding apostle of jim-crow. He had brought it into the Federal offices in Washington and given jobs long held by Negroes . . . as Register of the Treasury and minister to Haiti . . . to white men. I said the slogan was doomed to failure.

Mr. Rogers

I have lived to see my prediction come true. The chief cause of that war was to save Britain who, as then "mistress of the seas," was out to prevent Germany's expansion eastward. Germany already had a foothold in Turkey. That war, instead of bringing democracy, brought rigid dictatorship—Stalin in Russia, Mussolini in Italy, Hitler in Germany, Franco in Spain. In America, returning Negro veterans were greeted by a wave of race riots. Three full days under Wilson's very nose in Washington, five days in Chicago; in Longview, Tex., and elsewhere.

■

LATER CAME a resounding triumph of fascism—the Ethiopian War. In the meantime, World War II was in the making. It exploded in 1939. American entered with her lend-lease, chiefly to England, and her entry in 1941. The real winner of that war, as of today, is Russia. It made her dictatorship still more formidable.

Russia's influence brought on the Korean War. Result of it all: America finds herself now in a hopeless bog of complexities.

Her latest effort is the Eisenhower Doctrine. But belief in that implies ignorance of the realities of the situation. Three principal factors are involved—oil, Russia, race. NATO's survival depends upon Middle East oil. As for Russia, John Gunther rightly says she is ruled by "the most cynical, sinister and extravagantly ruthless (men) in the world, whose chief aim is the conquest of **our** world."

■

RUSSIA IS not only three times the size of the USA, but her resources are tremendous and largely untapped. She is driving ahead, too.

"Where else," asks Gunther, "are university students, instead of paying tuition, **paid** to go to school?" In science, she's at least the equal of America.

Yes, Wilson's effort to save England was a failure. Britain is near collapse (see U. S. News and World Report, March 22). The U. S. Senate has just voted to suspend payment of her four billion debt until December, 2001, which means forever.

Suppose the vast billions thrown away in Europe had been invested in quiet Africa? But, ah, Africans then were considered as only blacks. We are just beginning to regard them as human.

History Shows . . .

Courier P. 8

Pittsburgh Pa. Sat. 4-20-57

VIRGINIUS DABNEY, Southern editor and Pulitizer Prize winner, is an outstanding example of one who does to be a liberal, and actually believes he is. His article on integration in the U. S. News & World Report, March 15, reveals, however, a wide streak of the old Confederacy in him which makes him "white" rather than human, and prevents his seeing the color situation in America as it really is.

Mr. Rogers

Space will not allow me to go to any extent in what he says. "My point," he says, "is that the Negro should wish, no less than the whites, to retain his racial identity." What racial identity? White men, for 300 years, have been fighting to destroy that and done so well that many, many thousands of those who Mr. Dabney calls "the opposite race" are not only as white as Dabney himself, but so white that millions of whites are almost as white as many, many of this "opposite race."

An enormous amount of African strain has also entered the whites. No Southern white of older stock can prove positively that he hasn't some. Indisputable proof will be found in my "Sex and Race" and "Nature Knows No Color Line."

■

EASTER, 1957, will make 444 years since the Negro has been in America. What he brought from Africa was soon lost in what was imposed on him. His language, religion, and even his own valuation of himself, became white, until today, what we have, in reality, is an American people shading from white to black and black to white.

That is a fact even the most anti-Negro town observes. It doesn't, eh? Well, what about taxes? When it comes to collecting that, the U. S. and the South see only one race—the American people. The same when it comes to the draft. No "race" on the receiving end. Jim-crow only on the paying-out one. Were Mr. Dabney a realist instead of a racialist, he wouldn't use such parrot terms as "race."

■

HE ALSO calls the Negro press "extreme" and cites one paper that opposed restoration of citizenship for Robert E. Lee. If Lee had led a revolt that took so many lives in England, or almost any other land, he would have been hanged as a traitor. He speaks of the "purity" of Lee's motive. Well, a bank robber is just as sincere in his views on private property. Lee fought for slavery, which is so odious today that no Negro-hater would dare get up in Congress to advocate it. Lee had some gentle ways, 'tis true. But so have most monsters. Al Capone was generous to children and the poor of Chicago. Those gentle ways made what he did even more heinous. The same with Lee.

And above all, is the fact that the Negroes have done enormously more for the whites than the whites ever did for them.

History Shows . . . .

By J. A. Roge

Courier P. 8

Pittsburgh Pa. Sat. 5-11-57

TO CONTINUE from last week. We're told that Negroes first arrived in America at Jamestown in 1619. In 1919, Negroes celebrated the 300th year of their arrival there. As late as 1940 a work sponsored by them—"The Negro in Virginia"—began, "The record of the Negro race in America begins with a passage in John Rolfe's letter" (that is 1619). And now at the 350th anniversary of the coming of the English there, I hear some Negro leaders and still others saying the same, and of slavery, etc.

Mr. Rogers

■

NOW WHAT'S the truth? The first record of Negroes in Virginia is **1562** when they came with the Spaniards to found a colony on the site of what was later Jamestown. The Negroes revolted and the Spaniards ran off southward. Now it's clear that the Negroes didn't go with them, but probably stayed behind; that is, they were in Virginia 93 years before 1619, and 81 years before the coming of the English. (See Winsor, J., Narrative and Critical History of America, Vol. 1, p. 241, 1886).

Spaniards and Negroes were the real founders of the United States. They first arrived in Florida in 1513 and went as far north and west as Virginia, Kansas and California. One Negro, Estevanico, discovered Arizona and New Mexico in 1540.

Little known histories are full of this. But why are the people fed something else? Well, the Spaniards were pretty well tar-brushed and had been for 10,000 years. Simon Bolivar said, "Spain, itself, ceased to be European by its African blood." The real founders of America had to be pure, spotless white, therefore the English.

AGAIN, THE belief commonly held by Americans, regardless of color, is that the Negroes of 1619 were slaves. It is clear that they were free workers because some of them imported white servants for which they received land. One Negro, Richard Johnson, in 1651 got 650 acres for bringing in 13 whites.

J. H. Russell, an unbiased white historian, proves that Negroes were not reduced to slavery until more than 50 years later. He says, "For more than 20 years after the Negroes first appear in the courts, there was no restriction upon their right to own white, indentured servants." (Free Negro in Virginia, p. 91.) The first law against that appeared in 1670. But they continued to buy them probably until 1748 when the law was again passed. As for Louisiana, Negroes continued to buy whites there until 1818. The facts are in the law books.

White-ism has played the very devil with American history. Its purpose was to create a body of opinion that made it possible to get the most out of Negroes with the least possible investment. It made Negroes thankful for crumbs and estroyed their confidence.

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

LITTLE ROCK is the direct fruit of Northern policy since 1877 of throwing the Negro to the Confederate wolves in the hope of wooing the South back into the Union. In that year the Federal troops protecting the Negro in the South were withdrawn to be followed by the legalizing of jim crow by the Supreme Court. The North even went so far as to make a hero of Robert E. Lee, traitor, murderer and fighter for slavery. He is on a postage stamp. What an insult this is to the memory of such really true Americans on stamps as Washington, Jefferson, Grant and Theodore Roosevelt!

Mr. Rogers

But all that bowing to evil by the North has been a signal failure. In 1867, it had to send troops to the South to protect Negroes from lynching, murder and every form of atrocity, chiefly by the Ku Klux Klan. **Now, 90 years later, Federal troops are again in the South for the same reason.**

■

IN FACT, that policy produced an exactly opposite effect. Southern politicians and exploiters used it to keep the race question alive for their own personal gain, with the result that today most whites south of the Mason-Dixon Line are Southerners first and Americans next. Cross the Potomac and you're really no longer in the United States. If the people of the North and West are really Americans, then the average Southerner, wrapped as he is "in his Confederate blanket," is not.

Proof: Suppose that Federal troops had marched into any Northern city, would the North be so stirred up as the South now is? No, it would see that as being in the best interest of the whole nation. When Southerners talk so much about states' rights, what they really mean is the "right" to exploit Negroes. Faubus is by no means acting for Arkansas alone. The only true American group in the South is the Negroes who realize that Federal protection is their only salvation.

■

SOUTHERN politicians are at the bottom of all this evil. To perpetuate themselves in office, they find it necessary to limit the number of voters, hence the disfranchisement of Negroes. It is far more difficult for a Northerner to get reelected to office than a Southerner with his small, brainwashed clique of voters. Past Northern policy has resulted in a large crop of greedy, self-seeking politicians like Tillman, Bardaman, Bilbo, and Rankin of the past; and Byrnes, Russell, Talmadge, Ervin, Eastland and Thurmond today. Little Rock is the price being paid for having fostered these evil men. And future generations of Americans are going to pay still dearer for the mischief they have done.

But for the Negroes it would be a fine thing for this nation if the unregenerate Confederate states like Georgia, Mississippi and Arkansas would get out of the Union as a result of Little Rock.

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier, Pittsburgh, Pa. P. 9. Sat. 11-30-57

FORMER SUPREME Court Justice Stanley Reed, head of the new Civil Rights Commission, is quoted as saying he is expecting a hard time. That goes without saying when one recalls how bitterly Confederate-minded Senators fought the Civil Rights Bill for fully a year and finally mutilated it. Thurmond tried to talk it to death. If what we hope happens as a result of this Commission, it means the end of a most vicious system that has plagued this nation for the past 92 years.

Mr. Rogers

■

A BREIF glance at it. No sooner was the Civil War over than the white South decreed that the Negroes should pay for the damage. Most states had "Black Codes" which forced Negroes to hire themselves to whites for field labor only. For instance, a South Carolina law read: "No person of color shall pursue or practice the art, trade, or business of an artisan mechanic or shopkeeper, or any other trade, employment or business . . . "

In Mississippi no Negro could lease or rent land. Children were taken from their parents and bound to white employers for six years. Parents caught "enticing" their children away were fined $500 and sold if they couludn't pay. James G. Blaine rightly said, "The statute books of the world might be searched in vain for one of meaner injustice. A form of servitude was established more heartless and cruel than slavery."

■

AFTER THIS came the Grandfather Clause which practically nullified the 15th Amendment. Anyone who voted in 1876 or before, as well as his son or grandson, could vote. Since Negroes didn't get the vote until 1870, that disfranchised them. After this came the white Democratic primary which lasted until 1944. As a result of all this, a long line of Southern politicians, whose only evident qualification was how to vilify Negroes, came to Congress. I recall many of them such as Tillman. Vardamn. Heflin, Blease, Watson, Bilbo. In 1957 various devices are still used to keep most Negroes from the polls. Eastland's Mississippi, with over a million Negroes, had only 7,000 colored voters. This disfranchisement permits racist politicians to come term after term to Washington where they become heads of committees that decide national policy.

■

THIS JIM-CROW influence in politics has been most disastrous for America. It was the white Democratic primary that brought Woodrow Wilson to the White House—Wilson who led America into the complicated mess she is in now. He was a calamity.

Justice Reed has an excellent record. He voted against the white primary and the jim-crow school. His post calls for as much fearlessness. Enemies of the Negro in Congress do not bite their tongues. They lash out. It's usually his "friends" who are timid and afraid of giving offense. With Russia now ahead, it's our duty to cut off all the propaganda certain anti-Communist politicians have been feeding her.

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier, Pittsburgh, Pa. P.G. Sat. 11-23-57

TO DOG-LOVERS, horrified at Russia's use of a dog in her second "moon," a Russian short-wave replies that dogs have always been used for scientific purposes; that they're used daily for vivisection in American medical colleges; and asks why don't these dog-lovers ever protest against the torture of Negroes in America?

Mr. Rogers

Happening, too, just as if for Communist use at about the same time was that horrible castration of Judge Aaron, a Negro carpenter, by a band of Ku Kluxers. Pouring turpentine into the wound, they left him for dead. When Aaron showed what had been done to him even the white judge and jury were horrified. Bert Floyd, who did it with a razor blade, said, "We just wanted any n——r." Floyd's wife tried to excuse him. "Things have been very tough for us . . . We're Christian people," she said. "He has never been in anything like this before."

■

LIFE WAS hard for the Floyds. So they took it out on a Negro instead of on those other whites who make life tough for them!

But the really guilty ones are the top whites, such as James Byrnes, Eastland, Thurmond, Talmadge, Ervin, Almond and other politicians who whip up these moronic lower whites into such a frenzy of hate against their fellow-sufferers with a dark skin.

Pritchett, the Klan leader, might also have got the idea from a book which calls for the castration of all Negro men, by Robert W. Shufeldt, entitled "The Negro: A Menace to American Civilization."

As for Eastland, he continues to act like another moron. He is head of the Senate Internal Security Committee and the bitterest foe of communism, while at the same time furnishing the Communists their most effective propaganda against America. For example, the case of Mrs. Lorch.

Those who saw on television, Elizabeth Eckford, the lone Negro girl, walking head-up through a crowd of howling, spitting whites, and saw how she was turned away from the school by Faubus' armed men and heard after the ordeal how she sat on a bench and cried, will recall how one lone white woman, in all that heartless crowd, went to Miss Eckford and comforted her. Well, what did Eastland do? He tracked down that white woman and started hounded her as a Communist!

NOW WHAT'S the implication of all this?: That the one civilized person in all that mob is a Communist.

Could the cleverest brain in the Kremlin concoct any more effective propaganda?

Mrs. Lorch denies that she is a Communist. "The only subversive activities I know about are the ones Senator Eastland and his crowd are engaged in," she says. "More recently, he has denounced the United States Supreme Court as being under Communist influence. What he has said and done over the years has encouraged the serious threat to our internal security in Alabama." His whole purpose, she says, "is to intimidate those Southern whites on the side of democracy."

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier, Pittsburgh, Pa. 11-23-57

AFTER much thought I've come to the conclusion that just as horses, dogs, elephants and their like reach a certain mental level beyond which it is absolutely impossible to teach them anything, so it is with a vast number of human beings. After they reach a certain age, their minds seem to snap shut and nothing new can enter. When they hear anything disturbing they never stop to examine it. Their conceit takes over and they rush to defend the little they have. If you, yourself, have an open mind (or think you have), the only thing to do is to say nothing and let them talk themselves out, which latter seems impossible as their ego will gush out with the force of a broken water-main. A wise man changes his mind; a fool never does, goes an old saying.

Mr. Rogers

A theory of the racists is that Negroes are an inferior race because the sutures in their skull close early, shutting off new ideas from the brain.

FOR INSTANCE, there's a white racist, who seems to read my columns religiously, and over the past 10 years continues to write me. Each card reads like the last, saying nothing except flat contradiction.

Here, too, are parts of a letter from Georgia attacking integration that appeared in a white Southern daily: "I have both white oaks and black oaks in my yard. The trouble is the white oaks are in the front yard and the black ones are in the back. They just came up that way." (Naturally, since it's the South, the black ones would know their place and stay in the back. He adds, "I want to know if I will have to integrate them, and what will the Supreme Court do about it?

"I have a black dog and my neighbor a white one," he goes on, "they don't like each other and fight every time they get together. My neighbor's white dog won't let my black one come into the yard. (Again isn't this the South?). White pigeons and black birds around my house won't nest in the same trees, but segregate themselves in different trees. Will I be in contempt of court for the prejudice on the part of birds."

NOW ONE wonders what happens in Georgia in the case of a dog that is mixed black and white, like a pointer. Are the white and the black spots on the poor critter at eternal war? And those poor pigeons, who are rarely all white, but are of mixed colors. What a state of mind those birds must be perpetually in?

Now the above was not reproduced by someone who wanted to ridicule the White Council, but by the White Council itself, as a proud example of the brilliant logic, of which one of its members is capable.

History Shows . . . 31a Negro . . . By J. A. Rogers

TO CONTINUE from last week: Senator Eastland said he was opposed to the Klan and all who favor color prejudice. Why, then do Negroes and the majority of white Americans who truly believe in democracy oppose him? He speaks against the Klan simply because he can carry on his evil without its aid. But he and the Klan are skunks from the same litter.

Mr. Rogers

He's a direct descendant of the type that has plagued this nation for over three centuries. Last week I quoted from the minutes of the first Constitutional convention and showed how his type forced slavery to be written into the constitution. He belongs to the evil brood that tried to wreck America with four years of bloody civil war; the type that after slavery was ousted, tried and succeeded in reviving as much of it as possible with grandfather clauses and jim-crow cars. If his type had had its way unopposed, America, instead of being the most prosperous nation in the world, would be in the unstable condition of almost every Latin-American land. The masses of the people there have never been able to gain the upper hand of their Eastlands.

■

EASTLAND WHEN told at that television interview that Russia was profiting greatly by what he was doing; that Pravda had said he represents "the kind of democracy Washington wants to export to us," replied that Russia has more racial segregation than the United States, which is a pure Eastland invention. He denied, too, that what he was doing was turning the peoples of Asia and Africa against the USA. It has not only done that but furnishes strong anti American propaganda for America's white allies, chiefly England and France. Last year in my reports from Europe I gave incontrovertible evidence of that.

■

EASTLAND AND his kind are to a great extent responsible why America has to be paying off some 40 nations to keep them on her side against Russia. But what's going to happen when America can no longer pay. That day will certainly come. She gives Russia no money, but she gives her Eastland, also Russell, Talmadge, Ervin, etc. What they stand for is worth billions in propaganda to Russia. All of which is fitting. If all we hear of the denial of freedom in Russia is true, then in spirit they belong there.

In my own time I have watched politicians who for their own gain concentrated on keeping citizens of color down Tillman, Tom Watson, Cole Blease, Vardaman, Heflin, Bilbo. They did their best to make the world a worse place to live in. Eastland will also go down "to the vile dust from whence he sprung," while the Negro will keep onward and upward.

History Shows . . 31a Negro . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier

ELIZABETH ECKFORD, 15-yr-old schoolgirl who walked courageously and alone through crowds of threatening whites on the morning of Sept. 4, 1957, has become a world heroine. From London, Paris, Rome, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Moscow, come news that she was cheered in the newsreels theatres and had her picture on the front pages of famous dailes. The London Daily Express ran "One Girl Runs the Gaunlet of Hate." The Scandinavian papers headlined it, "200 Soldiers With Guns Stop 15-year-Old Negro Girl."

Mr. Rogers

At home, Miss Eckford was praised in leading dailies, too. The New York Times said editorially that it was an act of "supreme courage to walk through a jeering crowd to ask for rights that were hers by virtue of a decision of the United States Supreme Court." For myself it was one of the most thrilling sights I have ever seen or read of—this lone girl walking serene, head high, past angry crowds of a self-styled superior race. But only to be turned away from the school by armed men. Surely her example ought to touch the hearts of even some hostile whites and make in the years to come some of those who spat at her and shouted contemptuous names be ashamed of themselves. The picture of her braving that mob ought to be framed and hung up in every Negro home as a reminder to all to stand up more vigorously for their rights.

■

IN THE MEANTIME, the one who is being really hurt is the United States, itself. It lowers her still further in the regard of those nations generally considered to be her friends. L'Aurore, Paris daily, hopes that the charge of colonialism which America has so often levelled at France will be silenced. "Let America examine its conscience and tell us on what side of the Atlantic are now to be found the last colonialists."

These disgraceful events in America have been appearing continuously in world news for the past 18 months. Last year's riots in Kentucky and Tennessee made top news in the European press. The fight over civil rights which lasted over a year made Europeans ask why America, so active in defending human rights over the rest of the world, is not able to have them respected within her own borders.

And what a most wonderful gift is all of this for the Communists. It neutralizes all the accusations we make against them on Hungary, for note the sole difference is that Negroes are not fighting back like the Hungarians.

■

THERE'S AN element in this country that considers the Negro its natural prey. That element has been trying to wreck this nation. It failed in 1861. But in the light of world events, especially the rise of the darker races, it looks as if it will eventually succeed

History Shows By J. A. Rogers

Courier P. 9

WERE the first Negroes to arrive under the English in Virginia, slaves? Many of our most enlightened whites and Negroes believe that. For instance, the New York Times in an item, "Slave Ceremony Set," (Aug. 23, '57) says: "Virginia will commemorate Saturday the landing of the first slaves in North America 338 years ago . . . The first Negroes were brought to the Jamestown colony Aug., 1619 and sold as slaves . . ."

Mr. Rogers

Quite wrong. That they were not slaves is positively proved by J. H. Russell (white) in "The Free Negro in Virginia." Slavery, he shows, did not come until some 40 years later.

■

SOME HISTORIANS think these Negroes were indentured servant[illegible] he whites, but it is p[illegible] that they were free, having escaped from their masters in the West Indies and arrived there some say in an English, others, a Dutch ship. That they weren't slaves is further proved that they soon became landowners, getting such land by importing white people to work for them. The U. S. Guide to Virginia (p. 91) says of this period: "Negroes used to import wh[illegible]e servants and received head rights to land." It names [illegible]chard Johnson who imported 13 and received 650 acres; Benjamin Dole who "imported six and received 300 acres in Surry County, while others did the same." Russell says that at first there was "no restriction upon their right to own white indentured servants." (p. 91).

Furthermore, Negroes bought white people as slaves. Virginia passed laws against it three times. The first time in 1670. (See Laws of Virginia, Act V., Oct., 1670). Negroes also bought white people in other states: in Louisiana until 1818. [illegible] controvertibl[illegible]y "100 Amazing [illegible]out the Negro," and [illegible]d Race," vol. 2.

■

THE JAMESTOWN Festival pertaining to Negroes was a fine one with Negro and white speakers and a U. S. Army band. Later the Negroes and a few whites went to the original site of the landing, now a property of 1,000 acres owned by the National Memorial of the Progress of the Colored Race in America. The site is a very beautiful one and has a large log hut with a Hall of Fame of portraits.

I came down from New York and had a very fine outing. I was prepared to hit this slave story and also to give another remarkable fact about this place, but I wasn't asked to speak. Those who came down with me asked me why and then gave the answer themselves: that what I had to say might offend the other speak-

ers.

Since we are going to have Negro history ought we not to see it told straight.

History Shows . . . 31 . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier

THE New York Daily News, which is almost fanatical against communism, is quite complacent where another menace to America even greater is concerned; namely, injustice to American citizens because of color. John O'Donnell, its leading columnist, recently praised Bernard Baruch, elder statesman, for once having bowed to jim crow where the building of a school for Negroes was concerned. Also he lauded Lincoln for saying that he had no intention of making Negroes jurors and treating them as equals.

Mr. Rogers

Pittsburgh

The News also supports the go-slow policy. It said, editorially: "You can't change deep-rooted regional customs overnight by law, as the President remarked yesterday." What Eisenhower said was: "I . . . have argued that you cannot change people's hearts merely by laws."

Sat. 9-28-57

NOW THIS is entirely beside the point. It's not so much a question of changing the heart of obedience. There are lots of laws all of us don't like, but we must obey them, or else. There are millions of Southerners who detest the income tax even more than they do Negroes. Before the last war the Government wasn't reaching into their pay envelopes and taking out a big bite. But they obeyed, willy-nilly, overnight.

Also, do they say of Communists, "You can't change their hearts overnight," and let them carry on in the hope that some sweet day they'll obey? No, they give them the works at once and even rough up the reformed ones.

But there's an immense difference with laws upholding the rights of Negro citizens. Then white exploiters and whites with an inferiority complex are as good as told they can carry on until they have a change of heart.

■

WERE THOSE who preach go-slow on the receiving end of jim crow would they be so complacent? No, they'd be kicking to high heaven. Why? Because they are human. And the desire for justice and fair play is inherent in the human heart. And Negroes are human, too, though, sad to say, that's a fact not yet recognized in its fullness here in the United States.

The minute some can choose which law they will observe and which they won't, the whole system breaks down. There's no law that some are not against. One thing we must give the English credit for: they have no pick-and-choose laws. Last year a law against color discrimination was introduced in the British Parliament. If it has passed it will be strictly enforced. But here you have Senators, state officials, and judges openly defying provisions of the Constitution and the Supreme Court.

History Shows . . . 31 . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier Sat. 8-10-57

Pittsburgh, Pa.

A NEW YORK columnist recently asked why all the fuss about Negroes in the South voting when they show an apathy to it. There's more than a little truth in that. If, therefore, those politicians who are always telling you that Negroes in their states are perfectly happy, had any brains they'd have let the few ambitious Negroes who wish to vote do so. Instead by agitation they are doing the very thing that will bring defeat.

Mr. Rogers

The masses of mankind, through the ages have ever been indolent regarding their rights. This goes for all — white, red, yellow, black, or what have you. Give them enough food, sex, amusement and the assurance that a land flowing with milk and honey await them when they die and you can use them for any end. As the Declaration of Independence says: "All experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed."

TRY TO STIR most people to their rights and they will consider you a pest. But talk of anything loud and long enough and they come to feel they must have it. In time it even becomes the fashion. Therefore whether this civil rights bill passes or not now, good will eventually result for the nation; and defeat for the demagogues. Negroes will have a thrill in casting their vote at first, but by and by you'll have to drag them out like so many Negroes in the North — and whites, too.

At present perhaps less than 20 per cent of Negroes are doing anything towards sustaining or expanding such rights that have been won. The only thing I think that would cure do-nothing Negroes of 1957 is to give them a dose of what those of the 1910's suffered. That five-day riot in Chicago in 1919 was really the awakening of the Negroes there. I watched some who seemed to have no more backbone than an oyster show all kinds of spunk. Your rights are like a garden.

YES, THE WORLD is full of nasty people like some of those Southern Senators. Do they know they're doing wrong? I recall how two of the most vicious of their kind tried to right themselves before their death—Thomas Dixon and Bilbo. I heard Dixon, whose writings did so much to cause riots and to revive the Klan, tell a white New York audience how he was willing to die if necessary to defend Negroes.

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier P. 8

MARCH, 3, 1957, will be an epoch-making day for all of African descent in the New World. It will witness the rise to nationhood of a land from which their ancestors came as slaves and which for centuries has been under white domination—Ghana.

Mr. Rogers

Ghana, called by the English, Guinea, was so powerful in the 16th century that it sent its ambassadors to the courts of Europe and the Vatican. It was too, the chief source of the world's gold, hence the name, Gold Coast. The first Europeans there in the 1400's were amazed to see the fine gold ornaments and jewelry of the people. England got most of her gold from there and called her highest gold coin the "guinea" (1663).

Pittsburgh, Pa.

ANOTHER SOURCE of great enrichment was also discovered—labor—and all the region about came to be known by another name—the Slave Coast. It all began this way. Antam Gonsalves, a Portuguese, on a raid in the interior in 1440, took back a number of Africans, a chief and others of rank, as hostages to Portugal. Ransom for them was sent in gold and ten slaves. The Portuguese found much use for both and the great slave trade began. Azurara in his "Conquest of Guinea" tells of the sale of this first batch of 230 at Lagos, Portugal.

Fifty years later came the discovery of the New World and in addition to furnishing gold, Ghana furnished labor that did most in building the Americas from Virginia to the southern borders of Brazil.

Sat. 1-5-57

IT IS highly possible, too, that Ghana contributed to the discovery of the New World. Columbus spent a year there (1481-2) and helped build a fort at Elmina. Now since Africans from this region had been crossing to South and Central America for centuries—Balboa most certainly found them in Panama—is it not highly possible that Columbus heard at Ghana of the land across the Ethiopian Sea, as the South Atlantic was then called. Is it not significant, too, that Columbus' pilot to the New World was an African, Pietro Alonzo il Nigro. Leo Weiner, Harvard professor, has given indisputable proof of the Negro's presence in the New World, long prior to Columbus in his 3-vol work, "Africa and the Discovery of America."

There is so much history wrapped up in this part of Africa that its descendants in the New World have as little cause to be ashamed of their ancestry as white Americans less than a century ago in England had cause to be ashamed of theirs.

Ghana has all the natural resources with which to build a mighty nation—more than half of the world's cocoa, gold, diamonds, manganese, bauxite, lumber, etc. Its rise will give pride to black men the world over. And what's more desirable than being there in person at its re-birth.

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier P. 8

"KING OF PARIS," a novel by Guy Endore, a best seller, is hailed as "the most sensational novel of the year" (1956). An almost full-page ad in the N. Y. Times tells how its amazing hero played havoc with the hearts of some of the loveliest women of Paris; how he made so much money that he built a marble font in his mansion into which he threw gold pieces and dipped lavishly into it; how he built a palace and kept open house for the world, and other exploits that make him sound like one straight out of a fairy tale.

Mr. Rogers

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 1-12-57

BUT THIS "King of Paris" is taken from real life, and was indeed one of most amazing, most uninhibited men of all time. The world, including some of its greatest, was delighted with him. Lamartine, the poet, said of him, "The world is seeking perpetual motion but you have created perpetual amazement." When one of the finest of all the statues in Paris was reared to him, Edmond About said at its dedication, "This statue is that of a great madman, who into all his good humor and astonishing gaiety put more true wisdom than there is to be found in the hearts of all of us here. It is the likeness of a prodigal, who after squandering millions in a thousand generous ways, left, without knowing it, a king's treasure."

Victor Hugo praised him greatly, Michelet, the historian, said, "Was he just a man? No, he is an element like an inextinguishable flame or a mighty American river."

"RING OF PARIS" is just such a novel as Hollywood loves to get its teeth into. Moreover, Hollywood has used his books for movies more than any other writer, living or dead. But will "King of Paris" ever be filmed. I doubt it. If ever it does, the King of Paris, were he alive, wouldn't know himself. Because he was a NEGRO—Alexander Dumas, the greatest romancer of all time.

Hollywood has the habit of painting black men white. In "The Egyptian," Akhenaton, originator of the idea of One God, was shown as white, though his Negro features were pronounced. So is his skull. I recall how Alessandro de Medici, head of the then leading royal family of Europe, and who is mentioned in all Italian histories as a mulatto, was acted in white face by Frank Morgan.

Dumas, whose grandmother was a black Haitian, was never ashamed of his ancestry. He once said, "When I discovered I was black I determined to so act that men should see below by skin."

His son, Alexander, the famous playwright, though almost white, not only did not try to hide his ancestry but mentioned it in his first address to the French Academy.

Dumas' father was the commander of Napoleon's cavalry. In the Place Malsherbes, Paris, are statues of all three. Sketches of them and pictures of the statues are in my "World's Great Men of Color." Vol. 2.

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier P. 8

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 2-9-57

THE President's second inaugural finds Negroes all over the nation aroused at his sending Nixon to help the Hungarians while being silent about the bombings of homes and churches and shooting-up of buses here at home. Especially angry are the Negro newspapers who supported him. The New York Post in an article, "Negro Press Blasts President for Silence on Race Violations," gives a summary of what they're saying.

Mr. Rogers

It's a long time since I've seen Negroes so stirred about anything. One prominent Negro businessman stopped me on the street to denounce Marian Anderson for having sung at the inaugural. One letter from a veteran, a skilled mechanic, says that he found Hungarians already in places he expected to get a job. "They are being given first choice," he said.

■

WHITE WRITERS are joining in the protest too. One in Time says, "Why all this fuss and noise about freedom for Hungarians? Let's first give freedom to the millions of Negroes in the South and show of the world that we believe in freedom for all peoples—not just for whites."

The Springfield (Mass.) Daily News asks: "Is it more urgent for a citizen of Hungary to attain freedom, or for an American citizen to be allowed the identical privilege?" Nixon, it says, has returned "full of statistics, ideas, ideals and suggestions" for helping Hungarians, but why are he and Eisenhower "walking so carefully around a disgraceful mess that is right under their noses?" We know the answer, of course. No one gets politically hurt by espousing the Hungarian cause. In fact, everyone gets a pat on the back and big, fat headlines and assurances that he is doing a fine job in the cause of humanity.

"The Administration is aghast at the notion that Russians should fire upon unarmed Hungarians. It is strangely quiet about bullet-riddled passenger buses in Alabama. The President and his 'team' may not like the inference and they may choose to ignore it. Other Americans will not be quite as indifferent."

■

I'M SURE, as I said weeks ago, that the Administration did not see the similarity between atrocities in Hungary and atrocities at home. But the simple truth is that it all sums up to glaring racism. How many of the nearly a million Arab refugees were brought here? None. They are colored. And the awful atrocities against the blacks of Kenya? What was said or done about them. Nothing whatever. In addition to racism, it's poor patriotism, too. In most other lands the citizen comes first.

All this has a lesson for the Negroes. They're being made to see that they can get no help from present politics and must rely on themselves.

History Shows . . . . . .

Courier P.8

Pittsburgh, Pa.

IN dealing with someone who has hurt us, we have two alternatives: either to strike back like a caveman of 50,000 B. C., as a cat or a dog; or to be a cultured human being who will not descend to the level of the barbarian.

Mr. Rogers

Now Ibn Saud's people bar all Jews which, of course, is plain savagery. Then Ibn Saud comes to New York and Mayor Wagner's attitude towards him is precisely that of the anti-Jewish Moslems. And has not the Mayor been subjected to a much higher standard of culture? The Mayor was no doubt influenced by the large Jewish vote. But what sort of example is that for backward Arabians? The whole effect will be to justify hatred for Jews in the Moslem world.

Oct 12-23-57

SAUD APPEARS to be generous and courteous. If he had his own way, Jews might be treated differently. I believe, too, that if Wagner wasn't afraid of offending the Jewish and Catholic vote he would have done the courteous thing instead of saying, "They're not our kind of people." Likewise, too, I believe that Eisenhower is strongly opposed to present atrocities in the South but politics ties his tongue. And there you have three men in power who aren't free. "A responsible man," said Disraeli, "is a slave. The more you're talked about the less powerful you are."

Ibn Saud's people are just emerging from feudalism, which lasted in Europe for many centuries. Until World War I, the Arabian had the Turk on his back. Ibn Saud said, "We started from scratch ten years ago." Ten years! How long did it take Americans to get rid of slavery? Over 110 years and a war. Then came jim-crow laws to keep as much of it as possible. In Islam, a freed slave becomes a man. Ibn Saud's Minister of Finance is Souror, a black ex-slave. In America, slave ancestry carries a stigma, nearly a 100 years after abolition.

■

AGAIN, morals are a matter of geography. Whiskey and semi-nude women are as repulsive to a Moslem as their slavery and harems are to us. Suppose Mayor Wagner had gone there and been snubbed because he comes from a whiskey-drinking land; or Eisenhower because he heads a land where people of the color of most Arabs are treated much like Jews in Arabia?

It would have been better for the Mayor to remain silent and have left it all to Eisenhower. Saud, when told of the Mayor, said, "I did not come here to see him." Which about evened things. The Mayor might also have taken the opportunity to get in a word for the Jews. He could have been frank but courteous. A cultured man knows how to disagree without being disagreeable. Turning an enemy into a friend is fine art. And it can be done by kindness.

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

Courier P.8

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Oct 3-12-57

THE problem of the Negro author is very real and often frustrating. I've had many letters from would-be authors over the years, and since I said I had been in the field 40 years this month, the letters are coming again.

Mr. Rogers

I wrote several columns on the subject years ago, and I'm sorry I still haven't much encouragement, especially for the fearless and well informed.

Writing, and getting accepted, are in any case, very difficult. Very few of those who write ever see themselves in print, regardless of color. Getting your book or article accepted, no matter what it's worth, like playing the numbers, is sheer luck. You might never strike an editor who likes it. Literary agents know that too well. And when you write on the race question, especially if you speak frankly, it's still more a matter of luck. I recall how once an article of mine made the rounds, always with rejection.

P.8

Then Schuyler told me to send it to H. L. Mencken. I did, and two days later came a letter that left me in a daze. Mencken called the article excellent," accepted it, paid me a good price, carried it as the leading article in his Mercury, May, 1930, and gave me an order to write six more. He was a rare soul, unafraid of truth. And as for my "Sex and Race," which was (and still is) rejected, he wrote me of it in the highest possible praise. I guard that letter preciously.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE NEGRO writer is up against two great problems. The publisher to whom he will send his book is white and he must please his customers, the vast majority of whom, even on a Negro book, are white. There are no Negro publishers, that is, those who take your book, get it out and pay you a royalty. The second problem is that Negroes, as a group, are quite backward when it comes to literature. A very small percentage of them realize the immense importance of the written record. Also a small percentage buy books, which, like everything else, march on money. Printers must be paid and authors must eat.

But despite the fact that writing is the toughest of all games, human beings are going to write. Man is a recording animal. Civilization marches on that fact. Generations and individuals pass and if their thoughts and discoveries were not recorded there could be no universities. We'd be back to primitive man. Next to the procreative instinct in carrying on the race, comes writing. Certain individuals, even some without talent, are born with the recording instinct and they're going to write, no matter what.

■

INCREASING education and awareness of the world about them as well as a greater awakening to themselves as 100 per cent human beings have increased the urge to write among Negroes. But what must they do for an outlet? I'll discuss that in my next column.

History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rog

Courier P.8

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Oct 3-23-57

I said last week that the number of Negroes who want to write has increased, but that such have almost no outlet. Our 16,000,000 Negroes, as I said, haven't a single firm that will take a manuscript and give the author a royalty.

Mr. Rogers

Books by Negroes must go through white firms who, to sell their books, must censor what they think will be offensive to their readers, most of whom are white. We have the same thing in the movies, where the Southern market decides what can be shown. Present a true picture of the better side of Negro life and that would be "social equality."

For example, in 1942 a friend of the firm of Doubleday, Doran read my manuscript, "World's Great Men of Color," in two volumes, and recommended it highly. It was sent to leading Negroes to read. The late James Weldon Johnson, one of them, told me they, too, recommended it. But a year later the editor wrote praising it highly, but said he was afraid they couldn't sell it. (I have his letter.)

In 1946, though, I got it out myself and sold over 5,000 copies, which is more than the average Negro book sells. And I had no sales force and almost no publicity. Emperor Haile Selassie bought 128 copies. And I've just ordered another 5,000.

■

AS ONE long in the field, I'm convinced as I can be of anything that a fortune awaits anyone who will set up the machinery to give to the awakening Negro group books that will fill its growing need to be somebody that will help it to root out three centuries of a built-in inferiority complex. Don't forget that the dominant white group is anxious to retain control of the Negro's mind. That was not freed at the emancipation. Control a people's mind and you have them in the bag—their labor, their purchasing power, etc. The Negro will never come into his own until he stops thinking "white" and simply thinks human.

Now I know that splendid work has been done by Negro writers through white firms. But some have told me what has been cut out of their books. The time has come for independence.

■

THE SUPPRESSED peoples of the world today are looking for what is not supposed to be said. Therein lies the key to their liberation. And the Negro writer, in sheer self-respect, must not write to please white racism or bow to it in the least. Of course, he'll have to find some way to get himself read, such as publishing his own books. And that is very tough. But it pays in the long run, spiritually and even financially. When a regular firm gets out your book it drops it after a season or two for something newer. Get it out yourself and you'll see it stays alive.

Carl Rowan, Newsman To Speak Here February 15

World Sat. 2-2-57 B'ham, Ala.

Carl T. Rowan, prize-winning book-writing, globe-trotting reporter for the Minneapolis Tribune, Minneapolis, Minn., is scheduled to be feature speaker at the annual Periclean Club's Negro History Week forum set for 8:30 Friday night, Feb. 15 at the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church pastored by the Rev. Luke Beard.

That Mr. Rowan possessed qualities that would be a credit to him and the race we noted during his senior year in high school when he was elected president of his class. Note was also made of these qualities during his attendance at Tennessee State College where he ranked among the top 10 students and served as vice-president of his class.

After taking a nationally-competitive examination, Mr. Rowan volunteered to enter the United States Navy and was assigned to AV-12 unit at Washburn Municipal University, Topeka, Kansas. Later he took Midshipman training at Fort Schuyler Naval Reserve Midshipman School.

When but 19 years of age, he was commissioned an ensign in the United States Reserve, becoming one of the first 15 Negroes to attain commissioned rank in the Navy. He later served in "Operation Integration" as a communications officer aboard a fleet tanker in the Atlantic fleet.

Upon being released to inactive duty Mr. Rowan returned to Oberlin College where he received the A. B. Degree in Mathematics in June, 1947. He received the M. A. degree in Journalism from the University of Minnesota in Aug. 1948.

After handling a brief special project for the Afro-American News paper during the 1948 campaign, he took a position on the copy desk of the Minneapolis Tribune.

Mr. Rowan is the winner of three "page one" wards form the Newspaper Guild of the Twin Cities for (1) headline writing, (2) articles on vocational guidance and (3) a series of articles on race relations in the South, entitled, "How Far From Slavery?"

He was cited for (1) service to humanity "by the Minneapolis Jr. Chamber of Commerce for articles on race relations. (2) for the "best newspaper reporting in the nation," in 1951, by the Sidney Hillman Foundation for articles on the South and (3) by the curators of Lincoln University Jefferson City, Mo. for "high achievement, high purpose and exemplary practice" in the field of Journalism in 1951.

Outstanding among his publications are "The Pitiful and the Proud," a book on India, Pakistan and the Far East, published April 23, 1956 and "South of Freedom" which was selected by the American Library Association as one of the "53 best books" of 1952.

His most recent overseas assignment was to Africa where he studied political economic and social developments in the continent. He covered the historic Bandung Conference for the Minneapolis Tribune of which he is presently a staff writer covering subjects at home and abroad.

Rowan Vividly Traces Black Man's History

World Wed. 2-20-57 P.1

B'ham, Ala.

BY MARCEL HOPSON

Carl T. Rowan, celebrated staff writer of the Minneapolis (Minn.) Tribune and widely-traveled reporter, vividly traced the "Problems of the Black Man from Montgomery, Alabama to Mandalay Burma in Asia", at the Periclean Club's Annual Forum program held at Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, pastored by the Rev. Luke Beard, Friday night, February 15.

Appearing as the 23rd guest speaker on this program which is held annually in connection with the Negro History Week celebration, Mr. Rowan told a main-floor capacity audience that "Man is currently, as he has always been, at war against ignorance and arrogance."

The Tennessee-born author, former Navy officer declared that millions of voices are rising in tremor and telling the world, "We intend to be free."

In Africa, Mandalay, Burma, China, India and Montgomery, Ala., the oppressed black man is looking for one thing—"Dignity.", Rowan further counselled. He explained that the two main "D's" which man is seeking are namely, (1) Development (in economics) and (2) Dignity.

Telling his audience that, in his travels, many have asked why India and Burma refuse to join in any form of alliance with western countries, such as the United Stathe, Great Britain and France, such as accepting lend-lease funds and arms and industrial development aid, Rowan warned that "The American Dollar Will Not And Cannot Buy Friendship." He said those black nations and republics are watching closely how the black American Negro citizen is being treated throughout the United States especially in the South.

Rowan said that those countries in Africa and Asia are not looking for dollars, but are looking for dignity and respect. He said that Burma, India or Africa will never join alliances with the western world unless as equals in respect and dignity.

Rowan, at the height of his 35 minute address, counselled that this country cannot go back into past conditions, slavery and other un-Democratic stages of life and survive. To survive he said, "We must continue to go forward."

He further explained that "No one has ever gotten freedom on a silver platter. You have to go out and get it".

He said that hatred of colonialism, hatred of racism and communism are among the many problems behind the current struggles of mankind today.

Thirty-one year old Mr. Rowan is the author of three books, among them "South of Freedom" and the "Pitiful and the Proud".

(His third book "Go South To Sorrow", is scheduled to be released by Random House,, April 17.—Editor)

During one point of his address, Mr. Rowan told of a native of Gold Coast Africa, who had confessed to being a 'genuine Christian' for seventeen years. But, when he heard over the relayed broadcast through radio station BBC in London, England, that back in America, the University of Alabama had expelled Mrs. Autherine (Lucy) Foster from its campus, the African native jumped up in disgust and stormed away from the area telling everyone that "If they did that to her (Miss Lucy) in America, I am through with the Christian religion".

GASTON HONORED

Dr. Arthur George Gaston, Sr., president of Smith and Gaston Enterprises, was presented the "Achievement Award" by the club for "his foresightness, leadership and business genius" in helping to expand businesses and education avenues and economy among members of his racial group and the South at large.

The sponsoring Periclean Club centered this year's observance around their general theme: "Negro History In The Development of Racial Understanding".

Organ prelude by Miss Laborah Enright; invocation by the Rev. W. P. Foley, pastor, Payne Chapel A. M. E. Church; chanting of the Lord's Prayer and selections by the Choralaires; selections by the State Vocational Trade School Choir, under the directions of Prof. J. Henry Banks, director; presentation of essay awards by Mrs. E. H. Murphy; presentation of Achievement Award to Dr. Gaston by Mrs. C. S. Giscombe; introduction of Mr. Rowan by Mrs. S. J. Jordan; Appreciation by Mrs. D. V. Guice; and the benediction by the Rev. Luke Beard rounded out the memorable, informative program.

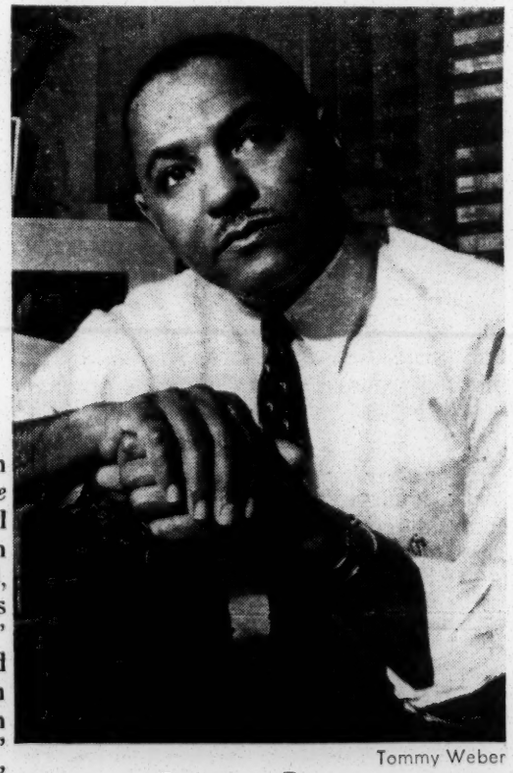
Broken Arrow

Family P. 48

"Hardly a tomahawk's throw" from the sleekly modern Minneapolis *Tribune* building, wrote *Tribune* Reporter Carl Rowan last week, thousands of Indian families huddle in "the dark, squalid, bug-infested dwellings that fit society's idea of what an Indian wants or deserves." Flocking out of barren, overpopulated reservations in hope of finding work in the cities, reported Rowan, they soon "drift into a world of dark hopelessness." In Minneapolis, so-called "City of Hope," there are 8,000 Indians, but few employers will hire them. Jammed into rickety tenements and Skid Row hovels, said Rowan, most of them are doomed to lives that nourish "every stereotype about 'drunk,' 'dirty,' 'irresponsible' Indians."

Cause & Effect. A Negro who has won four national awards for stories that have taken him from the Deep South to the Far East, Carl Rowan, reporter and author (*South of Freedom*), brought to his 15-part *Tribune* series a mixture of shrewd news sense and a personal kinship with the Indian—the other "American who is not quite an American." In six months on the story, he traveled thousands of miles through reservations in Minnesota and North and South Dakota, talked to hundreds of Indians and white officials. His published series is not only a hard-hitting indictment of the slum conditions in the paper's own backyard but a searching examination of the deep-rooted causes and effects.

After more than a century of isolation from the U.S. mainstream, as Rowan points out, the Midwest's 75,000 Indians (who got U.S. citizenship only 33 years ago) have been encouraged by the Federal Government in recent years to quit the "rural slums" of the reservations. Says Rowan: "Most of the younger generation sees that the arrow is broken, the tribe is dead." But, poorly educated, lacking technical skills and elementary economic judgment, they enter the white man's world with "handicaps that burden no other group of Americans." P. 51



Tommy Weber

REPORTER ROWAN
Southern kettle, Midwestern pot.

Good & Dead. "When local whites criticize the South for racial segregation," asks Rowan, "is it a case of the pot call-

ing the kettle black?" Rowan says he found "almost no citizen who will say directly that he considers the Indian racially inferior, or inherently a loafer or a drunkard." Yet the director of an Indian hospital at White Earth, Minn. told him: "The feeling in some communities is that the only good Indians are dead Indians." In many areas Indians are denied admission to hospitals, refused police protection, turned down when they apply for social-welfare aid.

The two-week series had hardly begun in the *Tribune* last week when Rowan was forced to "unplug my phone to get any sleep." At least 85% of the calls and letters to the paper commended the series, but government officials at all levels greeted the opening articles with silence. Pressed for comment, Minneapolis' Mayor Eric Hoyer shrugged: "Who are we to tell the Indian he should go to work? I hope Mr. Rowan carries the series through to an investigation of the same problem in all metropolitan areas of the country."

Rowan Finds Thousands of Indians Doomed to Lives That Nourish Stereotypes

Bystander Thurs. 5-7-59

Des Moines Iowa P. 1

New York, N. Y.—"Hardly a tomahawk's throw" from the sleekly modern Minneapolis Tribune building, wrote Tribune Reporter Carl Rowan last week, thousands of Indian families huddle in "the dark, squalid, bug-infested dwellings that fit society's idea of what an Indian wants or deserves," Time Magazine's March 4 issue reprinted.

Flocking out of barren, overpopulated reservations in hope of finding work in the cities, reported Rowan, they soon "drift into a world of dark hopelessness." In Minneapolis, so-called "City of Hope," there are 8,000 Indians, but few employers will hire them. Jammed into rickety-tenements and Skid Row hovels, said Rowan, most of them are doomed to lives that nourish "every stereotype about 'drunk,' 'dirty,' 'irresponsible' Indians."

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CARL ROWAN

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Commended Series

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Says Integration Will Be Harder In The North

Call Kansas City, Mo. P. 4

Fri. 10-18-57

By Rowan

CARL ROWAN WRITES

PHILADELPHIA. — (ANP) Although the South is certain to produce more headlines as defiant men turn their backs against social change, the real desegregation showdown will come in the great cities of the north, according to Reporter Carl T. Rowan writing in the October 12th issue of The Saturday Evening Post.

In an article entitled, "The Negro in the North," this well-known reporter who is the only man ever to win three consecutive annual awards from the journalistic fraternity, Sigma Delta Chi, sets forth the facts and discusses the major implications of what is taking place in metropolitan areas outside the South.

Sees Period of Strife

Spotlighting the problems of growing slums, increasing juvenile delinquency and adult crimes, overcrowded schools, overloaded public hospitals, growing relief and welfare rolls, and an alarming increase in racial hostility in such cities as Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, Detroit and St. Louis, Rowan writes that there are already signs that these years of the real desegregation show-down will be marked by unnecessary violence, political rancor, racial bitterness and general social upheaval.

Population experts estimate that a new Negro reaches Chicago every fifteen minutes. The Negro population has risen from 31,000 at the turn of the century to 700,000 today, and it continues to rise at the rate of close to 2,000 per month.

The newcomer soon learns that Chicago is somewhat short of Paradise, continues Rowan. Not only is the total Negro community isolated from the white community, but the immigrant finds himself isolated from established, more cultured Negroes as well.

Pleads Immigrant's Cause

The challenge is made more critical by the fact that the immigrants are moving in at a time when the better-educated, better-paid whites are moving to the suburbs. Dr. Philip Hauser, chairman of the University of Chicago sociology department, has pleaded with both whites and upper-class Negroes to stop cursing and fleeing these immigrants. "Each group of immigrants in its turn was called a 'hopeless case' and "a horrible mistake,'" Hauser pointed out, "yet the Irish, the Polish, the Jews and others have assimilated and helped build Chicago." He insists that the Negro can too.

"The Negro is not coming to Chicago because he is being invited here," Hauser says. "He is being pulled here by our demands for an expanding labor supply. He will continue to come as long as our industries continue to expand. When he quits coming, therefore, we can begin to bury Chicago."

Views and Reviews . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier p.9 Pittsburgh Pa. Sat 4-27-57

LAST week, in commenting upon the Sacramento NAACP Credit Union and the services it has been rendering for the past seven years to its members, I suggested that this kind of economic self-help should be promoted by our organizations everywhere. There is a dangerous presumption abroad in colored America today that if and when all legal restraints upon Negroes are lifted, their problems will be solved automatically and an era of integrated sweetness and light will emerge. This is quite untrue and certainly unrealistic. Such a racial Valhalla does not exist anywhere and never has. The United States will be no exception to the rule. There will be two racial communities here as long as anybody reading this remains alive and long after all of us are dead. Interracialism is not necessarily synonymous with multi-racialism.

Mr. Schuyler

■

AFRAMERICANS in all walks of life are going to need intra-cooperative activity for decades, if not generations, because the absence of legal restriction will not end racial discrimination. It hasn't elsewhere and will not here. We are going to have to act cooperatively more in the future than in the past if colored people are to have more opportunities and the preparation and power needed to get them. There are no racially restrictive laws in many countries with multi-racial populations, and yet the so-called minority groups are worse off than they are here.

Since we can assume there will always be an Aframerican community, its future depends chiefly upon its education, its technical training, the extent of its control over its income and outgo, and the solidarity it practices to survive, improve and expand. Many of our "thinkers" seem unaware of this hard fact.

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WHILE PROPERLY contending for enactment of civil rights, FEPC and more liberal voting laws, let us not imagine that such legislation alone will suffice to put us on Easy Street. It will simply afford us a far greater opportunity to help ourselves, and being able to help ourselves presupposes some organized program for opening doors and building solid foundations.

Specifically, having the opportunity to work anywhere means little if we are not capable of holding the jobs available by virtue of education and training. Unless we control more capital, fixed and fluid, we will continue to have difficulty getting that education and training or even the economic opportunities available. Everywhere the position of social groups is determined largely by what people own and control. When we control our credit, our finances, and our consumption to a greater extent, we get a greater amount of opportunity all along the line.

Thus, our job now is to build a stronger black community along the lines suggested if the passage of the legislation we seek is to mean anything much to us.

Views and Reviews . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier p.9 Pittsburgh Pa. Sat 4-27-57

Mr. Schuyler

him, for he was a rare personality, a man who had risen by industry and sheer merit from poverty and obscurity to the U. S. Senate, a man who won nation-wide praise and condemnation because he led a two-fisted, uncompromising fight against the Communist conspiracy when no other solon could be found to do so. The hysterical vehemence with which he was traduced by the army of Reds, fellow-travelers, crypto-Communists and their dupes in high places whose collectivist conspiracy he exposed, was a compliment to his patriotic endeavors.

NEVER IN American history has any man dedicated to the protection of the nation from foreign enemies and their domestic dupes been subjected to such a sustained barrage of contumely. Never have so many so shamelessly sought by every low trick in the book to destroy a man whose "crime" was that he wanted the pinks and punks ousted from the state and other Government departments, wanted to expose the spy cells and their dupes whose policies lost us the World War II victory in Europe and Asia, wanted to spotlight the horde of brain-washed Communist stooges controlling labor unions, newspaper policies, the theatre, the dance, radio and TV (and to an extent still do), and wanted to clear out the dangerous Red agents from sensitive defense departments and installations. The pink- and Red-tinted opposition fought him with feverish fear. Why? Because they knew he couldn't be scared nor bought, and was determined to do right despite personal fortune.

■

HAVING BEEN in the front ranks of the anti-Communist fight since 1922, and familiar with every twist and turn of the slimy conspiracy to capture and collectivise America, I assert that Joe McCarthy was not wrong on a single person he named. No matter how strong his language was on occasion, it was justified considering the danger. When even Presidents of the United States are brainwashed and hornswoggled by these conspirators, it is time for strong words and strongest action. What McCarthy exposed was only the surface. Many cells and appratuses still remain. Let us hope someone with Joe's determination and persistence will expose them despite the generation of brainwashed vipers who traduced him and seek to smoke-screen the truth.

I am forever glad that as a founder and director of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom I resigned and denounced the group when its growing anti-anti-communism induced it to collect a subsidy from mysterious and unrevealed sources to publish a smear book, "McCarthy and the Communists." Joe McCarthy will live long after his traducers are gone.

Views and Reviews . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier Sat. 5-25-57 Pittsburgh Pa.

NOW THAT the Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington is history, it is pertinent to ask what concretely it accomplished? It cost in transportation, publicity and other costs in excess of one-half million dollars. It had and will have no influence whatever in the course of civil rights legislation that a letter or telegram from each of the participants to the White House and the respective Senators and Representatives in Washington would not have had. Negroes have been praying for civil rights for a century and what legislation has been enacted has impliedly not been enforced. Gains in Negro citizenship status have been due to court action and gradual civilization of whites and Negroes, not to mass meetings, marches and pilgrimages. God is on the side of the strongest battalions only if those battalions be well-victualed, munitioned, clothed and properly led. This is implicit in the continual drives for more funds to fight the battle with learned legal counsel through the courts.

Mr. Schuyler

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A MUCH MORE fruitful pilgrimage led by the reverend clergy would be one to the registration booth, making possible the greatest use of the Negro's potential political power. To this end every Negro preacher everywhere should bend his every effort to persuade his flock to obtain citizenship rights as well as begging for civil rights. Citizenship rights can only be implemented at the polls, but the awareness of this truth can be taught from the pulpit. Many Southern legislators who now cannot "see" civil rights would have far more acute vision if every colored citizen was a registered and active voter instead of a bystander. It is difficult for anybody to respect people who engaged in battle but will not use the handy and effective weapon of the ballot to gain political rights.

■

FAR MORE effective in obtaining social respect, civil rights and economic power than staging pilgrimages and holding mass meetings, would be a campaign in each church to gets its entire membership to obtain control over its expenditures. This can be done very simply, quietly and legally by establishing (a) a credit union and (b) a consumers cooperative society. With the two properly managed, any congregation can get rid of loan sharks, installment robbers and prejudiced financial institutions almost immediately without begging, denunciation or vitriolic ballyhoo. Getting our colored communities on a cash basis and canalizing their money resources would make them unique in a debt-ridden America and powerful far beyond their numbers. Such a course would be most enlightening to those who feast off the Negro community while despising and restricting it.

The WORLD TODAY

Courier p.9 Pittsburgh Pa. Sat. 5-25-57

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Democrats' biggest scare will be the new GOP drive down South, where significant inroads were made last November. GOP should be reminded that much of the gain was due to Negro voters, and it could be lost if the party is forgetful.

South bugging Ike because it feels he spoke slightingly of Gen. Robert E. Lee. Of course Ike backtracked. Dixie would like us to forget that their patron saint was an ingrate, a traitor and a loser. Facts are facts.

■

Meanwhile it is instructive to recall that Ike goofed by letting the Reds take Berlin and Prague when U. S. could have had both. This was worse than any mistakes made at Gettysburg.

Connecticut Assembly approved a bill outlawing quack psychologists. There should be such a Federal law, and then we wouldn't have any more psychologists!

Surprising to find Pullman Brotherhood's Benjamin McLaurin in the new American Forum for Socialist Education along with a motley crew of

Views and Reviews . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier p.9 Pittsburgh Pa.

WHEN DEATH suddenly and tragically removed Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin from this mortal coil America lost its greatest son and patriot since the passing of Senator Robert A. Taft. I am glad to have known, talked and corresponded with

pacifists, Trotskyites, "liberals" and Communists to speed rapprochment between Reds and near-Reds. One notes the presence of such Kremlinites as Dr. DuBois, John T. McManus, Doxey Wilkerson, Joseph Starobin and Harvey O'Connor. Mr. McLaurin once ran on an anti-Communist platform against Ben Davis for a New York City Council seat! Time marches on!

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Hungry Haitians still torn by internecine strife. Before they get settled the ousted Magloire regime will look mighty good.

■

Nasser & Co. remained obdurate until the British came dragging back in a humiliating policy reversal. Unfortunately this Egyptian victory will not bring back the thousands of casualties caused by the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression.

British West Indies asserting their "independence" by trying to get the U. S. to give them its Trinidad naval station as a capital site and the British to "lend" them $560 million "to get them on their feet!" Beggars on horseback!

Views and Reviews . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier Sat. 6-1-57

Pittsburgh Pa. p. 9

OUR REVEREND clergy have recently made much of the need for preaching a social gospel instead of confining themselves to more spirituality. This turns out in most cases to bleating and mooing for civil rights which, without economic and political power to back them up, amount practically to a dead-end frustration. Almost all peoples outside the United States, South and East Africa have full civil rights on paper, but are worse off than Negroes in the Deep South. In the Communist countries they have, in addition, collective ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, but in actuality this is a cruel mockery, with slavery more widespread and rigid than in the South before the Civil War.

Mr. Schuyler

■

ONE OF the first items in the social gospel should be control over expenditures. The status of any group is largely determined by the length of time it is able to keep control over its money. During the two-, three- or four-month vacations some of our preachers take with the blessings and cash of their flocks, I wish they would tour Utah and see what the Mormon Church has wrought quietly, effectively and without vainly screaming for justice. Its power is based primarily on economic control of resources and expenditures through various Saints' enterprises.

■

THERE ARE many rights for which the social gospel should contend besides civil rights, and which indeed already are available. There is the available right for all of these preachers to purchase their automobiles through an agency controlled by Negroes, and to have their members do likewise. A dozen regional branches from Boston to San Antonio would suffice for this purpose, and the big commissions would remain in the group. It is needless to point out that church robes and furniture could be obtained in the same way. Also gasoline and oil for those big, shiny cars.

There is the available right to provide entire congregations through cooperative enterprise with the needed hats, shoes, suits, overcoats, underwear and household furnishings by direct purchase from manufacturers. If Africans a generation from the bush can do this (as they are in many places), there is no reason why "educated" Aframericans cannot do so.

If the improvement of society is the aim of the social gospel, then why don't the reverend clergy make a pilgrimage in that direction? It might not be as spectacular as a mass meeting or "march," but it would mean infinitely more.

Views and Reviews . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier p. 9

A VERY sensible speech was made recently by William R. Hudgins, president of the Carver Federal Savings and Loan Association of New York City, at the first annual Sales Institute held in Richmond, Va.

Pittsburgh Pa.

Pointing out that American industry is carrying on a manhunt for competent salesmen and those prepared to work in the higher echelons of the nation's business, he scored Negroes in business who are not keeping abreast of the times in the business world, not keeping abreast in the fields of accounting and management, not keeping abreast in public relations, and yet wondering why they cannot keep abreast of competition.

Mr Schuyler

Sat. 6-8-57

MR. HUDGINS, a successful Harlem realtor, made a telling criticism of our Negro colleges which seems to be valid. Pointing out that the schools and colleges are the training ground for tomorrow's leaders, he charged that "for too long now too may of our colleges have been turning out an abundance of preachers, teachers, social workers and liberal arts loafers, while grossly neglecting to offer adequate incentive to those young men and women who would prefer careers in business.

"The colleges to which I refer," he continued, "have been masquerading high school bookkeeping, high school typing and stenography, sprinkled with some liberal arts studies, as legitimate courses leading to a degree in business administration. Mind you, not a mumbling word is being said about accounting and budget control as tools of management, not the slightest gaze is bent toward the jungle of finance and investments, nor is there even a whisper about the vast area of marketing or the science of sound personnel management."

IT BECOMES increasingly obvious that in our zeal to acquire the outward trappings of modern civilization too many of our people in positions of leadership have neglected the fundamentals upon which this civilization is founded. Many so-called educators have hornswoggled graduates into thinking they have adequate preparation for competing in the workaday world, and this is being painfully disproved as color barriers are let down in industry and business. Although this is primarily an industrial-commercial society, Negroes are the least prepared to meet competition in it. Some of these people who yell the loudest for civil rights would be incapable of making the grade in the kind of world full civil rights implies. Clearly, we need a prompt reappraisal of our opportunities and obligations in a rapidly changing world which Booker T. Washington foresaw.

It is good to see more and more persons like Mr. Hudgins becoming aware that it takes more than a law to save a people from an inferior status.

Views and Reviews . . .

By George S. Schuyler

WHAT ARE the larger implications of the declining New York City population figures on which I dwelt last week? Well, while the total population has declined in seven years from 7,891,957 in 1950 to 7,771,509 today, the colored population (American and Puerto Rican) has risen to nearly 1,500,000 in in the 5 boroughs to become a fifth of the whole. Moreover, the percentage of non-whites is declining as the grey folk flee to the near and far suburbs. Non-whites now are scattered over the town as never before. In my treks far from the heart of Harlem, I run across non-whites in remote areas where a few years back they were curiosities. I presume the same sort of thing is happening in other large cities. The construction of low-rent housing projects in certain well-defined areas in the conspiracy to perpetuate the colored ghettos is merely accelerating the darkening of our inner urban population.

Mr. Schuyler

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SINGULARLY ENOUGH, this darkening of the city populations is not reflected in the pigment of elected and appointed officials, especially those with the fattest jobs. Very little of the big graft, "honest" or otherwise, finds its way into the jeans of the darker brethren, no matter which party happens to be in power. I attribute this gross discrepancy in the distribution of the emoluments and rewards of politics not simply to the deplorable misleadership of the colored brethren, but also to the fact that their political power is divided between Republicans and Democrats. I have been unable to discern any important differences between these rival political gangs, and certainly not where **Homo Africanus** is concerned. They are as one in their private desire to keep Cuffee as far from the real fleshpots as possible.

THERE IS something pathetically comic about the annual spectacle of the non-white politicians grouped under these two political banners, battling each other fiercely for a few crumbs tossed from the table to Lazarus when, by uniting their forces, they could eat high on the hog.

I have suggested the organization in each of the large cities whose cores increasingly are made up of non-whites, of a Civil Rights Party to which all of them could adhere. Such a party would actually mean something because full civil rights is something the vast majority of non-whites, whether Aframericans, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans or Amerindians do not have, but which they all want. It also is the one thing that most Democrats and Republicans do not want them to have or are very lukewarm about it. We needn't worry about this being "segregation" because politically, economically and socially we are already segregated in fact. Having the name, let's have the game.

Views and Reviews . . . . . .

By George S. Schuyler

LAUDABLE is the expressed determination of some 500 Negro ministers in New York City and a large number in the South to spur the registration of colored voters. If the pastors of the 30,000 or more Negro churches were equally determined, the colored vote would be vastly increased, at least in the urban South.

Mr. Schuyler

At the same time the Tuskegee economic boycott reportedly continues and others are threatened, with the goal of ending political and economic discrimination on racial grounds.

Simultaneously come revelations of the "enslavement" of largely unskilled colored urban industrial workers by so-called "paper" unions headed by racketeers who, ominously, seem to have close connections with "respectable" and "liberal" labor leaders of good repute.

■

AS USUAL, Negro leadership seems to be sadly unwitting of its way. Nowhere does it seem to think fundamentally, so its tactics and results obtained are superficial. Full suffrage is a laudable ambition and a desirable goal, but it is not enough. Politics is simply a reflection of economics which determines its direction and effectiveness. Thus, a Rockefeller with only one vote is more influential than millions of voters with no economic stake.

The mass of Negro voters would have their influence tremendously enhanced if all the preachers would launch a drive to set up a consumers' cooperative society in each of their congregations with a credit union on the side. With a cooperative store and a credit union, a congregation could control its consumption and its credit, and get all the chiseling storekeepers and loan sharks off the black people's backs. Had the Negroes of Tuskegee done this years ago, there would be no white businesses in Tuskegee to boycott.

■

AS TO THE "enslavement" of Negro workers by labor unions, here is another area where Negro leadership has failed. This column has repeatedly pointed out through the years that what colored workers need is an organization comparable to the Jewish Labor Committee and the Italian Chamber of Labor to work within the labor movement to stop racially discriminative practices and prevent the "enslavement" now exposed by the McClellan committee. Nothing was done except to get big labor leaders on the boards of the Urban League and NAACP, to what advantage I do not know.

What was needed was a protective organization consisting of Negroes already union members (and now numbering 1,500,000) which could effectively fight within the labor unions on the assumption that white members and officials were not a band of angels dedicated to sweetness, light, justice and fairplay. It is still needed, but try to find it?

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

ABOUT a month ago my good friend, Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, indignantly denied that the association "put up $18,000" to enable William E. Myers to purchase a home in Levittown, Pa., saying the charge was "false and ridiculous." He added that "the NAACP is not in the real estate business, is not in the loan business, and does not have any funds with which to purchase homes in Levittown or anywhere else."

Mr. Schuyler

This is one of the most damning criticism of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that I have seen in some time, and I've offered some beauts myself through the years. The things Roy is denying are precisely what the NAACP should have been doing. Had it been doing so, it would have millions of dollars in its treasury, and Negroes would be much farther along the road to freedom.

■

ADVANCEMENT means advancement in **all** directions, not just advancement in legal status and in eliminating the grosser, more obvious kinds of discrimination. Having battered down the barriers of the ghetto through legal action culminating in a Supreme Court victory, the NAACP directors should have set up a private corporation, not legally connected with the association, but with interlocking directorship, for the purpose of implementing the Supreme Court decision. Such a corporation could have worked closely with Negro and liberal white realtors to watch for every opportunity to purchase individual or multiple-family houses in so-called white areas, and then find the right type of Negro families to whom to resell the property on time. Capital for this operation could have been secured from NAACP members seeking sound investment opportunities, using the great publicity facilities and legal experience and associations the NAACP has.

■

Anybody can see that this would be the most effective means of making the Supreme court decision against residential covenants an immediately living thing. Whenever a new, garden-type suburban community was started (and intended for lily-whites), the Association Investors, Liberty Holding Corporation, or whatever this institution was called, could purchase at least one residence (or two or three) and resell them to civilized Negro families on mortgage loans. Thus, the new community would start out interracial "in front" and the association would not have to wield great campaigns to get Negro buyers or renters accepted. This would really attract members in shoals to the NAACP, all of whom would be prospective investors in the subsidiary company. The NAACP would retain its tax-free status because legally it would not be engaged in profit-making business. Why cannot this be done? If it can, why isn't it?

Views and Reviews

Courier P. 9 Sat. 8-17-57 Pittsburgh, Pa.

By George S. Schuyler

WHILE the previous suggestion that Negro leaders organize a Civil Rights party as their political vehicle may be shocking to slow thinkers, I should like to point out that to a considerable extent we have it already. The spokesmen of Aframericans, whether nominally Democrats or Republicans, are as one on the issue of civil rights and legal implementation. They are constantly importuning their white bosses to pledge support of civil rights in order to hold the black voters they have or to gain new colored adherents; or they seek to frighten the big boys into saying something. Inferentially, this is a warning that the increasingly powerful Negro vote, decisive in any election in certain areas, can be swung hither or thither on this paramount issue alone. From the average Negro voter's point of view, civil rights is the prepotent issue with all others on the rival party platforms being inconsequential so far as they are concerned. The NAACP always seeks to influence Negro Democrats and Republicans to vote as a bloc against white candidates of either party who are not "right" on civil rights.

Mr. Schuyler

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WHY NOT, then, come out frankly with a Civil Rights party dedicated to the main goal of ending racial segregation and discrimination or that based on religion or national origin? I believe such a party would attract the votes of numerous white citizens of Oriental, Puerto Rican and Mexican derivation, and might appeal to many Catholics, Jews and new citizens. It would certainly hold the balance of power in any national election and would determine the outcome in many states and cities.

Instead of begging the Demo-Repo politicians at the rival conventions to please for Gawd's sake say something nice in a platform plank about civil rights, a Civil Rights party would make this the main part of its platform. If nothing else was accomplished, the two old parties would have to come up with something more than pious phrases.

■

A CIVIL RIGHTS PARTY platform could also include a strong plank for fair play for the Indian aborigines, one favorable to organized labor, a plank liberalizing Mexican immigration and another to lower the bars to non-white immigration from Africa and Asia instead of the present restrictions which favor Europe. This party could also favor revision of outmoded housing laws.

It would not be an avowed Negro party but rather a gathering of all minority elements which have long been given a ride by both old parties who are generally dominated by lily-white thinking of Anglo-Saxon complexion. Negroes, however, as the largest minority group, should take the lead in establishing such a party and garnering the requisite number of signatures in each state to get it on the ballot. What about this?

The WORLD TODAY

Courier P. 8 Sat. 8-17-57 Pittsburgh, Pa.

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Little known is the fact that a certain currently ballyhooed Negro leader is an executive of a restaurant chain with largely Negro workers which is non-union and pays below-scale wages. Incidentally, not a single Negro labor leader has ever denounced the union racketeering which enslaves thousands of Negro workers. How come?

Newest colored nation is the Malaya Federation, which celebrates its independence at Kuala Lumpur on Aug. 30. While remaining within the British Commonwealth, Malaya will certainly join the African-Asian bloc and vote with it in the United Nations.

Ghana's Prime Minister Nkrumah getting tough with the growing opposition. Jeering of Government ministers and CPP leaders is an ominous development. Lowering cocoa prices and burdensome bureaucracy are the reasons. Deporting oppositionists has not helped.

Hope Negro politicians got the message that 19 Americans whom the President named as ambassadors contributed $218,740 to the GOP campaign funds. We'll get appointments in proportion to what we give and not just because we're capable and willing to serve!

In Pretoria, South Africa, 25 Catholic Bishops in plenary session condemned apartheid and vowed unanimous opposition of their church to government policies of racial segregation. All Protestant denominations except the Dutch Reformed Church have taken a similar stand. Can the politicians survive this clerical opposition?

Views and Reviews

Courier P. 8 Sat. 8-31-57 Pittsburgh, Pa.

By George S. Schuyler

THE COLORED clergy, as mentioned last week, is preparing to do its bit in getting Negroes everywhere to register and vote. This is laudable, of course. More commendable would be a drive to teach Negroes how to vote every day with their dollars along with voting one day a year with their ballots. Once a group of sixteen million people who is economically and financially powerful, it matters little what party is in office. Moreover, a group with economic power will not have to be badgered to get out and vote to protect it. The most important civil right is the right to establish, buy and invest in the economic might of the richest country on earth, but this right is not much good unless we exercise it.

Mr. Schuyler

THIS COLUMN has suggested that as a beginner, the reverend clergy set an example to their parishioners by purchasing their shiny new automobiles through cooperative agencies which would thereby get the commissions now going elsewhere. Assuming that each person buys a new car yearly, the annual business would be tremendous. Regional cooperative agencies catering to areas of 200 miles radius in heavily populated Negro sections or organized on a state basis, and dealing directly with auto companies would mark a long stride in the direction of freedom. And if each of the preachers persuaded his flock to do the same thing, you can see what I mean.

Cooperative garages and filling stations are scattered all over the country, especially in the Middle West, but none of them to my knowledge is colored-controlled. A study of Negro auto ownership and average consumption of gasoline, oil and acccessories would most certainly reveal a staggering sum. These dark automobilists are free to choose from whom to purchase cars, gasoline, oil, services and parts. Nobody holds a pistol on them in this connection to compel them to make a choice. By cooperative purchasing, these automobilists could pocket the profit at year's end in proportion to their purchases. It is as simple as that, is within the law, requires no denunciation of white folks, picketing or boycotts, no new legislation.

■

SINCE THE. Negro clergy have been boasting of late about the rejuvenation of their leadership (although they fell down on the financing of the Prayer Pilgrimage while the Montgomery boycott was settled by an NAACP legal victory!), here is their chance to do something fundamentally constructive in accordance with the implications of the "social gospel" practically all of them promulgate in stentorian tones. Let them preach from St. Luke 19:26: "That unto everyone which hath shall be given, and from him that hath not, even that which he hath shall be taken away from him."

Views and Reviews . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier 1/ Pittsburgh, Pa. 12-31-57

ON NOV. 19, I called attention to the effort being made by Sidney J. Phillips, president of the Booker T. Washington Centennial Commission, of Booker Washington Birthplace, Va., to have the Post Office Department issue a special commemorative postage stamp honoring the 130th anniversary of the Negro press, 1827-1957. Mr. Phillips and others associated with the endeavor have sought to interest the Postmaster General but so far there has been no success. The reason given is that the time is short and that the Postoffice Department has made up its schedule of special stamps for 1957.

Mr. Schuyler

I don't think the Negro press nor its army of readers should buy that alibi. Here is a group of newspapers that historically has had more to say about the principles of freedom and liberty than any other such group in the United States, and it started saying it when the others were defending slavery and servitude. It said it when it was dangerous to say it and it is saying it today when it has become popular to publicly discuss such principles, save in the dolorous reaches of Dixie.

■

IF THE Government can issue stamps on wildlife and old mansions, it can to better purpose issue one on the efforts of a small group of dedicated men who sought to have the pretty words in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution realized in every-day life. Even if the Administration is thinking only of politics, it would seem that such a proposal should meet with its favor. There are certainly more Negroes than game birds voting in our elections.

It seems very strange that whenever a proposal like this is made to honor Negroes, a thousand objections are raised by bureaucrats, many of whom owe their soft jobs to the crucial Negro vote.

Unhappily, Negro editors and publishers in this connection have not been as alert as they should be. I understand that only about 30 have written to the Postmaster General, Arthur Summerfield, endorsing the special stamp, although there are almost 200 Negro editors. They should all back it with strong statements and they should do it NOW.

■

SIMILARLY, those who head the Courier and other Negro newspapers should at least write a couple of postcards apiece (one to Summerfield and the other to President Eisenhower) urging that this recognition be given to the Negro press. There is too much competition in every field these days to sit by and wait for goodwill and fairplay to assert themselves.

Of course I know that the Negro newspapers are nowhere popular—except among Negroes, because they have hit too annoyingly hard in fighting the Negroes' battle for the past 130 years.

Views and Reviews . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier P. 9 Pittsburgh, Pa. 12-29-57

MUCH has been said about almost every kind of jim crow except the intellectual type: that is, the widespread belief that Negroes should write and lecture about Negroes, here or abroad, but scarcely about anything else. To most white folks it seems incongruous for a Negro to write or talk about communal strife in India, loose sexual morals in Scandinavia, slavery in medieval England, Far Eastern diplomacy, witchcraft in Hungary or the Asiatic origin of Eastern European Jews. It seems odd to them for a Negro intellectual to be an authority or even be well informed on any subject except the Negro, the race problem and perhaps Africa, on each or all of which he may be woefully misinformed or ignorant. On the other hand, white intellectuals can be expert and authoritative on any subject and it is not regarded as strange at all.

Mr. Schuyler

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I CONFESS that in my time I have delivered at least 500 talks but can recall extremely few instances where I was asked to discuss anything not dealing with the Negro and the related subjects of color discrimination, segregation, slavery, etc., etc., world without end. Amen! This was especially true of white audiences where, even if I was talking on some subject quite remote from the usual one expected, someone was almost sure to ask about miscegenation before the question period was over. Even at foreign conferences it is expected that the Negro delegates will choose such subjects as "The Negro and the Elephant," "The Negro Struggle to Look Like White Folks," "Growing Up in Dothan, Ala.," or "The Emergent Urban Negro and His Annual Consumption of Old Jump Steady."

■

MOREOVER, I have found certain white intellectuals quite taken aback when I have sharply differed with them publicly on such diverse subjects as "Senator McCarthy, "Fifth Amendment Communists," the "Marvels of the Roosevelt Era," the nonsense about "Anti-Intellectualism" in America (as if it existed nowhere else), capitalism versus socialism, and alleged U. S. isolationism.

Some years back I was dubbed "intermittently anti-Semitic" by a Jewish intellectual. Why? Because I dared to discuss Zionism and Israel, and the origins of conflict in the Middle East. Why shouldn't a Negro write about these matters? Even Jews sharply differ on them, but when a Negro does, there are many to take umbrage and throw the meaningless propaganda term "anti-Semite" at him—meaningless because Semite is a century-old linguistic reference, like Aryan, and applies to the entire Middle East people and many in Africa.

Having almost broken the racial shackels on the body, we now must break them on the mind.

Views and Reviews . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier P. 9 Pittsburgh, Pa. 1-26-57

WHAT is behind the determined and hysterical drive to "liberalize" the McCarran-Walter Immigration law to enable a stream of Europeans to enter this country? It certainly does not arise from any need of more people in this country which already has a rate increase greater than any other. Our population has risen from 100 million to 170 million in less than 60 years, and the country is already overcrowded.

Mr. Schuyler

It does not not arise from any shortage of labor here, for already we are threatened with the spectre of unemployment when the present phony prosperity tapers off as it will before the year is out. It certainly does not arise from any surplus of housing because there are still millions of Americans in cramped, obsolescent quarters while many, new expensive homes are crying for buyers because ordinary folk cannot afford them. Housing for them will have to be erected at the expense of already over-burdened American taxpayers.

AND YET the present Administration has joined the hue and cry for more European immigrants! So far as I have been able to ascertain there is no great demand on the part of the bulk of Americans for letting down the immigration bars, and certainly no such demand from colored Americans. The demand seems to come chiefly from a minority which wants to supply a haven for European refugees who weary of fighting for freedom in their homelands. It is noteworthy that these advocates do not clamor for refugee immigrants from any but white countries. It has never been suggested that poor, downtrodden, homeless and hungry Asian and African refugees be invited. Have any of these advocates of a "liberalized" McCarran-Walter Act urged that the 900,000 Palestinian refugees be admitted without sponsors as were the fleeing Hungarians, many of whom are Communists and the remainder Socialists?

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HAS ANYONE suggested that the million refugees in Hong Kong who escaped from Red China's butchery be brought to the Land of the Free? And what of the hapless Kikiyu people vegetating in Kenya concentration camps? Is there a home here for them. Not at all. They are the "wrong" color.

European immigration has never been helpful to the American Negro historically and is not now, either economically or socially. The economic position of the free Negro deteriorated progressively with the increase in European immigration from the 1830's onward. As early as the 1850's, New York Negroes were holding meetings bemoaning the loss of jobs to white immigrants, and a century after the first big rush from Europe, the Negroes were hanging precariously on the economic fringes. Now just as they are beginning to get out of the barrel, a drive is launched to bring in another swarm of impoverished Europeans to take away the better jobs secured.

Views and Reviews . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier p. 9
Sat. 2-16-57
Pittsburgh, Pa.

IF YOU want to smoke out the hollowness of the white critics of the illiberality of Dixiecrats on racial desegregation, just put them on the spot, and "see how they run." Take the great City of New York where there are more professing liberals per square yard than any place in the world. For the past year there has been a whole lot of soul-searching among the professional liberals (or gliberals) about the existence of what amount to segregated racial schools despite the Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decree. Organizations were set up to view the situation with alarm and to prescribe an "out" to end the heinous situation. It was determined that the two roadblocks to desegregation were zoning and non-rotation of teachers. If districts could be rezoned so that there would be Negro and white children included in each zone, and if teachers could be rotated so they would not be able to duck working in Siberia (non-white areas), desegregation of New York schools would become a fact rather than a theory.

Mr. Schuyler

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SO, A MONTH ago a big meeting was held at the Board of Education attended by scores of parents, civic and welfare and teachers organizations to launch the desegregation drive. Much sweetness and light prevailed, and everybody was for ending segregation "in principle," but when it came right down to cases, the only teachers' group that was for the rotation system in teacher assignments was the Negro Teachers Association! All the other teacher groups (white) were against it and they gave dozens of reasons why it was awfully bad to compel teachers to serve in all parts of the city (like firemen and policemen) rather than in certain selected neighborhoods far from the colored brethren.

ALTHOUGH THIS is a period when Negro organizations and associations are falling all over themselves to take racial identity out of their names, the militant Negro teachers of the community had the temerity to call themselves the **Negro** Teachers Association because they knew well the hypocrisy and insincerity of the white-controlled teacher groups and were aware that the latter were just shadow boxing, even though all of them have some colored members and all give lip service to sweetness, light and fairplay.

Most of the professional liberals who are all for the most drastic measures to compel desegregation mainly live far-away from Negroes and Puerto Ricans, so they can view integration academically. On the other hand, the white teachers and principals are in the position of having to back up integration physically as well as vocally, and they want no part of it. I doubt that the situation is different in other big centers outside the South. Where are the exceptions?

Views and Reviews . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier p. 9
Sat. 3-2-57
Pittsburgh, Pa.

A thunderous clamor against colonialism by newly liberated lands has rent the welkin during the past decade and been augmented by similar outcries from older states that were once colonies. Because of the principal powers holding colonies have been and still are white, the propaganda against them has taken on the tone of anti-whitism.

Mr. Schuyler

Scarcely a day has passed since 1946 that some spokesman for one or the other of these countries has not risen in the General Assembly of the United Nations or in one of the many committees and sung the old refrain. Naturally this has struck a responsive chord in Aframerica, an internal colony yearning for freedom and integration (but not autonomy) and wielding considerable political power in the USA.

UNFORTUNATELY, these various delegations coming to the United Nations and to Washington seem to have been brainwashed on the matter of color more effectively than most colored Americans.

This is shown by the way they **act** rather than the way they talk. In the first place, it takes quite a bit of time for them to learn that there are prominent U. S. citizens who happen to be colored and to whom overtures should be made socially. Other than members of other colored countries' delegations, there are few dark faces to be seen at their diplomatic parties. This goes alike for non-white countries in Asia, Africa and South America. Indeed, the blunt fact is that they shun black Americans of prominence.

There are 1,000,000 U. S. colored in the New York City area, many of them exceedingly important, but I've gone to affairs of the so-called darker countries where there wasn't a single Negro present.

■

EVEN WORSE, while all of these countries hire Americans to handle public relations and advise on legal questions, paying out scores or hundreds of thousands of dollars yearly, U. S. qualified colored are completely blacklisted. There are many well-qualified U. S. Negro publicity people and certainly scores of colored lawyers who could serve these delegations and embassies as satisfactorily as white ones, but none of these countries that denounce colonialism has seen fit to hire any of these dark Americans.

It even goes so far that rarely does one find a U. S. colored stenographer or clerk in the offices of these foreign delegations which otherwise swarm with U. S. white help. And this, mind you, at a time when some of the largest white American firms have Negroes working as secretaries, file clerks, bookkeepers, librarians, chemists, physicists, architects, lawyers, etc.

I fear that some of these colored delegations who denounce colonialism and color prejudice "ain't ready" to practice what they preach.

View's and Reviews . . . . . By George S. Schuyle

Courier Sat. 3-2-57
Pittsburgh, Pa.

THE forthcoming Declaration of Independence of Ghana and the widespread comments on that country and its prospects of success, further strengthen the strong impression of wishful thinking in journalistic circles. While "hope" is expressed that everything will turn out all right when the Gold Coast politicians assume full power, there are expressions of misgiving because (a) illiteracy is so high, (b) because there is no unanimity of opinion among the various factions, (c) because sections vary in their degree of Western acculturation, (d) because there is an insufficiently trained governmental class to guarantee high ethical standards, because (e) the country is largely dependent upon one crop, cocoa, etc., etc.

Mr. Schuyler

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IN CASE ANY of the colored brethren have been disturbed by these thinly veiled notes of pessimism which seem to harbor a wish that Ghana will goof, permit me to set their minds at rest. Illiterary is no greater in Ghana than in India, China, Pakistan, Brazil, Haiti, Egypt, Siam or a dozen other sovereign states I could name and which are going concerns. Inca Peru built ships, palaces, forts, bridges and dams, and successfully administrated one of the world's largest empires from 4,000 B. C. to the arrival of Pizarro, and yet the people were totally illiterate! The Ashanti ruled the Gold Coast for centuries before the British took over and were totally illiterate!

There is no complete unity in any nation on earth. Not in Britain where the Scots and Welsh still dream of regaining lost autonomy. Not in Belgium where Walloons and Flemings are constantly at loggerheads. Not in the U. S. A., where factionalism and regionalism is rife. Nor in Soviet Russia where the Kremlin trembles at the spectre of internal revolt. Similarly "civilization" varies everywhere.

THE FEAR for the absence of high ethical standards among Ghana government personnel comes with ill grace from a country like the U. S. A., where grafting, bribing, racketeering and crime are rife in the bureaucracy. Chiseling is inherent in politics regardless of race or color, and will occur in Ghana, as elsewhere.

In being largely a one-crop country, Ghana will certainly be economically vulnerable, but so are a score of other lands. Britain and all Western Europe are vulnerable because of reliance largely upon industrialism for whose products there is now a deficiency of markets. Without U. S. A. "loans" from 1946 onward, not a single Western Europe government would have survived. Nor would the Japanese, Nationalist Chinese, Greek or Italian regimes, to name just a few.

Being rich, prosperous, homogeneous and having had Western schooling for a century, I don't think Ghana has much to worry about—as long as the young Nkrumah-led Socialists panting for totalitarian rule can be restrained.

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

Courier p. 9

Pittsburgh, Pa.

AS the late and lamented Rev. John Jasper preached, "The Sun Do Move!" I see where the Negro Masons of New York State, 50,000 strong, but divided into a dozen or more lodges, are seriously deciding to unite. Through the years they have dissipated their energies by splintering their forces, although, to paraphrase Gertrude Stein, a Mason is a Mason, whether in Maine or California, whether Filipino or American, whether blue or blonde, whether Christian or Jew. What has been hampering the unification of these various Masonic groups has been (as my friend, Julius J. Adams puts it so well) "narrowness, misplaced ambition, misguided leadership and false pride." And yet, the Masons have been doing many good works, even though divided. They emphasize charity, and under their social service programs, many provide day care for children of working mothers; medical, legal and other aid to needy members and their families, and engage in many other benevolent projects for their members in particular and the community in general.

Mr. Schuyler

Sat. 6-15-57

IT HAS LONG been clear, and expressed by numerous Masons, that all that they have been doing could be done better if their forces were unified. Like Mark Twain said about the weather: "Everybody talked about it but nobody did anything about it," until Isaac O. Huffman, Ohio-born Most Worshipful Grand Master of the Enoch Grand Lodge, and Alan A. Dalton, North Carolina-born opposite number of the Universal Grand Lodge, got together and compared notes in Brooklyn, N. Y., where both lodges are headquartered. They arrived at the obvious conclusion that unity was not only possible but desirable, and they are taking the first concrete step on June 2 at Brooklyn's Concord Baptist Church in an unprecedented joint observance of St. John's Day. These two lodges are ready to unite, but they are working to get the other numerous lodges to join in similar events to speed the march toward Masonic unity. The various New York grand lodges own property valued at more than $2 million dollars. The aggregate wealth of all the grand lodges in the United States must be tremendous.

■

SIGNIFICANTLY enough, it has been found that the rank-and-file members are more enthusiastic about unity than the leadership, which means that in time the latter will have to yield on this issue. If there is sufficient wisdom among the leadership of all the Negro grand lodges in the nation to unite, the combination of membership and capital will, it is hoped, make possible such programs as the construction of housing projects, office buildings and other commercial and financial enterprises. Among the black Masons are to be found the most intelligent and alert members of our group. They have it within their power to do an immense amount of good for themselves and for all of us.

The WORLD TODAY

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Courier p. 10

Sat. 6-29-57

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Little publicized is the world struggle going on between the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the Moscow-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions to capture the scores of new Asian and African labor unions. The WFTU is playing up to these new unions by stressing colonialism and placing the ICFTU Congress in Tunis. The outcome could be more inflammatory than Bandung or Suez.

■

Threats of the African National Congress to boycott "certain firms and financial institutions set up and supported by Nationalist (Boer) politicians for the specific purpose of advancing the Nationalist cause," have Nationalist business men worried. The ANC has been joined by the Indian Congress, the Congress of Trade Unions, the Colored People's organization and the Congress of Democrats (white). Non-whites spend more than 25 per cent of the South African national income, and the increasing Boer-controlled business is largely dependent upon their trade. This consideration could soften up apartheid.

■

Supreme Court's ruling supporting a lower court's decision striking down Louisiana's school placement law. This decision has the WCC-KKK element walking in circles crying: "What to do, what to do?"

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

Courier p. 9

Sat. 6-29-57

Pittsburgh, Pa.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON probably never expected that long, after his passing his most dedicated disciple, Sidney J. Phillips, would perform such prodigies in keeping his memory and ideals alive. This comes to mind this week when some 10,000 people are attending a Booker T. Washington Centennial Festival on the Land Use Project at Tuskegee, Ala.

Mr. Schuyler

This festival is bringing to a close the year-long campaign (subsidized unanimously by Congress last year with a $225,000 appropriation) during which the Booker T. Washington Centennial Commission, headed by Mr. Phillips, has utilized pamphlets, advertisements, reprints of Washington's "Up From Slavery" and other means to popularize the philosophy and achievements of the Great Educator.

■

ONE OF MR. PHILLIPS' first achievements was the purchase and reconstruction of the plantation, big house and cabin where Washington was born, as a memorial to him. He got a post office established there, a museum and a model farm. Then came the establishment of the Booker T. Washington Trade School at Roanoke which trained hundreds of young Negroes in trades that enabled them to make a better living by meeting competition in auto mechanics, radio, television, building construction, typing, bookkeeping and other useful pursuits.

Meanwhile he conceived, promoted and won unanimous Congressional approval for the B. T. Washington memorial half dollars and the later Washington-Carver commemorative coins. These sold a tremendous total of 3,500,000, which netted the U. S. Mint more than $1,000,000, with sales in every part of the United States. These coins had a greater sale than any other memorial coin ever issued. It was this tremendous accomplishment that undoubtedly convinced Congress of the desirability of entrusting to Mr. Phillips an appropriation of $225,000 for the year-long centennial celebration. Incidentally, this sum was just about one-quarter of the profit made from the sale of the Washington-Carver memorial half dollars. While this sum was going on, he was the leader in getting Congress to pass legislation establishing the Booker T. Washington National Monument at a cost of $200,000 at the latter's birthplace in Franklin County, Va.

■

ADDITIONALLY, he got the Post Office Department to issue the Booker T. Washington 3-cent stamp sold in all U. S. post offices; got the Department of the Interior to establish a monument and memorial to the late agricultural genius, Dr. George Washington Carver, at his Diamond, Mo., birthplace, and printed for national distribution tens of thousands of pamphlets on the "Negro and Communism." He also got Virginia to name a state highway after Washington.

I think this series of accomplishments in the brief span of the post-war period is unsurpassed in our history, and yet most so-called and self-proclaimed Negro leaders have either ignored it or knocked it. Even the bulk of the Negro newspapers (with whom a quarter of the $225,000 centennial fund was spent for advertising) have been silent about it!

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

Courier p. 9

Sat. 6-29-57

Pittsburgh, Pa.

AS STATED last week, there is some considerable doubt in my mind about the efficacy of the hurricanes of hogwash about interracial brotherhood, goodwill and cooperation. Certainly, the results have not been so promising as to warrant undue optimism. I therefore suggest that we stop exercising our tonsils for a spell and start using our brains. The less said about interracial understanding and cooperation until 1977, the better. This may be hard on the professional race hustlers of all colors and creeds, but I think a cessation of their chatter would be welcomed by all. I for one would welcome not hearing about so-called integration for a long time because I lost all appetite for mythology long ago.

Mr. Schuyler

WHAT WILL get the colored brother more respect and acceptance than a planet-load of pamphlets from the race-savers will be more canny use of his great economic potential, more disciplined and intelligent strategy by his existing institutions and organizations, more long-range community programs for stopping the tremendous social waste of illegitimacy, delinquency, profligacy and criminality and a stronger group emphasis on the kind of education and training needed in this age of Giant Power.

We should settle in our minds that there is always going to be a Negro community here which will not be obliterated by any tidal wave of intermixing and intermarriage, wishful thinkers to the contrary notwithstanding. We should plan accordingly and give direction to the masses of colored who are now confused and frustrated because bereft of statesmanlike leadership. Long ago the Jews' leaders understood this and laid down policies which have sustained their people in the face of horrible adversities despite which they are more strong and prosperous than ever.

■

THIS SUGGESTS a change in tactics and strategy to accompany a changed objective. Rather than attempts to abolish the Negro church by integration, it should unite into a single body, revolving meaningless denominational differences and cutting away some of its useless deadweight. Congressman Adam Powell has spoken about the church leading a Third Force in politics,

but from what I can see around me today, it would lead the Negroes astray. Or perhaps I should say farther astray.

The most sensible and realistic move for Negroes today would be to get out of both Republican and Democratic parties (whose uselessness to them has been proved) and frankly set up a Negro party. Its forces united, it could really have bargaining power in local, state and national affairs. The only thing wrong with block voting is that we haven't tried it!

Views and Reviews . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier P. 9

Sat. 8-3-57 Pittsburgh Pa.

ALTHOUGH I was not born yesterday and have been trying to keep abreast of world affairs since avidly reading daily accounts of the Russo-Japanese War, I must confess that I had scarcely gauged the full depths of cynical international skullduggery until I recently read two background books on the Middle East mess. One is "There Goes the Middle East," by Alfred M. Lilienthal (New York: Devin-Adair, 330 p., $4), and the other is "Guilty Men: 1957," by Michael Foot and Merwin Jones (New York: Rinehart, $1.95). Mr. Lilenthal is a former American diplomat, and Messrs. Foot and Jones are British Laborites. Mr. Foot is best known for his withering satire, "The Trial of Mussolini," which I enjoyed immensely. He is editor of Aneurin Bevan's Tribune.

Mr. Schuyler

MR. LILENTHAL'S thesis is that U. S. diplomatic policies in the Middle East have practically handed the area over to the Russian Bolsheviks by alienating the 42 million Arabs residing there through coddling a small but powerful element forcibly thrust in their midst, thus displacing the rightful residents in the most callous and shameful manner.

The Foot-Jones thesis is that inept Franco-British ruling politicians, hoping vainly to recapture the "glorious" days of pre-World War I imperialism, lied, double-crossed and goofed their way into the unprovoked tripartite attack on Egypt, and then had to ignominiously extricate themselves when Eisenhower and the Kremlin cracked the whip. This confirmed their second-rate status. The British Tories are hit hard, but the others are not spared. The two books together are eye-opening. Neither has been displayed or pushed by the big bookstores and reviews have been sparse. You will understand why when you read them.

WHAT IS most disturbing about "There Goes the Middle East" is its revelation of the lengths to which U. S. politicians, publishers, private organizations, religious groups, radio and television have gone to get across a biased, lying, crooked picture of the Middle East crisis in general and the Suez fiasco in particular. There is a whole gallery of these conspirators, including Truman, Dewey, Lehman, Eleanor Roosevelt and a whole raft of New-Fair Dealers. You will be amazed, then frightened, by the manner in which all this has been accomplished through a solar system of rabid and relentless organizations and economic and political pressure.

The smearing of opponents surpassed anything of which Senator McCarthy was charged. After reading Lilenthal's book (which was turned down by six publishers!), with its indisputable facts and figures, you simply cannot ever again feel like trusting our "free" press, radio and TV, or "our" spokesmen who piously mouth the claptrap and catch phrases of "liberalism."

The WORLD TODAY

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Courier Pittsburgh Pa. Sat. 8-3-57

William Wallace, Negro former FBI undercover man, testified that a handful of Communist officials of the United Electrical Workers Union precipitated a 168-day strike against Singer Sewing Machine Co. that cost the company, the workers and Elizabeth merchants $54 million. This helps dispose of the argument that because there are only a few Communists, they are harmless. The CIO booted out this Red-controlled union in 1949.

The House having amended the pending school construction bill specifying no Federal control of the schools the Government will help build, your income taxes will help perpetuate racial segregation in the South regardless of the Supreme Court decree. How do you like that?

Views and Reviews . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier Pittsburgh Pa. 8-2-57

IF NEGRO leadership had the political acumen to organize a civil rights party and get the necessary signatures to get it on the ballot in all states where there is an appreciable number of registered Negro voters, it would get more results patronage-wise and in political jockeying than does the present system. Presently in a hypothetical city there are, say, 50,000 Negro votes but these are divided between the Republicans and Democrats, thus weakening the Negroes' forces and hence their power. As it it, Negroes in this assumed city only become aldermen, Councilmen, State Legislators and Congressmen out of districts where Negro voters predominate (largely because of residential jim-crowism, which is as prevalent in the North as in the South). In districts where they are far in the minority, they get nothing by election or appointment. If there are a half-dozen cities today where this isn't true, I'd like to know what they are.

Mr. Schuyler

ON THE other hand, a Civil Rights party supported by Negroes (and whatever whites wanted to join—which would be few) would be able to command Negroes' votes wherever they resided. Thus in New York City, with a million Negroes and a half-million Puerto Ricans (most of whom are tarbrushed—some deeply), a Civil Rights party would almost automatically become as important as the Democrats and far more important than the Republican or Liberal parties.

To be sure, a few Demo-Repo political hacks and Uncle Toms (with apologies to Uncle Tom who said he **wouldn't** sell his soul!), would lose their jobs. So what! Negroes after the first election would get all sorts of jobs they never had before, both elective and appointive, which would not only bring more money, power and prestige to the group, but more of the little jobs Negroes are not getting now save in small numbers. With the "liberals" and "tolerant" whites fleeing the center of the city in vast numbers before the onrushing hordes of non-whites, a Civil Rights party could soon have controlling voice in ruling the richest political prize with tens of millions in "honest" graft which Negro political stooges now never see.

■

AS IN New York, so also in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis and a dozen other large Negro centers in neither of which is residential segregation going to be broken down this generation. Even if by some miracle it is, Negro will still have plenty of problems which a powerful political group like a Civil Rights party could and would do something about. Of course, this would not be integration (which is an illusion at best) but it certainly would be intragation, which is a prime necessity today.

OLD BAD EGYPT gave out 20,578 acres to landless peasants last week. Since 1952, land held by those owning five acres or less has risen from 15 to 50 per cent. This must be another of Nasser's "plots"!

The alleged Haitian dictatorship will hold general elections on the basis of universal suffrage in September, with women voting for the first time. When will our Deep South catch up to "backward" Haiti?

■

MORRIS ERNST, the great "liberal" lawyer of the American Civil Liberties Union, eagerly grabs a fat ($100,000) fee to whitewash the Dominican Government in the Galindez scandal. It will be recalled that Trujillo ordered the slaughter of thousands of Haitian plantation workers in 1937, which Ernst was not interested in investigating, there being nothing in it!

Remember how that other "liberal" laywer, Clarence Darrow, grabbed a fat fee to defend the murderers of a Hawaiian youth in the '30s. He apologized to Walter White that he did it because he needed the money!!

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

LAUDABLE is the expressed determination of some 500 Negro ministers in New York City and a large number in the South to spur the registration of colored voters. If the pastors of the 30,000 or more Negro churches were equally determined, the colored vote would be vastly increased, at least in the urban South.

Mr. Schuyler

At the same time the Tuskegee economic boycott reportedly continues and others are threatened, with the goal of ending political and economic discrimination on racial grounds.

Simultaneously come revelations of the "enslavement" of largely unskilled colored urban industrial workers by so-called "paper" unions headed by racketeers who, ominously, seem to have close connections with "respectable" and "liberal" labor leaders of good repute.

■

AS USUAL, Negro leadership seems to be sadly unwitting of its way. Nowhere does it seem to think fundamentally, so its tactics and results obtained are superficial. Full suffrage is a laudable ambition and a desirable goal, but it is not enough. Politics is simply a reflection of economics which determines its direction and effectiveness. Thus, a Rockefeller with only one vote is more influential than millions of voters with no economic stake.

The mass of Negro voters would have their influence tremendously enhanced if all the preachers would launch a drive to set up a consumers' cooperative society in each of their congregations with a credit union on the side. With a cooperative store and a credit union, a congregation could control its consumption and its credit, and get all the chiseling storekeepers and loan sharks off the black people's backs. Had the Negroes of Tuskegee done this years ago, there would be no white businesses in Tuskegee to boycott.

■

AS TO THE "enslavement" of Negro workers by labor unions, here is another area where Negro leadership has failed. This column has repeatedly pointed out through the years that what colored workers need is an organization comparable to the Jewish Labor Committee and the Italian Chamber of Labor to work within the labor movement to stop racially discriminative practices and prevent the "enslavement" now exposed by the McClellan committee. Nothing was done except to get big labor leaders on the boards of the Urban League and NAACP, to what advantage I do not know.

What was needed was a protective organization consisting of Negroes already union members (and now numbering 1,500,000) which could effectively fight within the labor unions on the assumption that white members and officials were not a band of angels dedicated to sweetness, light, justice and fairplay. It is still needed, but try to find it?

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

Courier P. 8

IT IS NOTED that the Citizens Improvement Committee of Memphis has urged local Negroes to stop buying the Commercial Appeal, the leading daily newspaper, because of "degrading editorials against organizations seeking to improve the status of Negroes" and also because it refuses the honorific Mrs. when referring to married Negro women.

Mr. Schuyler

To again emphasize the obvious, I should like to comment that boycotting is a superficial and usually futile counter-attack. It is an admission of ignorance of/or failure to utilize intelligent public relations which generally characterizes Negro so-called leadership. The true history of boycotting should warn against resorting to it. Moreover, it can be a boomerang, especially where the boycotters have meagre economic resources: economic, political or intellectual. The failure of the United Automobile Workers to boycott the Kohler Company (plumbing fixtures) out of business after several years and millions of dollars expended, should be carefully considered.

■

INSTEAD OF attacking the Commercial Appeal, the Memphis Citizens Improvement Committee should use its large circulation to counteract its policies. There should be a public relations fund established with contributions from Negro businesses, churches, fraternal organizations, professional people, labor organizations and private individuals and social groups, which would be large enough to buy substantial space in the newspaper each week for a year. Then, a skilled advertising firm or representative should be hired to prepare fetching advertising copy which would inform, but not offend, white Commercial Appeal readers. Since this daily circulates widely within a radius of 200 miles, such displays would reach an extremely wide audience. An astute copy writer would be able to prepare palatable messages which would rub the fur of the savages the right way and subtly "sell" them on the worth, contributions and ideals of the colored brethren.

■

CLEARLY, THE Africs will to change the minds of the surrounding and controlling whites, and I submit that this is done more easily and effectively by administering honey instead of vinegar, by aiming more at the cerebrum than the cerebellum, by spurring doubt rather than strengthening convictions. Moreover, an understanding of the economics of journalism convinces anybody of intelligence that newspapers rarely refuse lucrative paid copy and are usually disposed to alter editorial policies in the direction of consistent advertisers whose copy is inoffensive. This does not argue resort to apologetics or appeasement. We should aim at dividing and "capturing" the forces opposed to us, instead of solidifying and antagonizing them. This can be done in a proud, manly and reasonable manner. Why not try it?

Views and Reviews . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

BOOKER T. Washington, whom our "intellectuals" have sought to play down, denigrate and dismiss, was wiser than they because he understood the fundamental basis of this (or any other) society: i.e., money, property and industrial know-how, and urged Negroes to acquire it. For a couple of generations his "educated" detractors sneered at Negro business enterprise while loudly urging the creation of a Talented Tenth (most of whom could only secure employment in Negro business or educational institutions!). Thus, when great industrial and commercial opportunities came to Negroes from 1940 onward, only a small number was able to take advantage of them. Even worse, there was no concerted campaign of education carried on to that end. What was carried on was a campaign to counteract discrimination and segregation. This is all right as far as it goes but it is pointless for a horde of industrial and commercial ignoramuses. The U. S. Marines used to have a slogan, "If you don't know, you're dead," and it is as true with civilians as it is with soldiers.

Mr. Schuyler

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FROM 50,000 pulpits largely cretin colored clergymen have been miseducationg their flocks with ill-digested propaganda about freedom and rights (when not spouting pointless gabble about holy writ), but almost none has stated the obvious truth that an ignorant, unorganized, pauperized group will always remain on the bottom, regardless of liberal laws or what John said.

The Montgomery bus boycott might have been a noble experiment but now that it has been "won" (by a legal decision gained by NAACP action), so what? Montgomery Negroes could have owned the bus company without doing all that walking if they had used their heads instead of their feet and their tonsils. Similarly, the Tuskegee boycott failed of its purpose because the "intellectuals" there had ignored the teachings of the founder and had built up no Negro businesses in and around Tuskegee to amount to anything. There never would have been any white businesses in and around Tuskegee to finance the White Citizens Council and the Ku Klux Klan if Negro leadership had not been "distressingly unwitting of its way," to quote my friend A. Philip Randolph.

■

WHEN YOU stage a boycott you should be able to offer the people alternative places at which to buy products or services, or be able to take over establishments whose policies are offensive. When we stage a boycott, we can only offer the people suffering and privation because we do not understand their economic and financial potential, and have failed to educate or organize them. It is pathetically futile to yammer that "I'm as good as anybody else" when it is patently untrue. What makes you "good" or "bad" is organized economic power, which we don't have.

Views and Reviews . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

IT IS certainly an occasion to give thanks when 500 Negro Baptist preachers foregather in conference to discuss the consumer dollar and how to wake their flocks up to the meaning of it all, as was done at Harlem's Metropolitan Baptist Church on a recent Monday. It means that a significant minority of colored ministers are thinking seriously about their responsibilities as leaders of 250,000 Negroes in their community. On that occasion they'd informed speakers and discussed what their people could do to get out of the clutches of loan sharks and how they could retain a larger portion of the dollars that run through the average Negro community like the Nile through Egypt.

Mr. Schuyler

■

HAVING BEEN harping on this very thing for over 30 years in this same space, I should like to say again that unless this problem is solved, no other of the Negro's problems will be solved. Equal rights laws mean little unless a group has capital which can be used strategically and tactically. Negroes have that capital but cannot or do not have it in a form that can be used to their larger advantage.

As a remedial step, I would suggest that each one of these 500 New York Negro Baptist preachers proceed immediately to establish a credit union among his flock (if they do not have one already), and start preaching the gospel of weekly savings, no installment buying, and borrowing only through the church credit union. This would automatically get the loan sharks and gypsters off these Negroes' backs. Each church could have a credit union in operation before Easter, if desired.

■

THE NEXT step should be a campaign of preaching about the philosophy and practice of consumer cooperation. The U. S. Government has numerous books and pamphlets on the subject and so have the various state governments. They cost only a few cents or perhaps can be secured free through office-holding politicians. Each church should have both sermons and classes on consumer cooperation. This sort of thing is just as important as Sunday school, perhaps more so, because it is dealing with the living present instead of the dead past. To objectors, a preacher could quote Jesus: "To him that hath shall be given. To him that hath not, even that which he hath shall be taken from him."

To set an example to their flocks, I think these 500 preachers (and those in other Negro communities) should set up a preacher-consumer cooperative and purchase from it the automobiles, gasoline, oil and garage services which they buy elsewhere. Assuming that each of these preachers has a car and will get a new one in a year or so, and that they buy gas, oil and services daily, it is easy to see what an enterprise this would be and what an example it would set to their followers.

Views and Reviews . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier 1.9

IT is very thrilling to learn that after staging a successful year-long bus boycott the Negro leaders of Montgomery, Ala., are now becoming more fundamental and have organized a credit union. One of the leaders, Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., has suggested that this sound step may set a pattern for other Negro communities to follow in helping to raise the economic level of Southern Negroes.

Pittsburgh Pa.

Mr. Schuyler

Sat. 3-9-57

Boycotts of whatever variety are historically very limited in their effectiveness and few of them have succeeded except psychologically. On the other hand, consumer cooperatives (including credit unions, retail establishments and wholesales) can emancipate the Negroes from the economic vice in which everywhere they find themselves. Moreover, it can be done without ballyhoo, threats, challenges and verbal attacks. While it is easy to "arouse the savages" with demogogic and vitriolic attacks, what do you do with them after the successful mass meetings are over. Usually you are nowhere.

■

ARE THE people in the clutches of loan sharks? You have only to set up a credit union for loans to small borrowers and you almost automatically put the sharks out of business and they will move out of the community.

Are the people being sold cheap, shoddy, damaged food and clothing (with the profits from the business leaving the community every Saturday night to be banked in institutions reluctant to accommodate Negroes)? You have only to organize a consumers' cooperative society and later set up a store to supply their needs, with the profits being divided among the purchasers on the basis of their purchases. If properly patronized (which is an educational job) there will soon be only Negro business institutions in the community. Food, clothing, furniture, utensils, shoes, gasoline, oil, garden equipment, paint and electrical appliances can all be supplied on this basis without denouncing anybody or waving empty guns. Is there need for new housing, a clinic, a playground or anything else required by the community? It can all be supplied by consumers cooperatives.

■

IT IS disgraceful negligence that our leading individuals and institutions, our newspapers, magazines and churches have failed to educate and organize our people to this end while concentrating on gaining citizenship rights (which mean nothing without economic power). Negroes in every community have it within their power to do this tomorrow. There is not a church that could not have a credit union, nor a neighborhood that could not have a cooperative store. If Negro leadership had not failed lamentably in this connection, we could sit back and laugh at the assorted Negrophobes who bedevil us.

The WORLD TODAY

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Courier 1.4

Pittsburgh Pa.

Sat. 3-9-57

Women eager to become recreation aides with the U. S. Army are being sought, if single and college graduates. Good jobs are available in Europe, the Orient, Panama, Hawaii, with pay from $3,670 to $5,440 yearly, with housing.

■

Gov. Orval E. Faubus of Arkansas, another white "liberal" has just signed four segregation laws after finding "nothing wrong" with them. Foolish Negro voters helped re-elect him!

Tennessee is sure to pass two anti-NAACP bills, forcing the association to disclose its membership. Thus the war is extended by the same people who wept over the Red attack on Hungary and moan over Egypt's attacks on Israel (but not vice versa).

■

John Kasper, segregationist extraordinary who used to pal with Negroes in Greenwich Village, is arrested again by Federal court order in Knoxville, Tenn. Nothing trivial, we trust!

■

Another country heard from against Federal civil rights legislation is (you guessed it!) Texas. Davis Grant, Texas Assistant Attorney General, has told the House Judiciary subcommittee that such laws are "bad."

■

The CME Church has asked Eisenhower to use his influence to end terror against Southern Negroes opposing segregation. No word on that from the White House!

Views and Reviews . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier 1.9

Pittsburgh Pa.

Sat. 3-23-57

IT is quite remarkable the number of people who have leaped upon the great African bandwagon in the last decade since the West lost Asia to communism. Organizations and publications now are springing up all over the place. Liberals, Socialists, Communists and conservatives are all giving the so-called Dark Continent a tremendous amount of attention because it has dawned upon them that without Africa, its products and materials Caucasiandom outside the Iron Curtain will find tough going. The capitalists want to control the business while the Socialists and Communists (practically the same) would capture labor and ultimately the governments that have risen or will soon rise.

Mr. Schuyler

■

HOW DIFFERENT it was years ago when most people outside of a few scholars and Garveyites were uninterested in Africa, and this included most Negroes, few of whom had been there or cared. The Reds were interested, of course, and early set up a European office presided over by George Padmore (until ousted by Zinoviev for being an African nationalist), and later by Otto Huiswoud, a Comintern hack from Suri[illegible]n. I recall how they lambaste[illegible]e when I went to Liber[illegible] 1931 as the first Negro fo[illegible] correspondent for a U. [illegible]aily newspaper (the New York Evening Post) and returned to write a series of articles illustrated with my own photographs telling the sad facts.

■

EVEN THE U. S. State Department has only recently seemed interested. In 1953 I urged the department to appoint a qualified person as a roving ambassador to establish first-hand contact with the leading blacks in the various areas which I envisioned as soon being independent. I suggested some qualified U. S. Negro (not myself because then, as now, I had no money—and an ambassador needs independent wealth), but this was brushed off. Now I note that Mr. Dulles has seen the light and is about to name a deputy undersecretary for African affairs. This is all to the good, even though he may name some black political hack or professor who has little or no knowledge of Africa but has several degrees and is regarded as safe. Quandary: Who will be ambassador to Ghana?

Any geopolitician could have foreseen the African future. Immediately after the Nazi-Communist alliance of August, 1939, (which I had prophesied for months before!) and the attack on Poland, I wrote in the Courier almost exactly what the outcome would be as it affected Africa and the rest of the colonial world. What I wrote monthly in The African during World War II and afterward substantiated the prophesy in progressive detail. We are now on the threshhold of even more portentous events.

The WORLD TODAY

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Courier 1.10

Pittsburgh Pa.

Sat. 4-6-57

Forget about a civil rights law being enacted this year. The Dixiecrats are still too strong (not that most of the Republicans are any too willing).

31a Negro

■

Civil Liberties Union launching a broadened campaign for Negro rights in the South, but saying little about the needed campaign in the North, East and West, where gains can actually be made. Anti-Defamation League doing its usual good job clocking Dixie changes but not doing much to change things outside the South where no bias laws prevail but the "system" still prevails.

■

Virginia, "Mother of Presidents," is becoming known as "Mother of Prejudice," but is not doing so well at it. Led by the redoubtable Senator Byrd, the whole Virginia upper political echelon has done everything possible to undermine the Supreme Court desegregation decision, but is still like the bear in the middle of Times Square—nowhere! Last week, for instance, the U. S. Supreme Court slapped down all of the legalistic gimmicks Virginia politicians concocted to delay desegregation. What will these S'uth'n Ge'men do now?

State Department hunting frantically for qualified Negroes to send to new nations in Africa, after Vice President Nixon returned blowing the whistle.

■

Israelis showing typical ingratitude by denouncing Dr. Bunche for allegedly being hornswoggled by look-alike Nasser. If you're not with those people 100 per cent, they call you an enemy!

■

Unmentioned has been the fact that the six-nation Western European economic alliance is actually designed for a full-scale exploitation of African resources. Plan is to give the blacks political autonomy but control them economically. It will work, too, because the blacks lack the capital and know-how. It's cheap to let the lads have a flag, a legislature, an Army and customs men.

Views and Reviews . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier P. 9

AN IRONICAL trend is that by the time the West Indies gets its full political freedom, the white folks will have them economically in the barrel. In the past ten years white people with means and a desire to get away from it all have been visiting the lovely islands of the Caribbean on vacation . . . every where they have found just what they were looking for: that is to say, salubrious climate, gorgeous greenery, enchanting beaches, cheap land and cheaper help. So years ago they began buying estates and building dream cottages. What a relief to leave the hurly burly of the metropolitan treadmills and go bask in lounge clothes on a tropical chaise lounge under a palm tree in Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, Antigua, Haiti or some of the smaller isles with a swarm of grinning black servants rushing to serve every need at a clap of the hands or a stentiorian "Boy!"

Mr. Schuyler

■

SO TODAY choice estates that could have been bought for a song right after World War II are now up 500 or 1,000 per cent, and the better beach sites are almost gone. Britons fleeing austerity and boasting a little nestegg have departed Blighty without regret and are bedded down in St. Lucia or one of the remote Bahamas feeling no pain. Even more Americans who have made their stack or live on a modest income, or do a little writing for the U. S. market have been finding the West Indies made to order for them. They have bought places, and even if they have to return reluctantly for a little while to replenish the larder, they either close up the house or rent it out until they have made another stack.

When you consider the high cost of living in Baltimore, Chicago or Los Angeles, what better place to retire on pension than a little bungalow in the mountains of Montserrat or on the beach in St. Kitts

■

SOON THERE will not be much choice space left. This is a pity because American Negroes have slept this bet. Thousands of our families have money enough to buy a very good place right now on Nevis, Tobago or in the Grenadines. Even couples on old age pension can make it rather easily because their incomes will be high for the islands.

There are semi-tropics under the Stars and Stripes but they are in jim-crow regions, and even then lots are almost all bought up. Down in the West Indies legal discrimination is "out"; one can go where and when one pleases, and the living is easy. Imagine Negroes wasting their time at expensive, so-called summer resorts (to say nothing of their money) when they can fly cheaply to the West Indies and summer in their own bungalow facing a long, white sandy beach? Mighty little income tax, too.

Well, places will not be available very long, so I just thought you'd like to be reminded.

Views and Reviews . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier P. 9

THE RECENT uproar over statements of Prof. Clennon King of Alcorn College in Jackson, Miss., daily newspaper, and remarks made by Manning Johnson before a Louisiana legislative committee help to spotlight the arrogance and reactionism which pervades the "liberal" labor ranks and much of the so-called intellectual community. Everybody who differs from the generally accepted "liberal" line or casts the slightest doubt on many of the questionable assumptions of the "advanced" group is subjected to worse name-calling and denunciation than that of which the much maligned Senator McCarthy was accused by the same people. It is saddening to find an increasing number of Negroes slavishly picking up this practice.

Mr. Schuyler

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I DO not have the text of what Professor King wrote nor the remarks which Manning Johnson made, but I gather from the vehemence with which they were received that they were not without a modicum of truth. But even if they contained no truth, it is the right of American citizens to say what they think. Otherwise we are rapidly going back to the 18th Century despotism, against which the authentic liberals of the time revolted and denounced with tongue and pen, and which is reactionism with a vengeance.

Unanimity of opinion is characteristic of savages, and civilization only advances as more and more people have the right to call wrong what the majority calls right, to point out that there are two or more sides to each question, to challenge the perfection of persons, programs and policies.

THE STRIKE of the Alcorn students was simple mob action whipped up, no doubt, by a handful of zealots who had learned bigotry better than their lessons. Apparently there were no thinking, analysis or discussion — just whooping, howling and blind action. It was a sorry spectacle.

So far as I have been able to learn, Manning Johnson was called by a committee of the Louisiana Legislature as an expert on communism and asked for his opinion of Rev. Martin Luther King, his philosophy, program and activities, as well as those of the NAACP. Mr. Johnson's view of both is dim and he said so in no uncertain terms, as in the past. Johnson had both a right and, from what I have heard, a point.

It would be catastrophic if Negroes unanimously agreed that boycotts and lawsuits were the main weapons to use in solving the racial problem. It would also be suicidal. Gandhi's tactics were not always effective in India and I doubt that they will ever be effective here. And of course to assume that law and justice are synonymous is being naive.

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

AN AREA of Negro advancement in which our organizations and institutions have individually and severally fallen down is in the intelligent direction of migration from the Southern Black Belt to the North, East and West, and from the big indigestible agglomorations of Negroes in the large cities to the smaller communities.

Mr. Schuyler

There are literally hundreds of towns and cities outside the Southern Black Belt could and would accommodate a few score Negro families, where there is little prejudice, only a small amount of color discrimination, practically no job bias, no residential problem, and good schools available. Unfortunately, an honest, hard-working, proud colored family eager to migrate from Jump Up, Miss., or Hogmaw, Ga., to a place of similar size in Iowa, Indiana, Pennsylvania or Oregon, has no information available. Consequently, it follows the well-beaten path to Chicago, Detroit or New York where the swarming of colored brethren is rapidly creating problems as difficult as those in much of the Corn Pone Belt. Similarly, a family eager to escape from the urban ghetto, doesn't know which way to turn.

■

THERE IS no agency to which it can turn for advice, knowledge or assistance. Such an institution could do much to speed Negro dispersion and advanvement, but neither the NAACP, the Urban League, the Elks, the Masons, the big Negro church organizations nor the fraternities have even considered such a service. Not a single Negro newspaper or magazine has ever conceived of such a service which should have been established 50 years or more ago.

Such an agency, if properly administered, would find out where Negroes could go, what they could get to do, where they could live, etc. Weekly or monthly reports could be sent to NAACP branches, local Urban Leagues, Negro churches of all denominations, fraternities, sororities, Elks' Rests, Masonic and Odd Fellow temples, and to all Negro newspers and magazines.

■

IF ANYTHING like this has ever existed, I haven't heard or read of it, and yet it is needed to stem this aimless wandering around that breaks up or divides families, makes for social rootlessness, encourages juvenile delinquency and crime, and transfers "The Problem" from one locale to another. All of our organizations and institutions are quite properly "all shook up" about civil rights; but we cannot get far always fighting and waiting for somebody to do something for us. We have to do equally as much concretely for ourselves. One way for our "new leadership" of Negro preachers to put the social gospel into practice would be some such agency as outlined. It could probably be operated for less than $100,000 a year.

Integrationist Says Churches Showing Way

Wed. 6-26-57

CINCINNATI, June 25 (AP) — A southern desegregation expert says he thinks "churches are taking the initiative in promoting desegregation and compliance with law and order."

Dr. Gordon W. Lovejoy, sociology professor of Guilford (N.C.) College and a writer and lecturer on racial problems, said that churchmen are telling their congregations:

"It's time you start practicing what you are professing."

Dr. Lovejoy, here to conduct a seminar at the University of Cincinnati on intergroup relations, said yesterday there are encouraging signs in his native South, including many jobs that now are desegregated.

He told a reporter that stores displaying stickers of white citizens councils — pro-segregation groups — are welcoming Negro trade and allowing Negroes "try-on" privileges for clothing — "a concession which you have to be a Southern Negro to appreciate."

Dr. Lovejoy said Negroes now vote in most areas "with a few spectacular exceptions" and are increasingly running for, and being elected to, public office.

He said integration is still far from advanced in the North. "There is a lot of job discrimination in the North," he said. "Integrated housing is rare, too.

"Its absence often leads to school districts that are as effectively segregated as if they were made so by law."

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

IT WAS with an immense feeling of relief and satisfaction that I received the glad tidings that President Eisenhower had ordered the Army into Little Rock and Federalized the jim-crow Arkansas National Guard. The tough paratroopers may soon be removed and the Negro children left to the tender mercies of the Arkansas mob, uniformed and otherwise; but at least Ike's action has scared the pants off the goons, gangsters and lawless law officers who run the South under the hypocritical guise of democracy. More importantly, the events precipitated by Faubus, the tool of the White Citizens Councils' leadership and the elder statesmen of Negrophobia, have effectively destroyed in the general public's mind the industriously cultivated fiction that Dixie is a cultured, civilized area. The photographs of hate-distorted visages, the impotence of the "best white people" and the apologetics of public officials for hoodlumism, vandalism and arson undid the prodigious labors of several generations of whitewashers of Southern savagery.

Mr. Schuyler

■

IKE'S SENDING the Army to Little Rock should not have been necessary because it should have been there already. Indeed, the Army should never have been removed because the elements that have dominated the South since the Civil War have not had any change of heart. Basically, they stand where they stood in 1861: disdainful of the Constitution, repudiating Federal authority, destructive of human rights and dignity. Most white Southerners, I believe, have changed, but the controlling element that terrorizes them with economic, social and legal reprisals has not changed.

The much advertized suffering the South experienced during and after the Civil War was the result of its own follies. It was roundly beaten in that war, as even the most ignorant might have predicted.

Treated magnanimously by the Victor, the South proceeded to re-enslave the Negroes, set up a subversive government and violate the terms of the surrender. This was why the Federal Government sent the Army to rule the Rebel states until 1878, because force is the only thing people who habitually use force can understand. I am firmly convinced that if the Federal Government had run the South by force until, say, 1910, disfranchising or jailing all those who flouted its mandates, the country would be far better off today.

■

THERE WOULD have been no jim-crow cars, no jim-crow labor unions, no jim-crow educational system, no jim-crow hospitals, no relegation of Negroes to hated racial ostracism. But the North, East and West would not do this because fundamentally they were little different from the South. They hated slavery which they had fought to smash, but they loved the Negro not at all.

Views and Reviews . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

Sat. 11-23-57
Courier, Pittsburgh, Pa. P. 8

THE ONLY unfortunate thing about the alleged campaign of those Georgia boys, A. A. Fowler and Roy Griffin, to embarrass Northern white integrationists by buying property near their swank homes and renting it to Southern Negroes, is that they don't plan to carry it out. Their inteniton is actually to use this "campaign" as a propaganda device in their fight against desegregation. Their "attempt" to raise money from fellow segregationists to purchase homes for Negroes in exclusive neighborhoods reeks with inconsistency; but aside from this they really have supplied Negroes with a weapon which they can effectively use, if they choose to do so. I have urged campaign upon our own leaders, but so far my counsel has not been heeded. Perhaps they will pay some attention to Messrs. Fowler and Griffin.

Mr. Schuyler

Courier Pittsburgh Pa.

Sat. 11-23-57

RESIDENTIAL covenants having been outlawed, white property owners in suburbia cannot effectively combine to keep Negroes out without running afoul of the law. What keeps Negroes out of these areas, then, is chiefly lack of money or scarcity of financial institutions whcih will make them a mortgage loan. Behind these reluctant financial organizations are the cabals of realtors seeking to keep certain areas exclusive: that is to say, white, and thus cashing in on racial snobbery. This has been done to a greater extent in the North, East and West than in the South. The overwhelming majority of Negroes cannot singly beat this combination, but collectively can easily do so, assuming they actually want to move into these garden areas on the outskirts of town.

■

THERE IS probably no community in the United States more overrun with fraternities, clubs, societies and churches than the Negro community. These groups are forever holding some sort of drive, dance, party or mass meeting for some endeavor, vain or otherwise. The money collected in this manner during the course of the year would be enough to build the Aswan Dam across the Nile or to provide every preacher in the country with a Rolls-Royce.

Even half this amount put into an investment trust organized for the purpose of breaking the racial residential barriers would put the segregationists to rout. If as much were spent on such an endeavor as we spend for beer each year ($500 million), a house could be bought in hundreds of subdivisions within a year's time, and the Nordic racists would have "no hidin' place."

P. 8

Will anything like this ever be quietly carried out by a few intelligent Negro leaders with substantial following in each of our communities across the country?

Views and Reviews . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier P. 8

Pittsburgh Pa.

Sat. 11-23-57

EVEN a cynic like the writer hoped that the colored brethren had learned much from the hectic events of the nearly four years since the U. S. Supreme Court had handed down its historic desegregation decision and the unreconstructed South began its counter-attack, but there is little indication of it.

Mr. Schuyler

It had seemed reasonable to assume that Negroes would have formulated some policies calculated to meet the problems posed, but actually we are following much the same course as in the past. When the Cracker pressure was put on Negro leaders in Mississippi (physicians, businessmen and teachers) and the NAACP called shrilly for a half-million dollars to be deposited in the Tri-State Bank in Memphis, not $400,000 was secured. Total Negro bank deposits in the USA run into the billions, but most of it is deposited in banks that gang-up with business, real estate and labor interests dedicated to keeping the Negro in "his place."

■

THE NEGRO is a heavy bank depositor, but he has no machinery for utilizing this fluid capital for his advancement as a group. There has not been a single new Negro bank started since May 17, 1954. The number of new Federal savings and loan associations is almost as small, and the number of new credit unions is negligible.

We wasted time, money and emotion staging a "Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington and we are now ballyhooing a much more laudable campaign to increase the number of registered Negro voters; but so far as I have been able to learn, there have been no conferences, pilgrimages or campaigns to alert and organize Negroes to their opportunities as consumers.

Negroes are eating every day the products of hundreds of producers who will not hire Negro workers or, if so, will not promote them. Similarly they are wearing the clothes, shoes and hats of manufacturers who are following the same labor policies, and using the furnishings of companies whose employment policies are lily-white.

■

THE CONSUMER has a tremendous weapon which is practically unbeatable, but to make it effective he has to be organized and educated, and this is not being done by any of our big organizations. This is the sort of job both the Urban League and the NAACP should have been doing for years, but have failed lamentably to do.

There have not been more than two speeches on this subject at a convention of either of these organizations for the past 40 years, and the reverend clergy (now busily trying to recapture the leadership they lost) have discussed it not at all. Our veritable multitude of fraternities, sororities and social clubs have ignored it, and yet it is the only weapon which we can effectively use.

Views and Reviews . . . . . By George S. Schuyler

Courier 1.9

THERE was something rather saddening about the NAACP resolution on politics at its recent Detroit convocation. It was as saddening as watching a voodoo ceremony is saddening because it carries one back to the infancy of the human race. The resolution warned the Democratic and Republican parties that they had better stop stalling and sincerely back civil rights. So suppose they don't (and who expects them to?), what then can Negroes in general and the NAACP in particular do about it?

Mr. Schuyler

The Republicans were challenged "to show that they are still the party of Abraham Lincoln" (who was as segregationist as Eastland and wanted the freedmen bundled off to some foreign strand), and were urged to unanimously "invoke cloture to limit debate" in the Senate (which they have never done and never will do). The Democratic party was beseeched "to demonstrate positively that it can carry out platform pledges on civil rights."

■

THIS, OF COURSE, is hogwash, depressingly familiar to those who know the confidence game the politicians have been playing with the colored brethren ever since the introduction of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill back in 1922. It is saddening hypocrisy to emit resolutions pretending that there is the remotest possibility these two gangs of political racketeers will do any more than they have done on implementing civil rights for Negroes.

What would have really made Nordica sit up and take notice as never before would have been an NAACP resolution urging Negroes to quit both the Republicans and Democrats and form, say, a Civil Rights party, which would proceed to get the necessary signatures to legalize the new party in the several states having large numbers of registered Negro voters, and so get it on the ballot. Then, where Negro voters had previously been divided between two parties (both with actual identical views on the colored "nuisance"), there would be a united black-and-tan front at the polls. Thus, a Civil Rights party would control all solidly Negro districts, and because of its numbers and power would be able to wrest more concessions from the Demo-Repo crowd than the same Negro vote can now with its forces split.

■

I.L.G.W.'s David Dubinsky has been able to wield great influence in New York politics precisely by forming a Liberal (yclept Socialist) party without whose support neither Democrats nor Republicans can win.

Such an NAACP resolution would have been sensational. It would have demonstrated real political maturity. A Civil Rights party would have merit as a political weapon. More about this anon.

These Days . . . . . .

By George E. Sokolsky

Post Times Herald
Washington, D.C.
Oct 10-57

The Supreme Court

FEW WILL QUESTION the scholarship of Charles Evans Hughes, although some may not agree with his conclusions. It was due to Chief Justice Hughes' leadership that the Supreme Court was saved from those who sought violently to alter its nature during the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Sokolsky

In his book, "The Supreme Court of the United States," Charles Evans Hughes establishes that the court has itself recognized that Congress has constitutional authority to limit the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

Hughes was delivering a lecture in 1927 and this is what he had to say on the subject:

". . . In 1868, in the difficult days of reconstruction, the Congress took away from the Court the appellate jurisdiction under the habeas corpus act of 1867, the bill being passed over the President's veto. This was done while an appeal in the celebrated McCardle case was actually pending in the Supreme Court, in which it was sought to test the validity of the reconstruction acts.

The Court unanimously decided that the Congress had deprived it of jurisdiction. The Court held that its appellate jurisdiction was derived from the Constitution but was subject to exceptions made by the Congress, and as the Congress had made a definite exception the Court must abide by it and was not at liberty to inquire into the motives of the legislature."

SUCH SENATORS as Wayne Morse of Oregon and Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania who have been warning their colleagues not hastily to interfere with the decisions of the Supreme Court in the Jencks and the Mallory cases, particularly the Jencks case which opens FBI files under certain conditions, are entitled to their point of view but they cannot ignore the authority of the Congress in the issue.

The essence of our Government by checks and balances, is that no one branch can establish itself as having uncontrolled authority. Somewhere there must be a check. For instance, while the Supreme Court may declare an act of Congress, signed by the President, unconstitutional, the President appoints the judges; the Senate ratifies the appointments and may withhold ratification and the Congress may withhold funds from the Court, leaving it derelict.

IT HAS BEEN suggested recently that the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court shall not be extended to cases in which the security of the United States is involved. The difficulty here is, what precisely is meant by security. The Rosenberg case was accepted by the Supreme Court as involving the security of the United States. So was the Hiss case. But the Supreme Court rejected that concept in the Jencks, the Watkins and the Service decisions.

Congress, if it sought to limit the appellate jurisdiction of the court on these grounds, would have to define security so strictly that there could be no misunderstanding by anyone. There is no such definition today anywhere in the law.

These Days . . . . . By George E. Sokolsky

31a White
Post & Times Herald Washington, D.C.
Wed. 8-28-57

New York's Segregation Problem

AT ANY RATE, New York City is truthfully facing the fact that it has a segregation problem. Most Northern cities prefer to avoid admitting the truth, that segregation also prevails in the North, but that the methods are not the same as in the South. In a city like New York, there are Negro schools just as there are Negro schools in the South, but they came into existence for different reasons and by different processes.

Sokolsky

Take, for instance, Harlem. When I was a high school student, Harlem was an upper middle class Jewish neighborhood. Before that it had been an Old New York neighborhood. Most of the Jewish families lived in private brownstone apartments. The central street of this area was Lenox avenue which was, at that time, a very fine promenade. Seventh avenue was even more high tone. This area was between 110th and 135th street, about a mile and a half. West of it was Morningside Park and then Columbia University on the Heights. East of it was a fast-growing Italian area.

ALL OF this is now principally Negro, with the Puerto Ricans pushing the Negroes into the Bronx and the upper reaches of Manhattan Island. When the Negroes appeared, the whites disappeared, most of them moving southward into the West End avenue, Riverside Drive and Central Park West sections which they took over from the very rich who were pushed toward Park avenue and its environs.

The school system followed the population movement and soon Harlem schools were Negro schools and were staffed, to a degree, by Negro teachers. Harlem became the Negro capital of the world, the center for Negro culture and Negro vice, for Negro churches and Negro dance halls. Harlem became a Negro ghetto, not by the passage of a law but by the course of events, by the pressure of population, by the refusal of white folks to live in the same buildings as Negroes.

FOR years, both New York City officials and Negro politicians and protagonists refused publicly to recognize that the Harlem ghetto, the Bedford-Stuyvesant ghetto and similar areas were definitely segregative and that the Negro had very little choice in the matter.

Now the school system is facing up to the truth and the Board of Education devised a scheme to desegregate the public schools. The scheme is not working effectively. What it involves is bringing white children into Negro schools, bringing Negro children into white schools, exchanging teachers and using a bus system to convey children from better neighborhoods to worse ones in the hope of breaking down segregation in the schools if nowhere else.

Mayor Robert Wagner and the president of the Board of Education, Charles Silver, are anxious for the desegregation to succeed. The professionals in the school system seem to be sitting on their hands because they recognize that it is a very tough operation with which most parents are unfamiliar and they wonder what the parents will have to say about it when it is actually put into practice. Few white teachers offer to volunteer to teach in Negro schools, undoubtedly impressed by the various stories they hear and read of tough boys, using switch knives, in the schools that are predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican.

ONE OF the immediate results of this complex of problems is that since World War II there has been a surprisingly large exodus of white inhabitants from New York City to its suburbs, all of which are outside the city's administration. In these suburbs, the schools are locally managed and apparently no Negro problem exists in most of them, the cook's children going to the same school as the master's.

However, there has been an increase in the attendance at private schools — nowadays called "independent schools," to avoid the charge of snobbishness. Some of these schools have one Negro child per class to establish de facto racial equality.

Being Frank About PEOPLE PLACES and PROBLEMS

Defender P. 7

Thurs. 8-15-57

Louisville, Ky.

by Frank L. Stanley

31a

NATHANIEL TILLMAN, Guest Columnist

The Senate recently passed a civil rights measure that is hailed by some as a great step in guaranteeing civil liberties and condemned as a down-right denial of constitutional rights by others. Opposition to the measure is mostly centered on an amendment that calls for a jury trial in criminal contempt cases.

While true advocates of civil rights for Negroes deplore the jury trial amendment in its entirety, other opposition springs from the possible application of the amendment to other than voting cases.

The administration's avowed opposition to the bill comes from a fear that Federal Court injunctions have been invalidated in cases ranging from anti-trust laws to labor-management relations laws. Significant in this respect is the inference that President Eisenhower will veto the measure unless the jury trial amendment is curtailed. To curtail the amendment in the eyes of the administration would be to limit jury trials to voting injunctions.

All who appear willing to accept this curtailment demonstrate that they are not too concerned about civil rights for Negroes, the very purpose of the bill. Some say the right to vote is a fundamental civil right yet they would inflict a jury trial on a court who uses injunctive powers to further this right.

According to columnist Drew Pearson, labor, despite high-sounding words from the AFL-CIO Executive Council, joined forces with the Southerners to force this amendment across. Three labor groups that he names in this switch are the United Mine Workers, the Postal Workers, and the Railroad Brotherhoods. For certain considerations, Pearson contends that these unions sold out on civil rights.

Those who declare that they would prefer that no bill be enacted than to see this bill become law are divided into two main camps. Although both groups seemingly call for the same thing, there is a vast gulf between what each group wants.

Negroes and those who really desire to see the ballot extended to all people are in one camp. This camp calls for complete elimination of the jury trial amendment. Members of this camp want the bill to serve the purpose of its creation, i.e., to insure voting privileges to down-trodden Southern Negroes.

Followers of this camp are aware of the uselessness of the present jury-trial-ridden bill. They know that Southern juries will continue their practice of non-conviction of whites accused of oppressing Negroes. Registrars in the South will go blithely on their way, systematically eliminating Negro voters from the voting books because assurance of a jury trial also means assurance of acquital.

In the other camp are those who realize that the jury trial amendment covers more territory than was first intended. This group would see the amendment remain on the bill if it is limited to voting cases. Although most of this group are professed liberals, they are willing to sacrifice the Negro upon the altar of expediency. To justify themselves, they say, "This is a step forward. At least, SOME civil rights legislation has come through the Senate."

When this group speaks of NO bill rather than the present one, they are objecting to the broad ramifications of the measure. If the measure is altered to permit the Taft-Hartley act to function, members of this group will be satisfied with the results.

Although President Eisenhower appears to be a member of the limited jury trial supporters, it is hoped that he will consider the true purpose of the bill and act accordingly. It the joint conference doesn't restore all criminal contempt powers to the courts, the measure has no value at all and NO civil rights bill is to be preferred over this fiasco.

Being Frank About PEOPLE PLACES and PROBLEMS

Defender
Louisville, Ky.

By Frank L. Stanley

Date 7-18-57

David Lawrence, in his syndicated column of July 10, puts up a rather forceful argument, with the aid of some selected statistics, that Negroes do not vote for civil rights—they vote for jobs. Mr. Lawrence, in his typical fashion, defies the popular notion that favoring a particular race politically will win votes. To him, economic advancement is far more important than civil rights when it comes to winning the support of a race of people at the polls.

Mr. Lawrence quotes the summary report of the 1956 general election, issued by the Republican National Committee:

"In spite of considerable improvement in the Republican vote among Negroes, indications are that more than three-fifths of the Negro voting population continued to vote Democratic in 1956."

The report, however, made a distinction between lowest income Negroes (less than $2,000.00 a year) who went some 32% for the Republicans, while Negroes of higher income gave the Republicans 43.7 per cent of their vote.

Mr. Lawrence concludes that Democrats, even with the handicap of Southern Congressmen who oppose civil rights, still get the majority of Negro votes. The reason advanced is "The political party that improves the economic status of the Negro worker will gain far more than the party that doesn't. The civil rights issue is important to the Negro vote but it will not swing an election for Republicans in time when there is a recession or depression." The basis of Mr. Lawrence's argument is his belief that Negroes "still feel that the New Deal was an economic emancipation for them."

It would be folly to attempt to dispute facts. The main trouble with the figures used by Mr. Lawrence is that they are strictly general. He makes no exception for places like Montgomery and Memphis, which went Republican largely because of the Negro vote. Nor even does he take into account Kentucky, which broke all precedents by going overwhelmingly Republican. Negroes in Kentucky certainly had a big hand in the swing-over. In fact, both Senators Cooper and Morton as well as Congressman Robsion credit the Negro vote as a very decisive factor in their success.

Let's go back to 1948, when Harry S. Truman defied the solid south by coming out boldly for Civil Rights. His stand alienated many Democratic stalwarts. A splinter Dixiecrat party sprang up. But Negroes, labor and the big cities of the north, east and west elected Mr. Truman. In this instance, Negroes supported Mr. Truman almost solely on the issue of Civil Rights.

To be sure, jobs and economic well-being are fundamental. But each year the Negro moves further up the economic ladder regardless of who is President. Unquestioned statistics show that from 1940 to 1950, Negroes enjoyed a 227 percent increase as clerical workers, 87 1/2 percent increase as sales workers, 80 percent increase as machine operators, 77 percent increase as craftsmen and foremen, and 33 1/3 percent increase as professional and technical people.

Obviously, this trend reflected itself in increased income. In fact, by 1950, the earnings of Negro families reached three times their 1940 figure.

There can be no doubt that the reports for the decade, 1950-1960 will show even greater gains because Negro progress has always had an upward trend. This means that under the Republicans, job and income opportunities have been extended. Hence, in 1952 and 1956, jobs were not the issue with Negro voters to the extent Mr. Lawrence claims. Actually, there was considerable uncertainty about Mr. Eisenhower's stand on Civil Rights the first time he ran. Last year, there still was not enough concrete evidence for the majority of Negro voters. But even then, there was an over-all Negro increase of some 11 percent in support of the Republicans.

One particular case in point on the matter of jobs versus Civil Rights in supporting a candidate is that of former Senator Earle Clements. Generally Senator Clements was held in high esteem by many Kentucky Negro voters. But for them, he made three very serious mistakes:

1.) He supported the elevation of Mississippi's Eastland to the chairmanship of the Senate Judiciary Committee;
2.) Clements was not outspoken enough on Civil Rights, nor did he as the second most powerful Democratic Senator in Washington, use his influence to block Southern opposition to Civil Rights;
3.) In the campaign last fall, Senator Clements stayed completely clear of the issue of Civil Rights without uttering a recorded word, pro or con. It appeared that he cared little about the Negro vote, or he took it for granted, as Mr Lawrence does. Add to these the misfortune of having one of his strongest hometown supporters spearhead the resistance to school desegregation in Sturgis, Ky.

I choose to believe that Negroes have come to view the ballot as the hinge to the door of high opportunity. And the most cherished opportunity of all is Civil Rights. I refuse to believe that passage of the present Civil Rights bill before the Senate will not win new supporters for those Senators who vote for it, or the party and President who advocate enactment. Too many Negroes are dying for Civil Rights for it not to be the most impelling force in their lives.

Out of country 25 years, U.S. writer coming home

Afro American p.3

31a Negro

By OLLIE STEWART

PARIS — I have just had a talk with an American who has been outside the United States for the past 25 years—which ought to be a record!

This man was en route to his native land and by the time you can read this he should be in the USA for the first time since 1932.

He's a writer. His name is Homer Smith. But most of the stories you've read by him have been under the by line of Chatwood Hall — a pen name he adopted many years ago. He comes from Minneapolis, but his mother and three sisters are at present living in Chicago.

Baltimore.

CHATWOOD HALL (or Homer Smith) lived for 14 years in Russia and spent four of these years as a war correspondent on the German-Russian front.

While living in Moscow, he married a Russian girl —Marie Petrovna — considered at the time one of the beauties of Mother Russia. They now have two children, Tatiana, 5, and Alexander, 16 months.

"I'm going first to the States," Smith told me over a glass of red wine, "and my wife and children are expected to follow shortly. We want them to be educated in the United States."

Pat. 11-9-57

For the past 10 years — 1947-57 — Mr. Smith has been working in Ethiopia as editor in the Ethiopian press and information department, English section. Both in Russia and Ethiopia he was a writer on the AP desk and did special articles for the AFRO, ANP, London Times and the Business International of Belgium.

* * *

MR. SMITH said he planned first to visit in the East, Washington, Baltimore and New York. Then he wanted to get on to Chicago to see his mother and sisters.

"I've just seen my first television program," he told me with a smile, "and I expect to find life in the USA a lot different from the wav it was n 1932."

While in Paris, Mr. Smith spent the afternoon of his second day exchanging views with Richard Wright, whom he was meeting for the first time. After that he walked over a good part of the city, "just sightseeing."

Ollie Stewart opens Paris perfume shop

By OLLIE STEWART

PARIS — I have just bought a perfume shop. In this shop, in addition to perfumes and beauty aids, I hope to sell gifts of France — such as scarves, costume jewelry, post cards, ashtrays, compacts and miniatures of Paris landmarks like the Eiffel Tower, Notre Dame and the Moulin Rouge.

Also, in the second room of my shop, there is a hygienic set-up for giving massages, manicures and pedicures.

The shop is easy to find. It's located near where I live, not far from the Eiffel Tower. The French woman who runs it for me speaks perfect English.

I hope to keep the atmosphere friendly; and in the case of persons who just want to look around, there is a third room for the serving of a cup of coffee or an aperitif. The address is: 22 Rue de l'Abbe Groult. My phone number is SEGUR 15-45.

If any other American had taken over this shop, I would be just as happy to write about it as I am to tell this about myself. I think it is news. And since it happened to me, I am in the best position to mention some of the difficulties of a foreigner in France trying to go into business. It's murder!

11-9-57

* * *

I BEGAN negotiations last January. I bought my place Oct. 1. But in between those dates I've had options of two other places, and have been snowed under by red tape. I've been investigated, interrogated and advised. I've been criticized and warned that I'd be gyped, swindled and wind up losing my shirt.

The police had me get a record of "no crimes committed" in Baltimore. The minister of commerce asked why I thought I was fitted for the perfume business.

I've worn out a pair of shoes going from bureau to bureau, and all along the line people let it be known that since I wasn't married to a French woman, my chances of getting a business card were pretty slim.

* * *

I STILL haven't got that business card. I'm still not married to a French woman or any other kind of woman. But I'm in business. I did what a majority of the French people do. I formed a company — and put a French person in charge. Then the company (or society) bought the shop. Sounds simple when you say it fast, but it took me six months to find out how to do it.

I had to give up some shares in the company — but I figured that a part of something is better than the whole of nothing!

So here I am (it says here on this paper), the power behind the throne of a perfume shop in Paris. Maybe I'll do good, and maybe I'll fall flat on my face.

But there's one thing sure: running a business in this country can't be much worse than getting into business — for a foreigner, I mean. And, although I'm a privileged resident in France, I'm still a foreigner — if you get what I mean.

* * *

PASSING through, Mrs. Marguerite Hulbert, wife of James A. (Jimmy) Hulbert, U.S. information service, stopped over here recently while en route to join her husband is Dacca, East Pakistan.

Had with her her oldest daughter, who will attend school this winter at American University, Beirut. The Hulberts were stationed here some years ago.

Bill Lewis, public affairs officer at Lucknow, India, also paid us a brief visit, and is now back on the job after home leave in the USA.... Griff Davis, former photographer in Liberia, stopped over while on his way to Tunisia. He is now with the foreign aid program.

Dr. Francis Hammond, cultural attache to Morocco, dropped in recently to say hello. He only had an overnight stay, because he was hurrying to Athens, Greece, to attend a conference of all African and Middle East cultural attaches, called by the State Department.

All of his ten children, he said, are attending French schools in Rabat, "and having a ball," as he put it.

Pianist Hazel Scott back in Paris. Ditto sax man Don Byas, who, until a couple of years ago, was like a native here... Louis Peterson, author of "Take a Giant Step," working quietly on the Left Bank.... Not so Quincy Jones, the arranger. He's doing big things in music for Barclay records and got a lot of people talking.

REPORT FROM EUROPE

Afro-American

Mrs. Rose Aggrey visits in Paris

Baltimore, Md. Sat. 6-13-57

By OLLIE STEWART

PARIS — Mother Aggrey is an inspiring woman. By name she is Mrs. Rose D. Aggrey, of 700 W. Monroe St., Salisbury, N.C., widow of the late A. J. K. Aggrey (dead these 30 years—but not dead) who came to the United States from the Gold Coast and made a name for himself as an educator at Livingstone College.

She is also the mother of two sons, one of whom, O. Rudolph (Ruby) I have been glad to call my friend since he came to Paris to work in the Embassy about four years ago.

Mrs. Aggrey was among the last American visitors to leave Accra after the recent independence celebration of Ghana —and on her back home she quite naturally stopped over a few days in Paris to see her son, Rudy. She did her share of sightseeing and going to shows, but on the evening when I was invited to Rudy's apartment to meet her, it was a time for talking—and we talked of many things. But mostly we talked of Ghana.

* * *

WE WENT OUT to a Chinese restaurant for dinner, and while Ruby ordered the meal Mother Aggrey and I continued to talk. "I have great faith in Dr. Nkrumah," she told me, "and I have great faith in the future of Ghana. My husband has been dead for thirty years, but his name still lives in Ghana. One or two persons reminded me of how much he would have enjoyed being present on Independence Day."

Mrs. Aggrey expressed the hope that the true story of the people of Ghana will be written in the very near future. She even suggested that I go there and write it, which I took as a very nice cohmpliment. "It is a story packed with human interest," she said, "And one which the whole world should know. The dignity of the little people is tremendous — and their faith in themselves is enough to inspire anybody."

Mrs. Aggrey is pretty inspiring herself, as I mentioned at the beginning. She has many friends in Ghana and Nigeria—and if I ever should try to do a story on West African peoples, the first person I should want to consult would be Mother Aggrey.

* * *

CAN'T STOP THINKING about a conversation heard recently when Congressman Charles Diggs, of Detroit, was here. He was talking with the Peters Sisters, after we had heard them do most of their programs at the Olympia Theater in French. For them it was normal, because all three of the girls are married to French men and they have lived in France for many years.

"When you sing French in the United States," asked the Congressman, "do you have a big success? I mean, are you well received?"

"Not at all," Mattye told him. "They don't like us to sing in French in America. Spirituals, blues or ballads, that's okay. But not French songs. They resent it. They think we're being pretentious."

I don't think Mattye was exaggerating one little bit. For years I have heard a number of colored singers say that on the radio, on the screen and in clubs it has been a big hassle with producers and managers to sing something from the classics—even in English. It was invariably suggested that for them "something like Old Man River would be more appropriate." And for the Peters Sisters to sing in French—good French, yet—well, American audiences, according to Mattye, just couldn't take it.

* * *

HI-YA, RALPH! I'm talking about Ralph Matthews—and seeing the name once more in the AFRO brings back old times and makes things seem sort of all right. Twenty-odd years ago when I first joined the AFRO, Ralph was already a veteran theatrical writer, show producer and world traveler. Washington was his beat and in his "Parade" you could find something about anybody who was anybody—or was trying to be. Then, during the war, while I was overseas, Ralph took his by-line out West and Washington was not the same.

Now, there's little sentiment in the newspaper business—but there's a whale of a lot of respect for a craftsman and in my book Ralph is a craftsman with words. He knows people—the weak, the phonies and the real big ones; and he puts them on paper without an ounce of fat. So I'm glad to see him back.

But I pity the linotypers. The way Ralph writes, the poor guys will take a beating. It's too much to expect that at this late date Ralph Matthews has been converted to a typewriter.

REPORT FROM EUROPE

Afro-American p. 8

Evelyn Pittman's opera heard twice at Cite Universitaire

Sat. 6-1-57 Baltimore, Md.

By OLLIE STEWART

PARIS — When the folk opera, "Cousin Esther," was presented here recently, I didn't know anything about Evelyn LaRue Pittman, the young woman who write it. But after the work had been presented twice at Cite Universitaire (under the sponsorship of the U.S. Embassy's cultural section), I decided to ask Miss Pittman a few questions, and this is what she told me:

"My home is Oklahoma City. I attended elementary and junior high school there, but later finished high school at Highland Park, Michigan. I graduated from Spelman College, Atlanta, and received my musical degree from Oklahoma University.

"Some time ago I wrote a book titled "Rich Heritage" — which is composed of 21 songs, short stories and pictures of outstanding colored persons in various fields. Carl Fischer, Inc., of New York, has published several of my arrangements of spirituals."

* * *

MISS PITTMAN, who is studying in Paris this year, revealed further that she is the founder and director of the Evelyn Pittman choir, which had a 10-year program over station WKY. Said program was carried for six months by the National Broadcasting Company. Each year the choir gives a $50 music scholarship to Langston University, in Oklahoma.

A member of Zeta Phi Beta sorority, Miss Pittman is the recipient of the Zeta Phi Beta finer womanhood award, and is a teacher at Dunbar school, Oklahoma City.

* * *

FOR HER opera, she went back through the years to when a king named Xerxes ruled over a kingdom which extended from Ethiopia in India — a kingdom that was tough on the Jews. Deciding to get married, Xerxes demanded that all virgins present themselves so that he could choose a queen.

Mardochee, a Jew who had concealed his origin, brought his cousin, Esther, before Xerxes — and her beauty stopped the show. The king made her queen. But Aman, the king's right hand man, called the people together and exposed Mardochee and Esther as being Jews. But Esther decided to fight back.

Counting on the king's love, she told him herself that she was Jewish — and added that Aman was out to get the throne. The king believed her and love conquered all. Aman was condemned to death, Mardochee got his job as the king's vizier, and for the Jews there was a better day.

Robert Wilson, of Baltimore, was Mardochee in the opera. The part of King Xerxes was played by Nigel Ayton. Two white girls alternated as Esther for the two performances, and an international symphony orchestra was conducted by Edmund J. Pendleton, music critic of the European edition, N.Y. Herald Tribune.

* * *

CONCERT HALL to cabaret! Pianist Hazel Scott, who has given many concerts of classical music in Europe and in the USA, is now holding forth nightly at a chic club called the Villa D'Este.

Olive-skinned Maria Velasco is back once again at the keyboard at La Calavados. She's so popular that the management hasn't allowed her to be away long during the past two years.

Male pianist Aaron Bridgers is off to Switzerland to appear in a movie being made there. And while he's gone from the Mars Club, Billy Moore, who arranges and accompanies the Peters Sisters, is pinch-hitting.

* * *

JUST IN CASE you might be interested, it looks like fine weather this summer in France. Most folks are saying that it almost has to be — because of the weather we've had here during the month of May. Absolutely foul. Rainy, cold and windy, and every other person you meet is sniffling. And April was just about as bad. Actually, there has been no spring at all. No sunshine. No balmy breezes.

So, when the weather is like that in the spring, Parisians say, "wait until summer comes." Like hearing people in Brooklyn say, "wait until next year," when the Dodgers blow the pennant.

But the French have the answer. They blame all this chilly stuff on the people who keep on shooting off H-Bombs in various parts of the world—which gets the weather cycle so mixed up it doesn't know whether to blow hot or cold. My topcoat, James — and light the fire!

REPORT FROM EUROPE:

Edmonds, Capers visitors in Paris

By OLLIE STEWART

PARIS — I always like to meet and talk to very important people — because, as most reporters will agree, real big people are, when you get to them, easy to meet and easy to talk to. So this week it's been a pleasure to pass some time with two women who qualify on all counts: they're important and they're nice to be around.

Dr. Helen G. Edmonds, professor of graduate history, North Carolina College, Durham, and Mrs. Jean Murrell Capers, attorney and City Councilwoman, Cleveland, Ohio, are the two women. They came to Paris from Geneva, Switzerland, and are en route to the USA. Dr. Edmonds has been here before a couple of times, but for Mrs. Capers it was a first-time experience.

So what's Helen Edmonds been doing in Europe, you ask? Well, since February of this year she has been here under the State Department's specialist - leadership program of international education, and rfrom what I learned, she's been quite a busy person. As follows:

February 1-18, Sweden. Guest lecturer at the universities of Stockholm, Uppsala, Goteborg and Lund. Also lectured before the history departments of these schools, February 18 - April 8, Germany. Guest lecturer for Amerika House program, German university women, professional and business women's clubs and universities. She made two visits of five days each in Berlin for lectures, radio and TV appearances.

April 8-22, Austria. Was on Amerika House program for Austrian university women and business groups. April 22, May 8, Denmark. Lectured before University of Copenhagen history department, and at Askor International College.

May 8-20, guest professor at the conference for German teachers of English and history. May 31 — Paris. Lecturer at Embassy Theater, on the subject: "American University Women." Some shopping, and then back home.

* * *

JEAN CAPERS, with a background of four terms (eight years) in the city Council of Cleveland (running for a fifth term this year), is naturally interested in government and international affairs — in addition to her husband, Clifford E. Capers, and her home at 2380 E. 40th Street. Career woman and housewife.

So, since April 14, she's been in Europe to observe women in government in pub- programs and housing conditions in general. Her observations have taken her into Austria, Germany, Denmark and Switzerland. Says she visited Geneva because it is the hub of international affairs, and she has an intense interest in all aspects of this subject.

"I'm vacationing in Paris," she admits, "though I am observing the above-mentioned areas of interest in the French capital." Naturally the team of Edmonds and Capers bought some perfume. Naturally they took some tours. And naturally they'll both be back in Paris the first time they can get a good excuse.

* * *

AROUND AND ABOUT. Over in London, sculptor Ben Enwonwu, of Nigeria, is doing a bust of Queen Elizabeth. First time a reigning British monarch has sat for a colonial artist. Enwonwu is well known in the States, and is director of fine arts for Nigeria. His timing for the work couldn't have been better — for in London at the moment a Nigerian delegation is holding talks with the British government. Subject: Nigerian independence.

Only God can make a tree. But in Paris the Almighty gets some help from the French who have planted and cared for 83, 741 trees. Of this number, approximately 1,428 die every year. And, although you hear a lot about the chestnut trees, they are the ones that perish quickest from dust, automobile fumes and insufficient water. Sycamores, on the other hand, live up to 80 years; lindens up to 45.

A recent report states that Paris is one of the greenest cities in the world. Along its 185 miles of streets there are 38,000 sycamores, 11,700 chestnuts, 8,500 elms, 5,000 sophoras, 4,150 lindens, 4,200 cedars, 3,700 maples and a wide variety of lesser known trees. Ah a shade tree and thou!

REPORT FROM EUROPE

Rudy Aggrey directs U.S. center in Paris

By OLLIE STEWART

PARIS — I received a letter not long ago which asked the question: "What is Rudy doing these days?" The Rudy referred to is O. Rudolph Aggrey, youth information officer at the Embassy here for the past three years, a Hampton and Syracuse graduate who is making the Foreign Service his career. And to answer the question about what he's doing, I hasten to say that Rudy is on his way up.

Since September 26, he has been director of a new American cultural center at 3 Rue du Dragon, and with the official opening of the center on November 7, Rudy will carry the prestige of his new job, in addition to his present one.

THE CENTER is to be a meeting place for young people of all nationalities, particularly students, and Rudy told me that it will offer concerts, lectures and a library collection of works on music and art. There is also a theater and an exhibition room. But over and above these tangible things, it is hoped that the center's biggest pay-off will be in human relations.

"In bringing young people together," Aggrey explained, "the resultant exchange of views on a cultural leval should bring about a sort of atmosphere that can stimulate as well as entertain. Naturally, we won't exclude adults, but the center is aimed primarily at attracting the young people of Paris."

* * *

VACATIONING IN Paris recently was Capt. Albert L. Murray, officer in charge of military training, HQ Southern Air Material Command, Europe. Murray's station is Nouasseur Air Depot, Casablanca, Morocco. He has been there with his wife (Mozelle) since August 1955. They have a 14-year-old daughter, Mique.

Both Murray and wife are natives of Tuskegee. He was an English instructor at Tuskegee Institute until called back into the Air Force in 1951. He has a novel in progress at the moment, and has given lectures on jazz at the American library in Casablanca. Paris was the wind-up stop on his leisurely vacation. He flew from North Africa to Wiesbaden, and then on to Munich for a few days. Then he hopped a plane for Copenhagen, Amsterdam and London. From Paris he flew back to Casablanca.

* * *

ATTENTION Mercer Cook Jr! Your old pal at the Sorbonne a few years ago, a chap by the name of Noel Torres, who used to be a member of our Saturday afternoon club, is now doing right well by himself in Orleans, France.

You'll remember that Torres had finished law in Boston and was working toward an advanced degree here in international law, during those hectic days. Well, as an attorney employed by the Army in Orleans, he's been up-graded several times and is now one of the highest paid civilian workers attached to the base.

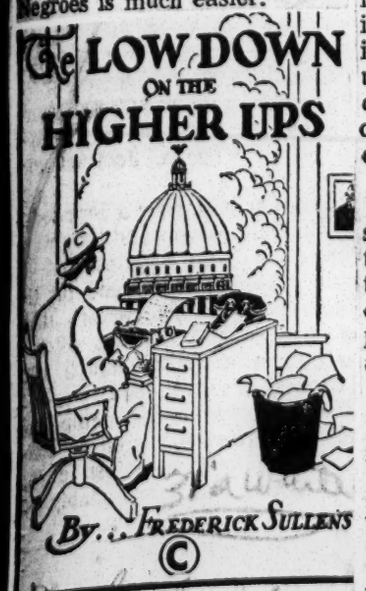
Mrs. Helen Poe Smith, Los Angeles, who has made real estate deals pay off handsomely over a period of years, was a recent visitor in Paris. She spent ten days "just relaxing and seeing the town." From here she went on to Rome to get some Italian sunshine and to pick up a few things made of silk — since the Italians are among the finest craftsmen in the world where silk is concerned.

OFF THE COB. French people are great eaters, but one of the things adored in America and left strictly to pigs in France, is corn on the cob. So the other day I had a real live audience when I negotiated for three ears of very luscious fall corn. While I touched and discussed the price, I was already licking my lips in anticipation of what job would be mine after I had boiled the stuff and had smeared it with butter and sprinkled it with salt.

I was so busy, in fact, that I paid no attention to the circle of women shoppers around me. But when I prepared to leave, I found myself the center of attraction. Some women stared at me, others at the corn in my shopping bag. And finally the boldest of the lot came forward and bought an ear — and as I walked away I heard her ask the vegetable man what she had to do before she could eat it!

This particular man is very daring. The next day when I came by I saw another delicacy rarely seen on the market in France — sweet potatoes. This, too, I could not resist. And before I finished my purchase of the yams. I had a bigger crowd than the day before. "You," said a friend, "are corrupting the eating habits of France."

Rev. H. H. Humes, president of the Mississippi Missionary Baptist convention, one of the largest Negro organizations in the state, says that NAACP Secretary Roy Wilkins "wants money, big money, and he doesn't care how he gets it." That remark should be somewhat modified. It is doubtful whether Wilkins has the courage to go out with a gun and get it. Besides, shaking shekels from the pockets of ignorant Negroes is much easier.



Our Congressman John Bell Williams uses words to make meaning. When he said "defeat of the Federal school bill was another victory for local self-government and defeat of an attempted invasion of states rights", he gave an adequate and accurate description of the measure.

* * *

The site of the First Baptist church at Vicksburg destroyed by fire at a loss of nearly $200,000, located on the corner of Walnuts and Crawford streets, one of the most prominent spots in the business district, has been sold to an oil company and will no doubt be used as site for a filling station. It would be now in order for city officials to put a filling station in front of the city hall and the board of supervisors to place another on the lawn of the historic court house.

* * *

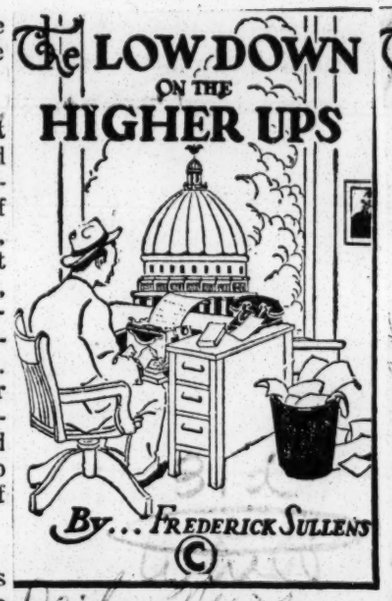
Seven of the twelve jurors who returned that Knoxville Federal court verdict against citizens of Clinton, Tenn., now claim they are "true Southerners," "against mixing the races," but "believe Negroes should be given equal rights." That adds up to a confession that the jurors didn't know what-the-hell they were doing.

* * *

No matter how much the so-called civil rights bill may be watered down or emasculated the South cannot accept it because our people believe it is both unconstitutional and unnecessary. Surely no reasons can be stronger than these nor can reasons offer better foundation in common sense.

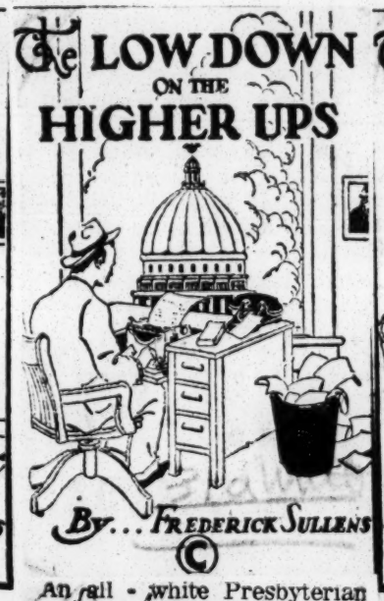
* * *

Legislators who are still supporting the black market tax on liquor frankly admit that it is hypocritical but they come up with the defense that prohibition in Mississippi is also hypocritical. That being true, they say the state should get some revenue from the hypocritical business. In other words, when hypocrisy is organized have it tamed to feed out of the hand. It was La Rochefoucauld's maxim that "hypocrisy is a homage vice pays to virtue."



If you live in Chicago you must go away from home to get the news. The Monday morning issue of the Chicago Tribune devoted only four short paragraphs to the story of race rioting in Calumet Park on Sunday—a riot in which several hundred persons participated and thirty were injured. Worse than that, the story was literally buried on Page 3 under a small heading. The Chicago Tribune editor could not tell the plain truth about any phase of the race problem to save his life from perdition.

No white man in the South feels he owes an obligation of any sort, legal, social, moral or spiritual, to establish social relations with any other persons, whether they be white, black, brown, red, green or yellow. It is the inalienable right of all persons to choose their own company and no statute or Supreme Court decision should deprive them of that right.



An all - white Presbyterian church in a little town in upper New York has selected a Philadelphia Negro as its pastor. Write your own comment on that while the stalwart clergymen who founded the Presbyterian church in the United States are doing flip-flops in their graves.

* * *

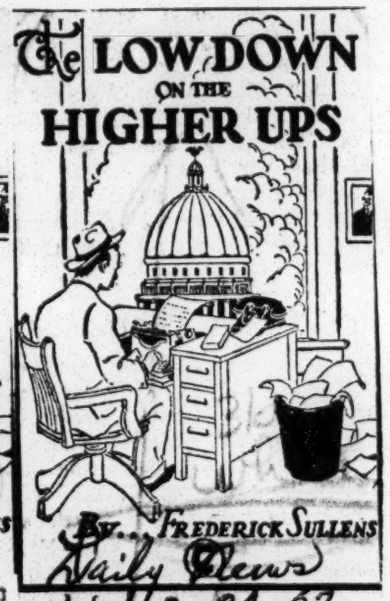
More data on where your money is going. It cost the Federal government $48 million in "accumulated" storage and handling charges for the 374 million bushels of corn held by the Commodity Credit Corporation for a period of 18 months or more, according to a CCC report. Approximate storage and handling costs for 559 million bushels of wheat were listed at $169 million.

* * *

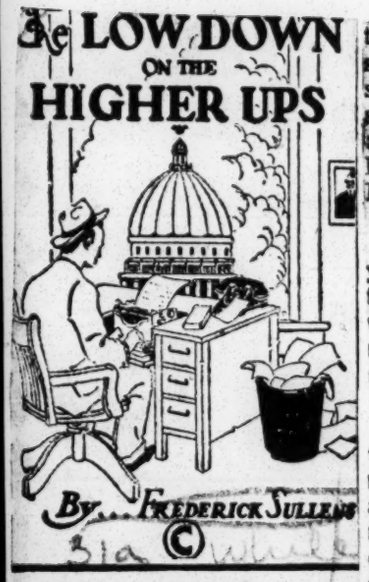
The Federal civilian payroll is now running more than $900,000,000 per month. Most recent figures show 2,700,000 civilians on the payroll, an average of about 135 for each 10,000 of population.

* * *

Under sponsorship of the NAACP a boycott was declared by Negroes at Tuskegee against all white merchants, but it looks like futile retaliation. Tuskegee merchants report business even better than usual. When you cut off your nose to spite your face you are not getting anywheres.



Dr. C. C. Battle, a Negro doctor who formerly headed a local chapter of the NAACP in the Delta, and was for awhile quite mouthy on the subject of social equality, says he is going to move to Kansas City because the FBI is doing nothing toward enforcement of integration. That's a very fine case of getting rid of bad rubbish.



A bill creating three new Federal Judgeships in Tennessee, and another in Mississippi failed of passage during final hours of the Congress session. That's perfectly all right. The fewer Federal judges we have from now on the better off we will be.

"We will protect our families and our freedoms at all costs," says the Citizen Councils in Mississippi. A simple sentence that means exactly what it says. Our people have no intention whatsoever of kow-towing to the NAACP and its civil rights bill. Not even Federal troops can make us do that.

No more applications will be received from youngsters seeking admission to state-supported colleges because of lack of dormitory space. So says the executive secretary of the board of trustees. That even applies to those seeking places on football teams and in the marchline of drum majorettes.

Explorers report mile-high mountains in the depths of the Arctic ocean. Well, a mountain beneath the waves can't be of very much interest to anybody. There is no future for such a formation. Not even mountain climbers will tackle it.

That amateur heavyweight who contended for, and obtained, a fight with the professional heavyweight champion should not be too severely censured for bad judgment. After all, Eisenhower started his political career by running for President.

* * *

Listen, girls! Here's hoping you won't catch a case of that Asian flu, but if you do it will go nicely with those Chinese pajamas in your wardrobe.

* * *

"The cooking of the future will be done by radar, eliminating odors and smoke", says a woman's page writer. Well, mebbe for a dollar or so per ounce we will be able to buy some bottled stuff to spray in the kitchen and get that delightful odor of bacon frying for breakfast.

* * *

Treasury Secretary Anderson tells Congress the Treasury will "try to operate" within the present $275 billion Federal debt limit for the time being. He warned, however, that he may have to request another boost in the ceiling next session. The Treasury's cash position will be tight in coming months, Anderson said, leaving little margin to meet "unexpected contingencies".

* * *

Opposition to integrated schools is popping up in unexpected places. In southern Illinois, white pupils refuse to attend what was formerly an all-Negro elementary school. Parents are arranging to send their children to private schools.

* * *

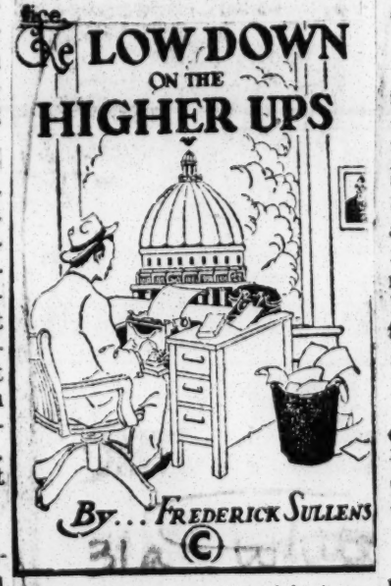
Houston, the city of phenomenal growth, is also one of the best places in which to get killed. Houston has a record of 96 murders for the first seven months of the current year and a mighty low record of convictions. Could it be that it is not considered wrong to kill a person in Houston,

* * *

Personal to a youngster who writes us a letter filled with agnostic arguments. The most illustrious agnostic in the world's history was Robert G. Ingersoll. As an orator he had few equals. He was a master of beautiful rhetoric. He could make the silver waterfall gurgle in the sunlight and wake the rainbow in its mist simply by talking about it in words artfully joined together. His prose could sob or sing with a lilt that was all but verse. But Bob Ingersoll never managed, with all his winsomeness in the spoken word, to leave to himself a momument like the Sermon on the Mount.

* * *

If the civil rights bill is going to permit all Negroes to vote, regardless of prescribed qualifications, then the heavyweight champion of the world should be made an elective office.



Integration is a subject on which the South neither seeks nor desires a compromise. We are fighting for a principle. Any compromise or concession is a step toward surrender.

A short time ago the city of Meridian announced disbandment of its United Givers Fund and it is now announced that the Family Service Association is quitting—two retrogressive steps that Meridian will soon regret.

Down in Jones county there are 29 entries in the contest for Forestry Queen, the winner to ride in the big beauty parade in Jackson during the State Fair. And that isn't the limit of feminine pulchritude in Jones county, either. Just lots and lots of gorgeous girls down that way.

* * *

Judge Ronald Davies, that Federal jurist who is squatting on the job over at Little Rock, comes from the state of North Dakota where Negroes number about one in each 2,400 of population. What he doesn't know about the race problem would fill a volume fully as large as Webster's unabridged.

Snowfalls are reported in the Rocky Mountain regions of Colorado and Wyoming. It ain't right. September is the month for Indian summer. Snowstorms have no proper place therein. Why rush the seasons?

* * *

Ten lovely lassies, even more beautiful than the clumps of wild azelia that grow along the banks of Strong river, have been chosen as drum majorettes for the Mendenhall high school bands. "More drum majorettes and still more drum majorettes," is still our motto. Bring 'em on! Capitol street in the autumn months is ideal for strutting.

* * *

Up in Illinois, a beauty queen called Miss Sauerkraut has been chosen. It is next in order to pick Miss Dill Pickle. And why not a Miss Collards?

* * *

President Eisenhower is so busy with his golfing he hasn't time to do much heavy thinking on any major subject, but he is being master-minded in dealing with the integration problem by Vice-President Nixon, Attorney-General Brownell, and Sherman Adams, his chief assistant.

* * *

The tragic death of the 68-year old wife of Perry Howard, Republican National committeeman for Mississippi, in an automobile accident in Washington has caused profound sorrow among many who knew and esteemed her during the many years the family resided in Jackson. Perry Howard has been showered with hundreds of telegrams and telephone messages from Jackson citizens, both white and colored, expressing their deep sympathy.

A Washington dispatch says "the President is hopeful of finding a Middle Westerner, with no preconceived ideas about race relations, to head the new Civil Rights Commission." If that's the sort of man Eisenhower is looking for he can be easily found in any mental hospital or home for the feeble-minded.

* * *

Republicans, putting on pressure to mix races in schools, see a chance to win Negro votes in big cities of the North and to divide the Democrats. Democrats, divided on this issue, are upset, but it remains to be seen how many votes Northern Democrats actually will lose in the 1958 and 1960 elections. If Republicans win Congress in 1958, they'll conclude that the racial bitterness now being generated will have been worth it. If Democrats win, however, then there will be some questioning of the strategy now followed.

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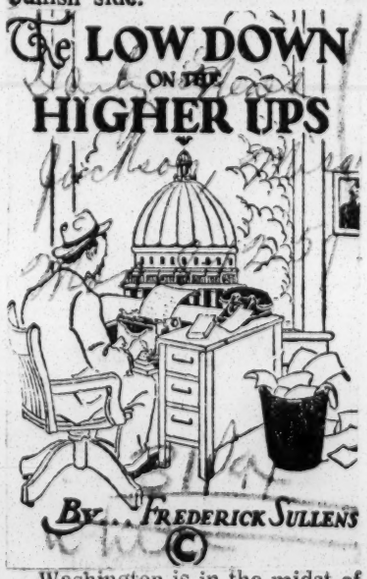
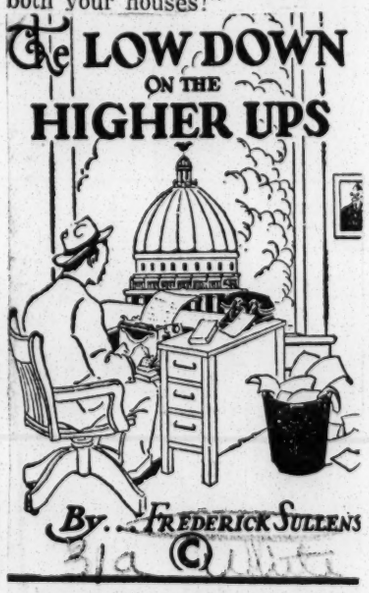
Stock market speculators, including a little handful in Jackson, have been discovering recently that stocks can go down as well as up. Newcomers in the stock market are almost invariably on the bullish side.



Washington is in the midst of a hassle over NAACP charges of "discrimination" by the D. C. Police Department against Negro police officers. Eugene Davidson, head of the Washington NAACP chapter, says Police Chief Robert V. Murray is "biased" and that the police department cannot conduct a fair investigation. The FBI does not seem to be interested in a suggestion that the agency probe the charges. The D. C. Commission is trying to conduct hearings on the charges, but NAACP withdrew from the first session, called by Commissioner Robert McLaughlin. The NAACP is in favor of many things but investigation that hits close to home is not one of them.

* * *

Bishop C. C. Addison, of the African Universal church, a Georgia - born Negro whose headquarters are in Harlem, says that "integration is damnable for both the white and Negro races. In the words of Shakespeare, "A plague on both your houses!"



The people of these United States are waking up to the realization of the painful fact that we have a President who is merely a puppet in the hands of Attorney-General Brownell and NAACP Roy Wilkins.

* * *

If Pres. Eisenhower should mobilize the nation's entire armed forces—2,800,000 men—in the Southern states it would not change the hearts and minds of Southern people on the subject of integration. The use of troops has only served to make more bitter their resentment for the Supreme

Court, Congress and the President

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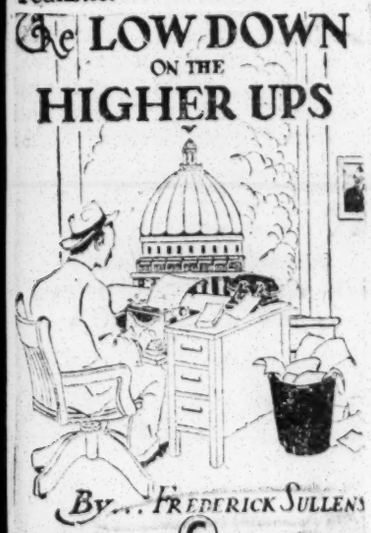
Senator Kefauver, junketing around Europe at Government expense, wired from Germany that he "hoped good sense and respect for law will prevail at Little Rock", and that happenings at that place "will not damings at that place "will damage United States prestige abroad". What-the-hell do we care about prestige abroad? All we should want from abroad just now is return of at least a part of that sixty billion dollars we have wasted trying to buy foreign friendships. It is high time to dismiss all the political flim-flam and flummery and be sternly realistic.



Halloween is coming the latter part of this month. Let it be said to the everlasting credit of the rising generation that Halloween in recent years has not been as rough as it used to be. Destructive pranksters are fewer than years gone, and the chief feature used now is the trick or treat demand. Parents have taught youngsters to respect property rights of others. On Halloween put near the front door ample supplies of apples, oranges, candy and other things dear to childish hearts. Then you will have but little trouble with Halloween youngsters.

* * *

What if a country would send up a missile and knock Russia's Sputnik from its orbit. Would this be an act of aggression? If so, to which organization would the dispute be appealed for settlement. Now is the time for someone to charter a new organization, on say United Universe. Uncle Sam, no doubt, would foot the bill for a nice building. All such effort should at least accomplish one thing. This universe could add to its dictionary the Martian word for "veto."

* * *

Announcement by Congressman John Bell Williams that he will not seek the Governorship in the 1960 campaign is good tidings that brings great joy to all of the active aspirants for that office. Congressman Williams, because of the splendid record he has made in Congress, would be a formidable candidate for Governor if he should decide to seek the place. Mr. Williams feels that in the present national crisis he can be of greater service to Mississippi in Congress than in any other capacity, and his friends agree with him in this conclusion.

* * *

Speaker Walter Sillers has issued a lengthy statement explaining why he is against a constitutional convention. His opposition is the main obstacle in the way of Gov. Coleman and that will become more evident when the legislature meets in November. If you like your politics red hot, brethren, what's going to happen will be very much to your liking.

* * *

Yes, the rising cost of education is becoming a serious problem. For instance, it is costing Federal taxpayers $75,000 per day to keep nine Negro pupils in a high school where they do not belong. However, the pupils are satisfied. They are being paid $5 per day each by the NAACP for playing as roles of "martyrs" to the cause of social equality.

* * *

Up in Detroit the board of education has issued an order requiring that teachers arrive fifteen minutes early or stay thirty minutes longer. No reason is offered for the order and teachers are righteously indignant. A mechanic can lay down his tools when the whistle blows, go home and forget them until tomorrow. If a teacher, the person to whom we entrust the shaping of young lives, is reduced to the status of an hourly-rated worker, much of his value as a teacher is destroyed. He is further discouraged from remaining in a profession where monetary rewards are small; a profession which appeals to him chiefly because of rewards such as the opportunity to watch the growing mind and to inspire that mind.

* * *

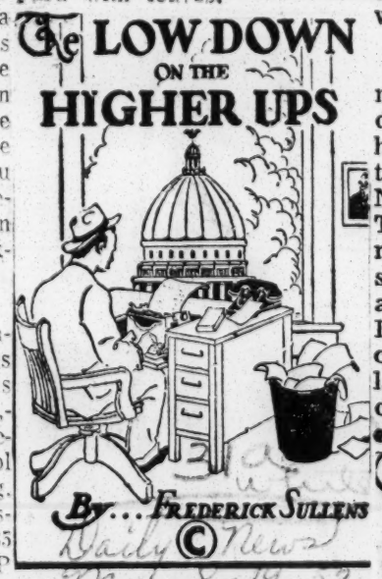
More and more educational television programs are appearing on the air. Like, for example, the late movie the other night which showed how Errol Flynn won the war. We knew it, but we had forgotten it.

* * *

How humiliating it would have been for the Russians if they'd hit us with an intercontinental missile right in the middle of the world series, when nobody would notice it.

* * *

A scatterer of beer cans and popcorn sacks along the highway says it is just his way of getting back at Mother Nature for the way she permits her messy trees to litter up his yard with leaves.



The first camellia of the season, a beautiful High Hat species, comes from the flower garden of Mr. and Mrs. Tom W. Crockett on Avondale street. The High Hat is an early blooming species but it is this year ahead of its own schedule. Camellia growers report their bushes are not as heavily laden with buds as last year, but this gives promise of more perfect blossoms.

* * *

Up in Washington the NAACP is angrily demanding that the police department assign white and Negro policemen to work together in teams. NAACP leaders claim this lack of close association makes Negroes angry and is one of the causes of so much lawlessness in Washington. It is hard to imagine an argument more absurd.

* * *

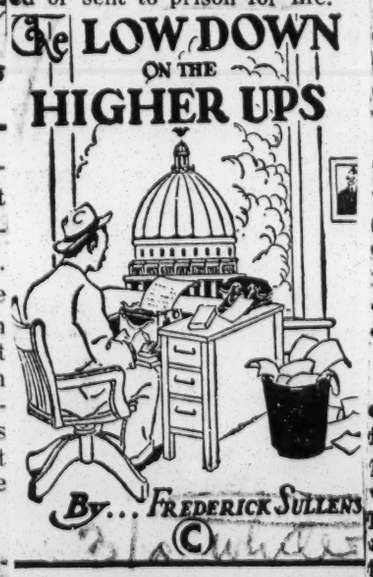
Rising costs for material and labor may cut down the mileage of the nation's new superhighways crossing the nation. There have been stiff advances in both material and labor costs since the $27,500,000,000 project was approved by Congress. Uncle Sam is paying 90 per cent of the cost of the new superhighway system.

* * *

The NAACP and other Negro organizations ought to realize by this time that the Republican party is not sincere in its championship of the pending civil rights bill. The Republican leaders purposely bungled the job while trying to steer it through the Senate. Radical Negroes seeking special rights were actually betrayed in what they thought was the house of their friends.

* * *

A horrible crime was committed in Washington a few days since. A thief devoid of heart or conscience slipped into the headquarters of the NAACP and stole a typewriter. The NAACP, of course, was rendered utterly helpless until somebody went out and managed to get another typewriter. Incidentally, Washington police captured the thief a few days later and the NAACP will no doubt demand that he be hanged or sent to prison for life.



The United States District Court of Appeals says, in effect, that it is perfectly all right for the Teamster's Union to stage a premeditated crooked election. That's law as nowdays interpreted by Federal tribunals. It follows in the footsteps of the decision of the United States Supreme Court showing high favor to Communists by permitting their lawyers free access to FBI files containing the evidence against them. "O, justice, thou art fled to brutish beasts, and man hath lost his reason!"

Because of inflation that old saying, "a penny for your thoughts," should be revised to read: "Two cents for what you are thinking about."

Mayor Mann, of Little Rock, backs President Eisenhower's use of troops. His name may be Mann but he lacks a lot of being a real man from the Southern point of view.

* * *

Added to our other trials, troubles, tribulations and downright disasters is the fact that the Asian flu and bad weather are playing havoc with the football season.

* * *

George L. Hartford, founder of the A. and P. store chain, is dead at the age of 92. He was the financial genius behind a chain of 4,200 stores that handled a business of more than $4,500,000,000 during the last year.

* * *

It's hard for thinking people to understand a Supreme Court that won't respect States' rights but will turn loose known Communists because of "insuffifient evidence", and order the FBI to open its files to every hoodlum and traitor in the country. All of it is politics, of course. The South suffers; the Negro is the pawn. The liberals of both parties want the minority vote so much they will yell for martial law to enforce their demand—all because of nine students in one high school in one city in one state.

* * *

What will it profit the Southern Negro to win these doubtful "rights" at the terrible price now being exacted? What of the rights of the white people who have largely bought and paid for these schools through their own sacrifice? Can they be expected to support these schools under the lash of "whatever force may be necessary? . . . What will it take to convince blind and willful people that social revolution cannot be thrust up on the South?

* * *

A far-reaching, and perhaps catasrophic, step has been taken by President Eisenhower. Even the small minority (of Southerners) who believe in integration may well stop and ponder whether the President isn't sowing seeds of bitterness that will poison race relations in the South for many years. It is an ominous development, and one which should give concern to the North—which has its own serious race problem—as well as to the South.

* * *

In Washington where Negroes form 70 percent of public school enrollment the board of education has deemed it necessary to set up special schools for Negro pupils from rural areas who have moved into the national capital. It is said the special schools are necessary to teach the newcomers the rudiments of urban life. In order to keep these schools from being segregated, of course, it may be necessary to call out the United States Army to order some rural whites to migrate to Washington and deseggregate these special schools. Special schools may be special only in a special way, you understand.

* * *

Gov. Coleman, Senator Eastland and Congressman Williams are correct in declaring that an overwhelming majority of the Negroes in Mississippi are opposed to sending their children to integrated schools. They well know the penalties that will follow compulsory integration, and they also know it would set back racial advancement at least a hundred years.

PASSING SCENE

By J. L. WALLIS

CAN PRAYER BE USED TO ATTAIN CHEAP POLITICAL GOALS?

Talladega, Ala

It seems the rabid forces of racial integration are now turning to the world of religion to carry forward its political schemes. The use of "prayer" is being promoted by the Negro minister-congressman Adam Clayton Powell and by one of the bleeding heart, "great white fathers," Bishop Oxnam. Churches and Synagogues are now being added to the long list of weapons to further the serious bitterness over the present controversy.

Talladega Daily Home 10-15-57

WALLIS

Any believing Christian, who is really a Christian knows that prayer is the most powerful forces beneath the shining sun. "Prayer changes things" is an expression with limitless meaning. The Master Teacher of all the ages, pleaded with all Christians to rely on prayer in His Name.

However, The Master also warned against the wrong kind of prayer. At the moment, there must be great masses of faithfuls, who must look with dire misgivings at those who would use, or attempt to use the power of prayer to further cheap political goals. Do prayers of this type ever leave the sound of the voice, offering entreaties to the Supreme Being. Are not such prayers in violation of the very basic concepts of Christianity?

How can any concerned church group of Christians offer prayers to integrate white society with Negroes, and forget entirely the pitiful plight of the thousands of Indians in the United States. After all, the American Indian was the original American, who was placed in this nation by the Supreme God of all races. There is no prayer for the lowly red man. Yet he lives in utter poverty and misery in many sectors of the country. Surely the Seminole Indian in the recesses of the Everglades lives in a state which is worse than many pampered animals. The Indians have bitterest types of racial segregation, for they must live on their own reservations.

The white man, using the force of arms, which Little Rock sees every day, drove the Indians into the depths of the snake and insect infested Everglades, and into the desert - like reservations in several of our western states. There is also the yellow man, living in Chinatowns in some of our largest cities. He dares not think of leaving his strictly segregated Chinatown. Yet, we have seen no accounts of prayer meetings being held by Negro Churches or White Churches, or even by mixed churches in behalf of the red man or yellow man. Is he not a part of the human race? He very definitely is, but he does not bloc vote, and his voting strength is nil. Therefore he gets no prayers.

Is the Negro race the only one worthy of public prayer services? Are the churches unconcerned about the plight of the white man who believes in keeping both the black and white race pure? Are the Powells and the Oxnams with all their disciples wholly unconcerned about the American Indians, or the oppressed oriental in our midst?

The glaring facts which rear the truth to a height of prominence in a confusion of false activity, must make the real God fearing Christian, who really believes in his Master, shudder to see his Christianity being warped to fit cheap politics and grasping politicians.

Talladega Ala

The desecration of prayer can bring a curse upon those who violate every concept of soul saving Christianity. This nation is being brought into a state, where complete annihilation at the hands of atheistic communism is a reality. Has this nation, which was founded on Christianity and grew powerful and wealthy by placing its trust in God, now turned its back on the Truth and the true foundations of Christianity? There are many signs that it has.

PASSING SCENE

Daily Home

By J. L. WALLIS

Fri. 8-9-57

THE SOUTH'S POLITICAL COURSE IS UNCHARTED

Talladega Ala.

Politically, the South faces a future filled with more question marks than ever before in its history. We are going somewhere but the course lies over uncharted seas, and through unmapped terrain. The South has since the beginning of the uncertain post-war years, tried several routes which have proved to be dead ends, and ways to nowhere. Still politically, the South is most unhappy and seemingly is lost in a quandary of enigmas.

WALLIS

We can not but feel confident that some day the South will become a region of this nation with a strong two-party system. We think that time was near in 1950. However, selfish and grasping politically minded powers who came into control in 1953 have done just about everything possible to alienate the Southern support for the Republican party. Any inclination that Southern states might have had to set up permanent Republican organizations has been killed for this era by Dwight D. Eisenhower and his cohorts. Maybe in the decades ahead, there will arise Republican leadership with a vision and with the best interest of the entire nation at heart. Rights of majorities must be respected in our form of government, or any party which tries to build without this keystone, builds a house of cards.

It is highly questionable if the forces of Adlai Stevenson would have handled national affairs in a manner more acceptable to the South. However, we in the South understood the Soapy Williams, the Hubert Humphreys, the Adam Clayton Powells and the sweetheart of the Americans for Democratic Action. Had they done precisely the same thing as have the Eisenhower Republicans, we would have expected as much. The great shock comes from great men who reverse themselves and their firm stand on basic issues. It is shock of great men becoming petty politicians.

The third party made a bold stand in some Southern states, and Strom Thurmond as presidential candidate received the vote of several states back in 1948. There is some merit to a third party, but there is no permanent haven in it for the South. Third party representatives and senators in the Congress would have little if any real power. They would have no seniority, and would probably never attain any, due to a changing political situation in the South. As a temporary means a third party could possibly achieve some attainments, but nothing of permanent value.

Surely the national democratic party of Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman had no love for Dixie and nothing to offer except the merest traditional patronage belonging to Southern Democrats in the Congress. However, if the South can elect men to the Congress, who have enough aggressive leadership, or demand of those already holding seniority, that they exert every icta of power they command for the best interest of the South and forget all personal goals, then there is a chance of relief in the democratic party of our fathers.

All has not been lost by several Southern states deserting the democratic party and by a heavy republican vote being cast in all South states. It has shown the national democratic party that the South can not be expected to always remain in a puppy dog role for northern democrats. This Southland is a new dynamic empire. It has everything. It will not be satisfied to be a wagging tail for the dog. We must have some powerful say-so in the tail wagging. We expect this to be shown at the next national democratic convention. It will be a warm homecoming for Southern delegations, the kind of which the South is unaccustomed. We would not miss it for anything.

Daily Home

The immediate future of the South lies wholly in the democratic party. The long range future must bring a powerful two party system but that will not come until the republican party is willing to accept the South as a part of the union.

PASSING SCENE

By J. L. WALLIS

ANOTHER WAY OUT FOR THE SOUTH

There is increasing assurance that the national political sweepstake in 1960 will find a strong third party vying for votes. It is, of course, too early at this time to hazard any guess of the extent any third party can attract a national following. The Eisenhower fiasco at Little Rock, Arkansas has turned thousands of Staunch Republicans away from the GOP. Even far more thousands of Eisenhower democrats, will never look toward the Republican party again in this century.

WALLIS

There are still more millions of Southern voters who know full well there can be no change in the race mixing attitude of the national democratic party, which started all the furor to gain a bloc vote, in the first place.

A sound third party can leave home with several million votes in the bag, that is, if this third party can have the proper leadership. Already, the United States News and World Report, which is highly authoritative, has reported that Senator Dick Russell of Georgia, would not look without favor to a leading role in this new political party. There is reason to believe that men like Byrnes of South Carolina, Byrd of Virginia and conservative Republicans as well could cast their lot with a third party in 1960.

The third party slate should not be for those running for President and Vice President, alone. The South needs many senators and congressmen, who are bold enough and independent enough to win a victory as third party candidates. Alabama has two senators who have more or less played footsie" with the liberalest elements of national democratic party, and there are many others like Tennessee's Gore and Kefauver, who bow down to national political goals and turn their back on the state which elected them. In our darkest moment, Alabama has almost been devoid of top leadership that was able and willing to fight with no holds barred for Southern ideals and tradition.

The South must have proper leadership or it will continue to writhe in the throes of controversy and desperation. The South is awakening to the gravity of the peril it faces. We have heard for too many years about the power of "seniority" for our congressmen. We must elect loyal democrats for they have seniority, we have heard over and over again. However, we find ourselves today, with all our questionable seniority and in the deepest depths of despair. It is the minority who have never heard of seniority that is winning every political battle from the White House to the Supreme Court and from Congress down to the private's unsheathed bayonet.

What can a third party win, is often asked in a tone of futility. A third party can win almost any goal it desires. The democratic party has never elected a President without the Southern vote. This a according to the record. The Republicans are enjoying their last President, probably in this generation. It takes 266 electorial votes to win the Presidency. With a strong third party, it is next to an impossibility for either the Democrats or the Republicans to get 266 electorial votes.

If this should be the case in 1960, then each congressional delegation in the House must cast ONE vote, only ONE vote for a President. Thus Mississippi would have as much voice as would New York, Alabama would vote on an equal with Illinois, and so on throughout the balloting. It would take 25 votes to elect a President in the House of Representatives. The possibilities are clear and a reality. The Southern states, if they stood shoulder to shoulder could possibly get enough help from conservative New England or from the Western states to elect their own man. If not, they would have enough trading strength to demand their own price.

Three times in our history the President has been elected by the House of Representatives. It seems there will be a fourth time in 1960.

PASSING SCENE

By J. L. WALLIS

DARKER DAYS APPROACH

The impact of the shocking Little Rock Story is beginning to be felt all over these United States and in foreign countries. The Eisenhower bayonet thrust at the back of the South, as startling as it has been to Southern people, carries terrible implications to many thinking people all over the Northland and in freedom loving foreign countries.

WALLIS

It is being said on excellent authority that Chief Justice Warren is surprised at the effect his forced integration, is having abroad. Republican planners of vote-getting projects are beginning to doubt the wisdom of the trickery.

Already there are British newspapers who condemn the Eisenhower invasion of the civilian South. Signs are appearing in Paris which proclaim, "Vive Faubus," or long live Faubus. The Frenchman, with all his many faults, is still a man steeped in liberty and freedom.

The military force applied in Little Rock as only military conquerors apply it to a defeated enemy people, has awakened millions of American voters. Some of the loudest voices and some of the best thinking minds in the United States are taking the side of freedom loving people. Some of the most widely read writers of the land are ardent in condemnation of Eisenhower's military occupation and military rule.

The serious and dangerous implications which are making a deep impression on the American people at this moment, can well mean that the Little Rock fiasco, will do more to aid the downtrodden Southland, than has anything to happen since the black day in May 1954. Unquestionably, the Eisenhower stab-in- the-back has united Dixie as never before since the 1860's

Eisenhower has done more to discredit the armed services than any modern American. The uniform of a paratrooper will be in the category with the carpet bag for years to come. Actually the uniform of a peacetime service man will not be a glamorous costume in the Southern Empire that it was in the past. Millions of Southern voices will not be able to sing The Star Spangled Banner with the same gusto as in the past. Eisenhower has spilt this nation has it has never been split since 1861.

This nation must be reunited and reunited as quickly as possible. We can never do anything but drift wider and wider apart, so long has federal troops are stationed in the South, or in the North to force civilian populations to do things at a bayonet point dripping with civilian blood.

The controversy is no longer one raised over racial integration or racial segregation. It is far more dangerous than that. The Supeme Court with Justice Warren in control, the Department of Justice under Brownell, and the military dictator, Eisenhower have played their illegal cards just as the Kremlin would have desired to play them. The nation is being split asunder. Race is being pitted against race. The South is being turned away from the North. Freedom loving people are being turned in horror away from the forces of despotism in the uniform of American military men.

American is a much easier and weaker target for Russian conquest today than it was last month, or last year or before the election of Dwight D. Eisenhower. When we are considered ripe for a Russian onslaught, we can surely expect to feel the power of Russian Arms. Eisenhower has promoted the possibility of this day coming sooner.

It is far past time for the Supreme Court to re-consider and for Eisenhower to assume complete control and reverse the trend upon which he has started this nation toward oblivion. Unless this is done, it is time the Congress, especially the United States Senate to call itself in special session, to take whatever drastic steps necessary to save this nation from its own folly and from Russian domination in the end. These are dark days for America. Dark days for liberty and freedom Darker days are come soon unless something sensible and drastic is done quickly.

31a 1957

WHITE (J.L. WALLIS)

PASSING SCENE

Daily Home
Talladega, Ala.

By J. L. WALLIS

THE CONFERENCE IS SORELY NEEDED

Fri. 9-13-57

Regardless of the outcome of the meeting of President Eisenhower and Governor Orval Faubus, of Arkansas, it would seem that the suffering cause of the South will be served to a lesser or greater degree.

WALLIS

The President of the United States is going to listen to the other side of the integration controversy, and he is going to learn things that the integrating guards of his ivory tower have not told him. His Warrens, Brownells, Sherman Adams and all the rest of the inner circle including Brother Milton, have not told Ike the Southern side of the bitterest question of the age. Surely Dwight D. Eisenhower is ignorant of the impossible position he has taken. Surely he is not trying to split this nation into two enemy camps at a time when we have the most threatening common enemy in all our history.

We can not have a nation divided. If we are divided, we can only become sitting ducks for cruel communism. We can not afford a nation divided any more than we can afford a nation, or great segments of a free nation ruled by the minority. Minority rule can only maintain power by the reckless use of armed force, or rough a widespread system of the police state. Actually the recently passed, misnamed Rights Bill, sets up a vast state police system, and will place the entire Southern Empire under a federal police state.

This can not possibly work, for in a land where there is anything resembling liberty or freedom, all laws and court decress must be receptive to the majority of the people. Faubus has pointed out that something like 98% of his mail and telegrams have supported his position. Eight out of 10 members of the Little Rock City commission supported the Governor, even if the defeated Mayor did assali him.

Mr. Eisenhower needs to know some of the real facts about the South. It is clearly evident that he does not and ignorance on any controversial subject is a dangerous thing. We recently heard first hand a true story of a Detroit white lady, who has ardently supported racial integration as the "Christian thing" and could not understand why mixing and mingling of the races at all levels was not the "brotherly way." She lived in a "white castle in the clouds" in a fine residential area of Detroit.

It took less than one year for her attitude to make a diametrical change when a Negro family moved into her exclusive neighborhood. Though the family was far above any average level for Negroes, or whites for that matter, her neighborhood had been ruined by Negroes, she claimed. This all bears out the old story that in the South the white people love the Negroes as individual persons, but are relucant to accept the entire race. In the North the individual Negro is hatred, but his race is acceptable. The individual, be he white or Negro, can not change his race. He can only make himself, as an individual, respected and accepted. This the Negro can do in the segregated South. This he can not do in the so-called integrated North.

Southern segregation is a kindly way of life. Mr. Eisenhower evidently does not know and does not believe this. He needs the facts which Orval Faubus can give him. In the highest levels of military brass and in the exclusion of the White House and on luxury golf courses, the President has had no chance to learn first hand, as did the lady in Detroit.

The South has hopes of avoiding a head on collision of disaster, if the President and official Washington will sit down and listen to reason and the facts of life. If these integrationists will lay aside theory that has never worked in the ages of mankind and will face the facts, there is hopes for a peaceful settlement of a grave danger that is engulfing this nation. The Faubus - Eisenhower conference could herald a new day in the bitter race controversy which is raging at this moment.

PASSING SCENE

Home News

By J. L. WALLIS

Sun. 9-8-57

TIME FOR HONEST THINKING AND SOUL SEARCHING

Talladega, Ala.

In days like these, when bitterness is growing beyond all bounds of common sense, in the mounting controversy between the two races in the South, it would benefit all, if some of the best characteristics of members of both races would be considered. Locally, there has never been anything but a kindly relationship between the peoples who know this section of the world as home.

WALLIS

This column, once carried an account of William Smoot, who without question, is too us, one of our finest citizens. He is a permanent cripple, who has for years made his own living and was far too proud to accept any kind of charity, execpt the fair consideration of his fellowman. Though possessing a hopeless handicap, he for many years went about his task of salesmanship and earned his own living. He is a Negro.

There has been an account in this column, of the greatest display of Christian faith we have ever seen on the part of a devout Christian Negro, who once worked for us in another business in another county.

We have all known Negro friends of the family, in whose kind hands we have entrusted our most helpless babies, as many of us were entrusted during the yesteryears. The record of good efficient care of so many of the Negroes outstrips that of even the parents. There is something in the basic character of the honest Negro that magnifies faithfulness.

We have a friend of the family, who is now in his eighties, a Negro, who worked hard and long for over 50 years at one job. Christmas and New Year's mornings were never complete until this faithful made his customary call. No family reunion was possible without him. His wife, who has gone to her reward, and we know it was great, has breast fed more than one white child, when the day of baby formulas had not arrived. These business men today owe their very lives to this kind of responsibility on the part of Talladega Negroes.

The story that we have all heard, which was handed down to us by grand parents or a special great aunt, about the inherent faithfulness of the Negro in slavery days, should be recalled in this day of confusion. Though freed by the orders of President Lincoln, and done so that slaves might cause great difficulty by mass uprisings, these faithful Negroes remained faithful to the white women on the plantation, when all the men folks were fighting in tattered grey uniforms far away from home.

All the fine upright characteristics of the Negro in the past are not dead. There are renegade individuals of both races. There are also, more fine and honorable men and women. To these latter, the entire South must look to for aggressive leadership in this dark day. By his very trusting nature, many Southern Negroes have been misled by the outside rabble-rouser and trouble maker, and by the over zealous "do-gooder." Most white people know the trustworthy members of the oppostie race, while the same is quite true of the more intelligent Negro. These must let their cooperation be openly shown.

Recently, we heard a true account of a Negro woman, who went to the hospital to pay an old bill. First, an old account for about $80 was found, but this honest Negro said that she owed much more, for she wanted the old accounts for several members of her family paid. Under various names and on several past due ledger sheets, a total of more than $300 was claimed by this Negro woman. She paid it all and walked away with a clear honest conscience. The Lord had been good to her. She had come into some property and money, and wanted to pay everyone, who had helped her when her need was great and she had no money.

Home News P. 2

Let's all look for the best in both races. This is so necessary at this moment. Hatred, bitterness and threats of violence and violence, itself, will avail nothing but more of the same, multiplied many times.

PASSING SCENE

Home

By J. L. WALLIS

Talladega, Ala

A BIT OF INTERESTING CHURCH HISTORY

About one-third of the membership of the Talladega First Baptist Church were Talladega Negroes. This is a statement taken from a Talladega Daily Home in a front page story printed on December 19, 1921. This membership count was made prior to 1870, according to the story. In 1870, at the request of the Negro membership, they were organized by the Pastor and officers of the First Baptist into the Mt. Canaan Baptist Church for Negroes.

WALLIS

The first Negro pastor of the Mt. Canaan Church was Rev. William M. McAlpine, colored, who was baptized and ordained by a pastor of the First Baptist Church, The Rev. J. J. D. Renfroe.

Of course, the newspaper story printed in 1921 was long before the raging controversy over racial integration began. The facts in the story about the history of the Talladega Baptist church were taken from a collection of historial facts compiled by the late John C. Williams, editor of the Talladega Daily Home.

In connection with the 1921 newspaper story is a large photograph of the Baptist Church when it was located on East Street, which is now the offices of our farm officials. The large magnolia trees have changed little during the last 36 years, judging by the old picture.

The Baptist Church used the building now standing on East Street for the first time on April 27th, 1873 when Dr. Jas D. Gwaltney preached at the eleven o'clock services.

According to the 1921 newspaper article, the ordinance of baptism was first administered in the East Street church on July 5th, 1873. It was at the close of a five weeks meeting, conducted by the pastor, Rev, J. J. D. Renfroe and Rev. W. Wilkes. On the occasion between 40 and 50 converts "were buried with Christ in baptism."

The First Baptist Church of Talladega was organized as the Good Hope Baptist church on the 31st day of May is 1835, in a log cabin school house, which stood near where First Methodist Church now stands, according to the story published in 1921. Elders Joab Lawler and Oliver Welch constituted the presiding presbytery. These two were members of the old Talladega Church, now the Alpine Baptist Church. The church was first organized with ten members and three of that number were Negroes. At the first monthly meeting, eight members were added to the church, among them were Dr. Samuel Henderson and Mrs. Susan Bishop Mrs. Bishop was the first person baptized by the Rev. Oliver Welch.

Soon after the organization of the church, a house of worship was erected at the corner of North and Spring Streets. The church later maintained a a parsonage at the corner of West and Coosa Street. It was destroyed by fire in 1899, when a lot was purchased and new pasonage built at the corner of East and Brignoli Street.

The Church held a suitable jubilee service on the first Sunday in June, 1885 to commemorate its 50th anniversary. The committee which arranged the program consisted of G. A. Joiner, John Henderson, S. D. Kyser, J. H. Clabaugh, Mrs. R. A. McMillan, Mrs. E. E. McGaha and Mrs. J. M. Crowder. Addresses were made by John W. Bishop, John Henderson, J. A. Woodward, and A. S. Worrill. Sermons were preached by the Rev. J. J. D. Renfroe, and the Rev.

PASSING SCENE

By J. L. WALLIS

EXPLOSIVE POWER POLITICS

Daily Home

Alabama's Governor Folsom has declared that there is little doubt about Alabama being integrated under enough presidential pressures. Folsom says that Eisenhower could force racial integration on this state, because the president has the powers to see that the Supreme Court decisions are carried out. We do not believe there are many thinking people in Alabama, no matter how violently they oppose Folsomism, who would not agree with the Governor in this matter. Unless the national political atmosphere changes radically, it is most difficult to see how the public schools and other public facilities, and probably many private fields will undergo racial integration.

WALLIS

Talladega, Ala

There is an excellent chance that the national political atmosphere will change, if not soon, almost for sure in the future. After the desperate GOP gamble for the Negro vote, a gamble that sacrificed all Republican support in the South, the Republican candidates in local election, recently failed miserably to get the bloc minority vote. In fact, according to the authorities, this Negro vote went heavier Democratic than it did in the past during the era of Eisenhower.

Eisenhower and his grasping party have been playing for high political stakes, and they have been taken for the big sucker by the minority bloc vote. If the GOP thought it could regain its lost popularity with the bloc vote in the North, no doubt the GOP would force the integration issue in the deep South, and force it with all possible speed. However, if the bloc vote can not be gained with such revolutionary, tradition-shattering disaster, then for the time being, the South may be safe.

Governor Folsom, made the statement that he hoped there would be no court cases in Alabama while Eisenhower was President, and was seemingly proud that no court cases were pending in Alabama at this time. It is hardly possible the next Democratic President, and one is sure to be elected in 1960, will be any kind of segregationist, or look with favor on racial segregation. In fact, there is every reason to believe the next president, especially if he is a democrat will use more pressure than ever to force integration at greatly increased speeds. To do otherwise, would be to lose the same support that the Republicans are making the big play to obtain.

Then too, it seems a bit more than foodhardy for any Alabama Governor to feel any consolation in the fact there are no court cases pending. These cases can be instituted on any day the NAACP and its ardent integration crowd sees fit. Plenty of grounds have been established for suits in Alabama. If the cases are not started toward the Supreme Court, it will not be because of anything Alabama officials do or fail to do. Once these cases are filed, there can be little doubt about what will happen when they reach the Supreme Court.

If all this sounds hopeless, it is because, if the past voting of Southern states is any indication, especially the voting here in Alabama, there is a dark and gloomy future ahead. The controversy is entirely a dynamite ladened political one. The political picture can change. The millions of Southern voters can make it change, if they re willing to stand firm as a Southern bloc. This has not been done in the past, and it is highly doubtful that it will be done in the future. However, there is the possibility.

Daily Home

So long as the South continues to elect men to high office, who have straddled the fence, and men who place party and personal position above the cause of Dixie, we will have more and more integration. Actually, in many cases over the past decade the South, including Alabama has been voting for integration indirectly, by electing to high office men that have failed to fight when the real chips were down.

Talladega, Ala

Shortly, there will be a great Southern invasion by federal civil rights officials in accordance with the infamous rights bill that was voted into law last summer. With this invasion will probably come a renewed effort by the NAACP to get on swiftly with the integration disaster. If the present administration in Washington does not change its destructive course, then backed by the unlimited pressures and forces of the Eisenhower administration, there is no way beneath Dixie skies to maintain segregation in the public schools or anywhere else. But remember integration is nothing but explosive power politics.

Editorials

The Court's Evil Error Is Being Proved

Since the infamous decree of the United States Supreme Court on May 17th, 1954 there has been a mounting series of racial incidents across this entire nation.

The events of recent weeks, events which have been occurring more and more frequently in the northern sections of our land, are proving a good many things about race relations.

Proof of the Supreme Court's serious error is being made clear all across this great country.

It is being proved, beyond a shadow of doubt, that the Southern system of racial segregation is a kindly system, and the best way of life when two races must live in close contact with each other.

There are many reliable reports that several of our Northern cities are ignorantly sitting on proverbial racial powder kegs.

Violent explosions are bound to increase the growing number of racial clashes in some of our big northern and eastern cities.

Some greedy politicians, some "do-gooder" church authorities, and the liberals and radicals have betrayed the two races in America.

They have sown a terrible wind and now must be responsible for reaping a bloody whirlwind if something can not be done quickly.

In a little over three years, the segregation system in the South has gained more American support, especially in the north and far west, than at any time in our national history.

Things have grown so much worse that there is even a bill proposed before the Congress to make it possible for mass migration to Liberia in Africa. The proposed legislation come from a Senator from North Dakota

The decree of May 1954 has caused the model education system in Washington to rock and reel under the impact of racial integration. It is at this moment almost destroyed, and points to the end of public schools, not only in the Southland, but across the nation, if this monster, racial integration, is further promoted.

With the way the controversial racial situation is developing, within a decade, there will be drastic reversal of political pressures. The church is bound to revalue its erroneous, and impossible position.

When the clock pendelum swings, it often swings back too far, bringing too much reaction as already, the proposed legislation to send Negroes back to Africa indicates.

Surely, there are plenty of reasonable and sane Americans, members of both races who have the best interest of all the people at heart. Surely something drastic enough to correct the destructive tide that has set in, can be done.

Segregation has brought a kindly way of life, prosperity and better peaceful living to members of both races in this Southland of ours.

Unless it can be properly maintained on a national basis, there hovers over us a growing danger of unlimited destruction. A danger that grow, and grows more realistic with each passing day.

PASSING SCENE

By J. L. WALLIS

WALLIS

THE AMENDMENTS

This column has already discussed the first six amendments, which must be voted on by Alabamians when December 17th arrives. There is a good reason why all these first six should merit favorable consideration by the voters.

It seems to us that all of the remaining 19 amendments, with the exception of number 10, have local implications. It is difficult for any layman to translate a long list of legal words and phrases into common understandable English. Even legal minds clash violently over legal phraseology. However, it seems to us that amendment 10 should be favorably considered, for it will permit unpledged county revenue to be spent for hospital purposes. Counties have long had an obligation in this field, and some have accepted it. All should be given the legal green light to do so. A yes vote is imperative.

There are several amendment which will allow specified counties to place school and education taxes, raise the rate, etc for the county school systems. All of these deserve favorable consideration, when they also carry the provision that the lcoal people in these county must vote the tax upon themselves. We expect to vote yes, on all the school money amendments, which leave the final decision up to the people in those counties. It seems to us that No. 8 affecting Cleburne County is in this category, as is No. 9 for Russell, No. 15 affecting Tallapoosa County, No. 16 for Colbert County. Similar in coverage is No. 17 in Butler County. We believe all these deserve favorable consideration.

There are several amendments concerning changing the fee system of payments to officials to a salary basis and to fix court cost and fees. We think these deserve favorable consideration by Alabama voters. No. 12 affecting Walker County is one of these, as is No. 20 for DeKalb County, No. 21 for Madison, No. 22 for Colbert, No. 23 for Cullman, No. 24 for Dallas and No. 25 for Montgomery. The last one deals only with court cost and court fees.

Among the other Amendments are several that are rather controversial and deserve close reading and careful consideration. For instance No. 18 which deals with the abolishing of Macon County is one. This is a drastic step toward trying to solve the race problems created by a Supreme Court mistake. There has been little heard from Macon County residents in the press of the state A decision is difficult. However this column will string along with Sam Engelhardt, the sponsor of this amendment. We admire him, and for this reason will vote, yes, on his amendment, No. 18.

No. 7 is a very complicated amendment concerning Mobile County. The people in Mobile County will not be given the right, they deserve, to have a local vote if Alabama voters approve. We will vote, no, on No. 7 for this these reasons.

Amendment No. 11 would affect Alabama towns of under 6,0000, by letting them borrow additional money for schools, streets and sewers. There is some question about this one, but the possible good features seem to outweigh unfavorable.

13 concerns Marion County and it seems to be a "sleeper". It would give someone a free hand to spend public money for most any and everything. "Schools and other improvements" is the terminology used in paving the way for new spending. Other improvements could mean anything with no limitations. This amendment deserve about the biggest. NO, all the twenty-five, in our following close behind in getting our, no vote, will be No. 14 concerning Pollock County. This would allow almost unlimited and indefinite use of public money for the county to go into business, dealing in real estate, industrial developments and the like. This is not a duty or responsibility of any branch of free government. The

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PASSING SCENE

By J. L. WALLIS

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WALLIS

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Among the other Amendments are several that are rather controversial and deserve close reading and careful consideration. For instance No. 18 which deals with the abolishing of Macon County is one. This is a drastic step toward trying to solve the race problems created by a Supreme Court mistake. There has been little heard from Macon County residents in the press of the state. A decision is difficult. However this column will string along with Sam Engelhardt, the sponsor of this amendment. We admire him, and for this reason will vote, yes, on his amendment, No. 18.

No. 7 is a very complicated amendment concerning Mobile County. The people in Mobile County will not be given the right, they deserve, to have a local vote if Alabama voters approve. We will vote, no, on No. 7 for this these reasons.

Amendment No. 11 would affect Alabama towns of under 6,0000, by letting them borrow additional money for schools, streets and sewers. There is some question about this one, but the possible good features seem to outweigh unfavorable.

No. 13 concerns Marion County and it seems to be a "sleeper". It would give someone a free hand to spend public money for most any and everything. "Schools and other improvements" is the terminology used in paving the way for new spending. Other improvements could mean anything with no limitations. This amendment deserve about the biggest. NO, of all the twenty-five, in our estimation.

Following close behind in getting our, no vote, will be No. 14 concerning Bullock County. This would allow almost unlimited and indefinite use of public money for the county to go into business, dealing in real estate, industrial developments and the like. This is not a duty or responsibility of any branch of free government. The

field : that of private enterprise and we will vote a positive, NO, for . . . 4.

This leaves only one amendment, No. 19 which concerns Walker County. It would forbid any municipality in Walker from placing a tax on salaries, or payrolls, like that imposed at Gadsden in Etowah County. County. There are pros and cons to this, but we rather are inclined to vote against the Walker County amendment for this is a state wide controversy and must be settled there.

All of these amendments are important. Just because so many are on the list and just because the legal reading is complicated, is no reason to stay away from the polls. Take time to study each amendment and then, for sure, go vote as conscience dictates.

PASSING SCENE

Daily Home
Talladega Ala

By J. L. WALLIS

Tues. 9-6-57

WE STAND UNDER THE OAKS OF RUNNYMEDE

While candidates for the Governor's chair in Alabama make unlimited promises and claims of what they would do in case of school integration in Alabama there is one governor in the South, who is showing them what to do.

WALLIS

Governor Orval Faubus has become a rallying point for all the tradition of Dixie. He has shown himself to be capable of leading the South out of a stormy sea of disastrous confusion.

Governor Marvin Griffin of Georgia has commended Faubus in glowing words and has vowed he would follow the same resistance tactics in Georgia. The silence of Alabama is rather deafening. A state is no stronger than its leadership. Part of Alabama's is on the high seas, junket bound Other parts are mired down below the surface in useless word battles, because the program of Folsomism is so weak and unacceptable.

It is reported that of the first 1500 telegrams which rained on the Arkansas Governor, all but four supported is firm stand in behalf of racial segregation. This is quite the reverse from the integrating voices of the Little Rock Ministerial Association.

The poor "bleeding hearts" of some news commentaters play up the pitiful plight of the innocent but ignorant Negro children who are attempting to enter a number of Southern white schools. These weepers of crocodile tears, would try to have the national listener believe it is the cruel bigotry of the Southern white who is causing the suffering of the turned away Negro pupils. But, who is to blame actually?

Those responsible are the selfish northern politician, joined by some renegade southerners, who espouse the infamous civil rights in order to win a few votes. Others responsible, are the misinformed, misled and mistaken Southern clergymen, who join hands with the NAACP to lead innocent Negro children into a position of utter impossibility.

The avid integrationist is anxious to place the blame for the holocaust he is building upon the shoulders of others. He fans the fires of bitter hatred, and racial destruction, yet he wants to blame everyone and everything but himself.

At this writing, Eisenhower, who has tried to walk a very narrow path in the school integration controversy, will be forced to take a definite stand. This is something the President has avoided, by making remarks that sounded good to both sides of the integration fence. The time for "pussy-footing" is over. Faubus has taken an entirely new stand on the basic foundations of America free government. All Southerners and all Americans who honestly love and seek liberty and freedom have only one haven at the moment and that is in the camp of Arkansas's Governor.

The race controversy has become a full legal personality, but it seems the issue will not be decided along color lines at all. The real issue will be decided on the sovereign rights of the individual states. Can the federal authorities at their whim and fancy, take over the sovereign states? Is there anything resembling freedom for a state and the individuals who reside in that state, or does all authority rest in the centralized federal powers at Washington?

If the rights, liberties and freedoms of the majority who live within this Southern Empire are real, then Governor Faubus is absolutely right. If millions of white Southerners are little more than serfs to federal despotism, then Faubus must fail. If Faubus does fail, a vast population will become enslaved under the regime of Dwight D. Eisenhower, a man who from the beginning has been an ardent supporter of the sovereign state, or at least he paid it loud lip service.

Daily Home

Tues. 9-6-57

The Southland stands under the same Oaks of Runnymede just as did our forebears some 700 years ago. They won the Magna Charta and freedom. They won jury trials. Will all these lost seven centuries later?

PASSING SCENE

Daily Home

By J. L. WALLIS

Talladega, Ala.

On the 17th of December, the voters in Alabama will be called upon to go to the polls and decide the fate of a long list of constitutional amendments. There are some 25 decisions for the voters to make.

WALLIS

This voting date will be in the midst of the Christmas rush when every one will be much busier than usual. However, it behooves everyone to take time out for a few minutes and vote. The foundation stones of our system of government require that every qualified voter meet the responsibility of casting a free ballot whenever called upon to do so. Unless the ballots are properly counted and recorded, our basic foundations of free government begin to crumble. There are never any unimportant voting days in America.

Tues. 12-3-57

THE FIRST SIX AMENDMENTS

All of the first six Amendments concern bond issues to provide new money gor existing institutions and enterprises in Alabama. None of these six will require any new taxes. It is expected that the money borowed, if the Alabama voters approve, can be paid back later from the state's increasing revenues. Alabama is growing and its taxes increasing each year. With proper and efficient state government, no doubt it would be possible to repay the money in the future without new taxes. However, with irresponsible government, which we have seen at times in recent years, it could take new taxes to pay off existing obligations, without incurring new ones.

Borrowed money must be repaid. This is something that can not be avoided. However, this column is in complete support for Amendment No. 2, which concerns Talladega and Talladega County, directly. It would provide $3 million dollars from a bond issue to modernize the local state schools for the deaf and blind. We should give Amendment No. 2 an overwhelming vote of approval.

Amendment No. 4 would provide $4.5 million dollars from bond issues to aid the University of Alabama Medical School so that it can expand. The state needs basic research in the field of medicine and the training of young Alabamians to become high class doctors, technicians and nurses. This column believes No 4 should be approved. No. 6 is related to No. 4 in some respects for it also concerns Alabama health. It would allow the state to sell $2 million dollars in bonds to match federal money to build TB hospitals, health centers and general hospitals. We think both of these should be approved.

Amendment No. 5 is worthy of complete approval by Alabama voters. It will provide money to expand the Auburn school of agriculture and veterinary education. The latter is specially essential since Alabama is becoming a leading livestock state. Agriculture has made more advances in recent years than most any field of endeavor in the South. This new money will be provided by bond issues nad without new taxes. If should return handsome dividends to the state in increasing the income from its most basic industry.

Amendment No. 3 would allow the interest rates for bonds voted last year to be increased. The bond issue to improve and expand the Alabama facilities for taking care of our mentally sick was approved, but the interest rate set so low, no money could be borrowed. This amendment should be approved.

Of this first six amendments, this leaves only No. 1. We think that the first amendment also has considerable merit. We have a local Talladegan, Thomas Copley on the State Docks Board. This first amendment would provide an over all $10 million dollars in bond issues to improve the dock facilities and expand them along several river shipping points. This concerns the development, both present and future of our state. Only $3 million dollars of this money can be used until the legislature makes further approvals for spending the money. We will vote, yes, for this amendment, as we will for the first six on the list.

Tues. 12-3-57

The other 19 amendments are mostly of local nature, but we expect to outline their meaning in a brief way in a later column. Regardless of how one feels about the long list of new amendments, we can not urge too strong the necessity of going out and voting.

PASSING SCENE

Home News
Talladega Ala.
Sun 9-1-57

By J. L. WALLIS

"WHAT CAN WE DO"

The South is now living under the imposition of Eisenhower's civil rights bill, which was passed overwhelmingly by the United States Senate. The legal authority of the nation is on the side of integration. The South has surrendered, or rather the Southern politicians have surrendered. South Carolina's Strom Thurmond, almost alone, fought against the evil measure, which has been rammed down Dixie throats.

WALLIS

Alabama's own John Sparkman was on a "junket" around the world, when Alabama was suffering its darkest day since Appomattox on the floors of the United States Senate. Eastland, Erwin, Stennis, Russell and all the rest were strangely silent though strongly opposed to any civil rights Bill.

Life Magazine, which is a loud voice for racial mixing, said editorially that it had been amazed at the lack of fight on the part of Dixie Congressman. With this statement, we must, for once, agree with Life.

It seems to this column, that local apprehension is running higher at this very moment, and that there is a far greater opposition being manifest against integration, than at any time since this false political issue has confronted us. The Southern public, it seems has waited until almost every legal instrument to preserve segregation has been surrendered by its Congressmen, Governors and others in high political places.

"What can we do?" is an anxious question, which is being asked by more and more voices rising from the masses. That is an unanswerable question at this moment. For ten years, some people have been deeply concerned, yet Southern voters continued to elect men to high office, whose stand on the issue was exceedingly weak, to say the least. Our Senator, who was on the high seas, junket bound, was one of these, who stood with Adlai Stevenson in a race for the nation's highest office. His absence during Alabama's darkest day in 82 years is most difficult to understand.

With all legal blocks removed, the forces of integration will rush into the South with increasing tempo. A new day and new order will evolve. It is even possible that newspaper voices, that violently disagree with legal integration, may be hauled before a federal judge of Herbert Brownell and in this new day to be charged with some kind of conspiracy.

The evils pointed out, evils to members of both races may begin to grow in the form of highly secret white organizations, and also Negro organizations. As federal forces encamp on the Southern battlefields, there will be growing "underground" forces, or a new kind of "freedom fighters." The dangers from organizations like the KKK are being nurtured by ignorant politicians, even the top one who will sign the new "wrongs" bill.

Citizens Councils have been given their greatest impetus in this recent debacle. This group fights with legal methods and in the open, but it may be forced to go underground, if Brownell's gestapo gets too active. There will be a decided growth in a resistance movement. The forces coming south in the role of modern carpetbaggers will become as unpopular as those of yesteryears. It

Continued on Page 2 on 6 Col

is hard to see how good Georgia people will be able to again welcome the man who will sign a bill to kill their liberty.

Home News

Great changes are coming to this Southland. There is every indication that they will not be good for either race. It seems that Washington has been following a policy "of any means is justified if the desired goals are attained." This is an old communist way. It is anti-American and anti-Christian.

Sun 9-1-57

Able new men must be elected to many high political offices in the South. Force and violence will accomplish nothing. The same evil tactics as used by Washington will not aid the South. Wise, Christian leadership must be voted into every public office. After all, The Perfect Man was a fighter, when the issue was sufficiently grave. There will be brighter days ahead, but most likely there will be darker ones before the brightness.

The churches of this land have strayed afar from the path outlined by the Master Teacher. It must be about the Master's business and turn away from Caesar's. This is the only salvation for a sinking Southland.

PASSING SCENE

Daily Home
Talladega Ala.
Wed 9-4-57

By J. L. WALLIS

A NEW KIND OF ALABAMA ELECTION

There is ample indication at this time that Alabama will have a crowded field running for the office of Governor next year. This will be the first election in Alabama, since the carpetbagger days, when federal authority will be in charge of qualifying the voters and in one sense in charge of the balloting.

WALLIS

A new army of federal modern day carpetbaggers is due to swarm over the Southern States in an attempt to force a vastly increased number of Negro voters. This new system could play an important part in the election. If the heavy majority white vote, does not use it common intelligence, and permits the bloc vote, with federal sanction, to carry undue strength, most anything could happen.

There may be a Folsom annointed candidate that can walk a tight rope and secure the NAACP backing, and still corral a heavy white vote to win the highest office in the state. It is sure that a goodly number of Alabama white voters would support a candidate who is not an ardent segregationist. This happened in the last gubernatorial election in this state.

It will probably be quite impossible for the best qualified man in the race to be elected. It will be the best promiser and the one who can gather the heaviest support by confusing the issues. Already one candidate is avowed to seek the repeal of the "right to work laws." Actually this measure is to protect the individual working man who must support his family. However, most labor leaders are in violent opposition, and have succeeded is fooling many of their working constitutents.

Alabamians are paying a high price this summer for electing a governor who is not able to command the support and proper respect of the legislature. It seems there is little the present expensive legislature can accomplish, and it is doubtful if even the appropriation bills, to carry on the state government, can be passed.

College education in Alabama is facing dire jeopardy because of unnecessary wrangling. Let it be hoped that Alabama voters will use better judgement in the future than during the past election of a chief executive. It is doubtful that even this great state could stand another term of confusion.

There are candidates for office coming up next spring, who were at one time, ardent admirers and supporters of the present governor. Some have declared an open break with the administration of Folsom, but one must wonder, just how well the proverbial leopard can change his spots.

Some candidates have already promised that they were ready to die to preserve segregation in Alabama. However heroic this might sound, what Alabama needs is a strong man who will live and fight with every legal facility to maintain

racial segregation. Whether this man can be elected in face of the federal police system which is descending upon us is a question.

Voting habits in Alabama mus radically change if this state is to be saved from the carpetbaggers and the do-gooder ignoramuses. Some of these "do-gooders" are devout in their erroneous promotion, and they are overly influential. We read recently that no Southern church court, or high authority in official capacity had ever ruled in favor of racial segregation. This we assume would include Alabama.

The union of the carpet baggers, the NAACP and the Southern church is a queer combination, but politics make strange bed fellows, but a powerful political combine. Of course, the overwhelming majority of Southern church laymen would oppose the evils of racial integration, but we live in a day when powerful organizations, hierarchies, and centralized authority speaks for the individual. The individual in far too many cases has seemingly lost his voice.

To say the least, the race for governor next spring will be highly interesting, with many new forces involved in an Alabama election.

PASSING SCENE

Daily Home

By J. L. WALLIS

Tues. 8-20-57

ON SELECTING A CANDIDATE

(Part Two)

Talladega Ala.

In any political race, when there are fine Christian gentlemen offering for the same public office, the voter is very fortunate. Often there is more than one candidate that could do a fine public service if elected. If our free system of American government is to endure the test of time, we must develop an election process to induce more of the best qualified men to offer themselves in politics. This process will be only be secure, when all voters are really qualified to vote. To become really qualified, all voters must study the record of the candidates and known what each really stands for.

WALLIS

Voters who must depend upon others to mark their ballots and are willing to be bloc voted are dangerous to the American system of liberty and freedom. The masses in America are becoming better educated and in time will become more and more qualified to cast a ballot. Therefore, slowly with these added qualifications, will come more voters. It may take many generations to accomplish this goal, however.

So long as there are great bloc votes to be gained by making fantastic promises, some candidates will make those promises in order to achieve personal political gains. All voters should beware of any candidate who offers "something for nothing." Great masses of our voters have been fooled over and over again by unscrupulous candidates who offer to buy votes with a thousand different types of glittering security, pensions and whatever will capture the unthinking voters greedy support.

It should be long remembered that no politician can give the people the least thing that the government does not take away from these same people in the first place. Politicans, who are often elected to office on a long list of false promises, claim they have a mandate from the voters, that were fooled in the first place. Usually, they can not deliver on the false promises, regardless of the loud noises they make, both before and after taking office. These men are dangerous to America, and will threaten our foundations of government, until the great mass of voters become intelligent enough to distinguish the false from the true.

However, there are far too many legally qualified voters today, who like to hear the promises made, even though they know the impossible is being offered. Someday, candidates will not risk making these insults of the intelligence of the voters in America. A fully qualified group must take upon themselves the heavy responsibility of leading the way toward the election of those Christian candidates with a good record and background.

There is great danger when one votes against political candidates. No voter can vote against a candidate without voting for a candidate. A reckless vote cast for an unknown is dangerous. Often times the voter faces a dilemma in that he can not see his way clear to support any candidate offering for public office. In this case, more study than usual is necessary for most likely one of the candidates is better than the other. No one can perform his duty toward the country and his fellowman by not voting.

Under our form of government, we accept the principle that the majority wins and rules. This is true, but we should also fully understand that our government is not a true democracy, for true democracy where every issue was setled by the people is impossible. If this system was ever tried, we would soon find ourselves in a state of utter confusion, where nothing could be settled. The old Roman forum, where all issues were settled was nergrig on true democracy, but the great slave population had no voice.

Daily Home

We have a representative form of government, or a republican form, where the voter elects representatives to decide issues for him. It might be good politics to claim that the people decide all the issues, but it is wise to take a candidate with a grain of salt when he rants and raves about voter giving all the orders. If today, the American people could vote to remove taxes, no doubt many of our present taxes would be removed by popular vote. In our representative form of government, the importance of which candidate we select is supreme. Therefore, the grave repsonsibilty of casting a ballot for a certain candidate is brought into a more serious light. Unless this responsibility is met, our entire system of free government is placed in jeopardy

PASSING SCENE

By J. L. WALLIS

A QUEER SOUTHERN VOICE

The National Council of Churches, through an interim committee has called on all "Christian" people in the South to work for peaceful integration. The National Council of Churches, is the largest and most powerful Protestant Church organization, of this day or any other. Many of the local churches in this area are supporting members of the National Council.

WALLIS

The large Methodist Church, which has the most protestant members of any single church in America, is a part of the National Council. So are all Presbyterian Churches and Episcopal. The Southern Baptist and a goodly number of the aggressive, smaller more fundamental church groups, have no connections with the National Council.

However, this super Protestant Church hierarchy claims in a loud voice that it speaks for some 30 million protestant church members. This organization has always been quick to enter into the fields of national and international politics. It seems that it wants an important part in all the things which are Caesar's as well as those of God.

The announcement, this week praising Eisenhower for his handling of the Little Rock situation, comes as no surprise to many who have watched the dubuious route, which has been followed by National Council leadership, over the recent years. This super organization has a cloak so gigantic in size, that it can bring under it, those of any and most all religious beliefs. Many of its top leaders deny the Virgin Birth and actually question the Divinity of Jesus Christ. Christ can have a minor role, or no role at all in the National Council planning and promotion of the things which must belong to Caesar, if not to the lord of the underworld.

A goodly number of the Little Rock Ministerial Association have condemned Governor Faubus, and used their questionable influence to force racial integration. Now, it is clearer just why they spoke out so boldly. They, too, are a part of the National Council of Churches. They are a part of the protestant hierarchy, and in such an organization there is strict discipline. They must follow the party line, or they must sacrifice their personal position That is the way a hierarchy works.

It would seem, that in this dark day, millions of Southern church members would demand freedom from the overlords, who proclaim a Christian purpose but who actually work for Caesar. As a member of a church that belongs to the National Council, we would be the first to state emphatically that the self - styled religious organization does not now, and and never has, spoken for us. We doubt that it ever will.

If any organization can approve or even condone the use of armed federal troops, with blood dripping bayonets at the back of high school girls, as we have all seen in pictures, to force an evil on a population, then it leaves little doubt about that organization. When a church organization does such a thing, it is sickening The Master, when he walked on earth and the armed legions of power drunk Roman Emperors, never faced any more high-handed armed might that the boys and girls trying to obtain an education at Central High School

PASSING SCENE

By J. L. WALLIS

NO LEADERSHIP

In what is becoming this nation's darkest and gravest hour, we are seeing more and more evidence that there is a leader in the White House, who is either incapable of making up his own mind, or that he is one of the most "wishy-washy" officials in the land. His impossible stand in the civil rights maneuvering, is one which no thinking person can possibly fathom.

WALLIS

First he said that he was a strong advocate of States Rights, then he changed absolutely, to be the strongest advocate of centralized government this nation has ever known. He promised, just a few weeks ago that he would never send the federal troops into any sovereign state. This, he then hasten to do so quickly, that he could not possibly have thought the serious move through to any sensible conclusion.

His latest announcement that he would not recall the federal troops in Little Rock came only a few hours after a settlement of the paratrooper invasion was all but settled by evacuation of federal forces.

It must be impossible for even the close "palace guard" to know what the once respected General, now in the White House will do next. That is, unless it is the "palace guard," who is giving all the orders. It may be that the nation is plunging head long into black oblivion, without the benefit of real leadership.

Eisenhower was trigger quick to send his paratroopers, who held blood dripping bayonets in the backs of teen age girls at Central High School. The students in Arkansas had never carved each other with switch blades knives as have the Negro and whites of the teen age set in Camden, New Jersey and Philadelphia. No parents in Little Rock, by the hundreds, have ever been forced to escort their youngsters to public school, to protect them. Nor, has there ever been any 10 PM curfews in Little Rock. Still no troops have been sent into Pennsylvania and New Jersey, where the races seem to be in a violent clash, if one can believe the Associated Press reports.

This all proves the dangerous inconsistency of Dwight D. Eisenhower. His every glaring show of no leadership or serious lack of leadership, can well invite the evil men in the Kremlin to strike with all the nuclear might they possess at the real goal of communistic conquest. That goal is the U.S.A.

The President speaks of a rule by law and not by men. This very statement to the nation on television magnifies his own unexplainable action. There are no laws nor legal precedents for so much of his wishy-washy action. Our laws are nothing more than established rules for the American way of life. They are laws devised by men and are heir to all the ills of human flesh. We have for the past several years been living under a rule of men, who are proving themselves highly incapable. The laws established over the decades, laws which brought this powerful and wealthy nation from a wilderness in a short span of time have been thrown to the four winds. Men of the NAACP, men who would buy political power at any price, men who would kill our precious liberty with bloody bayonets have replaced the United States Constitution and our long established legal processes.

Legal procedure has been twisted by men, with whims and fancies far more changeable than the Marsh winds. The controversy of integration and segregation has faded into the dim background. There are more serious indications that our government is eroding and running like a loose wheel which is bound to wind up in grave disaster, for dire lack of proper leadership.

PASSING SCENE

By J. L. WALLIS

SELECTING A CANDIDATE
(Part Four And Final)

A lot of us, mostly those who can boast a few gray hairs, here and there, can still remember when ladies never voted. It took an amendment to the Constitution to give the feminine sex this grave responsibility.

WALLIS

When we consider candidates and possible candidates in modern politics, and especially those in the future, it seems to us, that lady candidates will play an ever growing part of importance. Men have made such a terrible mess in our political world, all the way from the halls of national government down to the city halls across the land. We have often thought that it is high time the many capable and honorable females of the country stepped forward and offered for public office.

There would never have been a Phenix City in Russell County if ladies had been in charge of local government. We can not conceive of the state of affairs being so messy on the national scene if God-fearing women of the nation had been in control. If women were prime ministers, foreign ministers, and secretaries of state, we honestly think that a way to permanent world peace might be found. Women do not fight wars, or rather in the past they did not, but they were the ones to suffer deeply, when fathers, husbands and sweethearts went away.

It must be recognized that many candidates are chosen before they offer for public office, or at least they would never have offered, unless considerable encouragement was given them before making any official announcement. Able ladies could be encouraged to run for office and strongly supported by the members of her sex. After all, there are more women voters in the nation today, than there are men voters. This ratio will probably continue to grow. This is not advocating turning all men out of public office and replacing them with women, but there have been times in some fields of political life, when this would have been no bad idea.

There is another important thing to be considered in selecting a candidate. Can we always be sure that our votes are counted, just like they were cast? Can all voters cast a ballot as his conscience dictates, or must he fear reprisals if he votes contrary to pressures that have been brought into play? The more one learns about modern politics, the more difficult it becomes to answer both of these questions in the affirmative. There is a solution to this situation.

The answer is proper conduct to all polling places and the installation of modern voting machines that can not be tampered with, and will make the ballot secret. In our form of government the ballot is in realtiy something akin to sacred. It can not be sacred if it is not secret. When we make our choice for a candidate at the voting booth, we must demand that it be properly counted and that the machinery and atmosphere at all polling places on election day, allow every voter the right to vote in absolute secrecy.

We are firmly convinced, and the more we study and learn, the more firmly convinced we become that this nation of ours, which is the most powerful and the richest in the history of mankind, has been peculiarly blessed. Due to our foundation concepts and principles of Christianity, we have become the leader for a troubled and confused world. There has been the Divine Power of the Supreme Creator directing our destiny.

We as voters have a divine mission to perform in selecting public officials. The most powerful force we know anything about today, is prayer. When in about what we can do to achieve the right road to our destiny, we know of nothing of nothing more powerful than prayer. Our nation needs it. The world needs it. Our local government needs it. Every office hold needs it and every voter can only be sure if he depends on divine guidance, that is sure to come through earnest prayer.

PASSING SCENE

By J. L. WALLIS

FEDERAL AID AND STATES RIGHTS WON'T GO TOGETHER

Recently there have been loud voices raised in Alabama, demanding that the federal government render aid in the form of attractive loans to Alabama farmers who have suffered from the weather conditions. This cry for government aid from Washington, must remind us all of the futility of demanding States Rights on the one hand, and federal handouts on the other.

WALLIS

Of course, it is a well known fact that Alabama agriculture is controlled in Washington. Farmers in this nation have not only accepted, but have demanded federal supervision of their farms until they can not plan any crop year without getting permission of the federal government. Actually, with so wide and firm federal controls, it would seem to be in line for farmers to carry every problem direct to Washington's doorsteps. When there is too much rain or too little rain, the federal chains already entwining American agriculture could be drawn a little tighter.

There are few things more disheartening than to see a year's agricultural efforts go for naught on account fo unfavorable weather. However, this is something that has been happening in America, ever since the first plow or hoe full of dirt was turned. It is a calculated risk. There is something which appears to be more disheartening to us, and that is for the federal government to plow up crops and kill baby pigs, when there is a world full of hungry human beings. It is even more regrettable to see the stalwart farm family along with the rest of us, become enslaved to the tenacles of highly centralized bureaucratic federal government.

Cotton's demise as king in the South was caused by the federal government action. Some claim that this passing is good. We are not qualified to judge, but cotton has built the South, and if we had the world control of the cotton market, as the South did for many years, it would still be the regal builder in Dixie. However, our federal govermnent back in the 1930s encouraged the world to grow cotton. We plowed it up so other cotton producing areas would benefit from our foolishness. One thing is sure, the South has found no cash crop to replace cotton. There is no other money crop as sure as the white gold, even to this modern day.

This county once was covered with white fields of cotton at this time of the year, but today there is so little in the small patches to be seen. In a few years, the children in this county will have to go to California, Arizona, Central America, or Africa to see a boll of cotton in the field if the trend continues. As usual, whenever the federal government gets absolute control in the economic world, sooner or later that endeavor becomes a weak socialistic victim.

Then the graver question comes up. How can Alabama and other Southern states run to Washington for Agricultural aid, housing help, industrial loans and federal money for a thousand and one things, and still assume the high and mighty position that we have some kind of rights as sovereign states? Since the beginning to the Roosevelt era in the 1930s, American individuals, states and sub-divisions of states, have kept the roads to Washington hot. With hands out and hat in hand, we have traded away the rights of free individuals and sovereign states for a mess of pottage.

Until American men and women, along with the states in which they live are bold enough to help themselves without Washington aid, there can be no such thing as state's rights. A state that is built of pioneer fiber, which is courageous enough to refuse federal aid, even when offered, is a state in which there are precious rghts for individuals and local government. We wonder if this day will ever return, or shall we all trip our merry way down the easy road to state controlled socialism and its enslavement.

ENOC P. WATERS, JR.

31a Defender Sat. 4-20-57 Chicago Ill. p. 10

Adventures In Race Relations

SHOULDERING RESPONSIBILITY

An unmarried mother of three children was explaining her tragic plight to a social worker.

"My trouble is," she said, "that I trusted men, Negro men. They're no good. They have no sense of responsibility. All they want to do is satisfy their base desires without concern about the consequences. White men are different.

"My first trouble came when I trusted the little fellow I used to run around with in high school. He was a nice boy, very smart in his classes and a good athlete and all that sort of thing.

"We went with each other for three years and we were engaged. Everybody in town knew we were going to get married. Then it happened. I was pregnant. I told him and he skipped out and I haven't seen him since.

"Then I had to leave town. So I came to Chicago. I got a job and made up my mind I'd be both mother and father to my child. I wanted nothing more to do with men.

"But I was still a young woman and I liked to go out and have fun once in a while. That's how I met the father of my second child.

"He was a nice man, too. Had a job, nice apartment, and a car. I was living with my baby in a room. He was very nice. Sometime I'd take my baby over to his place and we'd spend the whole day together just like a family.

"We talked and made plans to get married. And then it happened again. He was very angry about the whole thing and started avoiding me and finally moved away.

"With two babies, I knew I had learned my lesson and I decided that Negro men were just no good and couldn't be depended upon.

"Then I met a white man. He was very nice to me and we went together for several years. He used to help me take care of my two children. In fact right after my second child was born and I couldn't work, he practically supported me.

"After several years I found myself pregnant again, but he didn't get angry like the others, nor did he run away and hide. He saw to it that I was taken care of."

The social worker nodded her head. "If he is willing to take care of you, I don't understand why you have come to me," she said.

"Well that's just what I'm talking about. Instead of running out on me like the others, he went to all the trouble of checking everything and making the appointment for me to get relief. Now that's my idea of a man looking out for a woman."

ENOC P. WATERS, JR.

31a Defender p. 10

Adventures In Race Relations

Chicago, Ill.

NORTHERN MISSISSIPPI, SIR

Sat. 5-25-57

Just as scouts representing professional athletic teams annually canvass colleges and universities for star performers, so industry sends out representatives to recruit graduates whose scholastic records indicate they might be assets to the concerns.

The graduates of one of the top universities in the middlewest were being interviewed recently by representative of some of the nation's largest concerns.

There was one engineering graduate all were vying for. He was receiving his doctorate and throughout his scholastic career he had been outstandingly brilliant.

In addition to being a prize catch himself in engineering research and experimentation, the young engineer was married to a brilliant young woman holding a doctorate in science.

Together they were the answer to the prayers of many a

One industrial representative university or research lab. was particularly interested in the young couple, though only the husband was available for interview.

After making elaborate — and somewhat expensive — arrangements to lure the young scholar to a place where they could be alone, he began trying to sell him on taking a position with his company.

The longer he talked, the more interested the graduate seemed to be.

Then he asked a question: "Now just where did you say your laboratories are located?"

"In Mississippi, just outside of Jackson," the company representative said.

The young man shook his head. "It all seems very interesting," he admitted, "but Mississippi! I've never been there, but I don't think either my wife or I could tolerate the racial bigotry, nor the prejudice of the area. We are used to being free to mingle with people regardless of color. I don't think we could accept a position in a place like that."

The company representative wasn't giving up without a struggle. "What you say about Mississippi is true," he admitted, "I'm the same way. I, too dislike those people who are still fighting the Civil War and think Negroes are just animals. I know just how you feel."

The young scholar shook his head in agreement. The company representative continued his spiel.

"But there's one thing you've overlooked. This is near Jackson. It's northern Mississippi."

Dallas Morning News Denies Accepting Desegregation

Informer, Houston, Texas, P.1
Sat. 11-2-57

By CARTER WESLEY

In a recent edition the Dallas Morning News denied that it has accepted the principle of desegregation in public schools as carried in our paper. We seek no argument with the Dallas Morning News on the issue, but suggest that anyone who reads their editorials, beginning with the early part of October through the first half, draw his own conclusions as to whether or not the Dallas Morning News has not stated itself away from any honest attack further on desegregation in public schools.

In the current editorial thought, which seemingly attempts by a round-about way to give arguments to prove that the Dallas Morning News does not accept the principle of desegregation in public schools, The News argues the question of "forced association."

The Supreme Court has held that segregation in the public schools is inherently unequal. A priori and from actual experience this means that certain parts of a segregated school system are better than certain other parts. By the same process of reasoning, under segregation Negroes have been given the worst part, and the white children the better part.

Negro children and their parents only seek that the public authorities that furnish public schools, out of tax money, shall not put any artificial barriers down against their entering the better part of the school system. It seems inescapable that if the Dallas Morning News urges that the whites must be permitted to keep the better part as a matter of law, they automatically are admitting that there is an advantage to the whites in their segregated pattern.

All Negroes are asking is that so far as the laws are concerned, and so far as availability of schools is concerned, that they be permitted to go to school, without opposition based on color, which is now the bar in the statutes and the laws and practices governing the public schools.

The question of association is incidental to the fact that the better part of the segregated schools is exclusively manned now by whites, and in order to enjoy it Negroes would have to be admitted to those schools.

V.8 Sat. 11-2-57

But if it will make the Dallas Morning News any happier to give the whites the schools the Negroes now have, and give the Negroes the schools the whites now have, the Negroes will not be embarrassed at all, provided, of course, the same advantages that are now given to the better part of the schools (the white schools) continue to be given to those specific schools after Negroes are put in them.

Negroes don't seek that advantage, but if the Dallas Morning News can only see the problem by making it clear to all that it is a question of quality of schools and quality of educational facilities, and not association, then the best way to settle the question of association is to reverse the process and give the Negroes the schools and the benefits that go with those schools, and switch the whites to the Negro schools.

We submit that in the editorials of the Dallas Morning News, in the early part of October, the Dallas Morning News indicated an acceptance of desegregation and argued about time, the manner and the means, etc, of gradual implementation. These eeditorials, of course, followed close onto the federal troops in Little Rock, and the then realization of the Dallas Morning News that violence was not going to get the rebels anywhere. Actually the argument put up in this current editorial goes back to the position of the Dallas Morning News prior to the moving of the troops into Little Rock.

It is also to be noted that one of their chief columnists on the editorial page, also in the same edition of this current editorial, goes back to interposition. Of course, we all saw that Governor Faubus attempted to interpose his National Guard and the state authority of Arkansas between the the rights of the children, as prescribed by the Supreme Court, and we all saw what happened. No further argument is needed on interposition.

Our thesis is that if we are to continue a Christian nation and a democratic nation, desegregation will become a fact in our life throughout, so far as public institutions and tax-supported institutions are concerned in the South. If the Dallas Morning News takes the negative of that proposition, we are willing to hear the arguments on it.

CAGEY FAUBUS

Now that Eisenhower has fulfilled his promise to return the National Guard to the state of Arkansas, by returning three-fourths of the Guard, Governor Orval Faubus is trying to make capital of the fact, which is almost accomplished, by demanding that the National Guard be returned to him. If Governor Faubus were not so tricky, we might also hope that it is a face-saving gesture with his intending to claim that he had forced the National Guard to be returned to him, and therefore had agreed to let integration go on. But the man is tricky and I won't make any prediction on that.

Current Events

Informer
Houston Tex.
Sat. 11-2-57

By CARTER WESLEY

WHICH IS WORSE? — The Detroit Chronicle said last week in a front page editorial that Roy Wilkins and Martin Luther King made the worst blunder that Negro leadership has made against the rights of Negroes in this century. There were some of us in World War I, who thought that DuBois and Moten made the worst blunder, or faux pas, when they publicly came out endorsing the proposition that Negroes would accept segregation for the duration of the war, in order to concentrate on fighting the enemy outside. Negroes in the Army were getting all kinds of humiliations and embarrassments, just to be in the war, when Moten and DuBois made the statement. From this angle it looks like both pairs did a pretty rotten job.

Informer

DEMOCRATS BRAG over the fine job they did in reducing and watering down the president's proposed civil rights bill. They are unanimous today in their praise of Richard Russell as the hero of the scheme that watered down the civil rights bill. Despite an agreement not to filibuster on the compromise bill, which was finally adopted, they all stood by with silent admiration for Strom Thurmond, senator from South Carolina, who broke traces and filibustered for 24 hours against the finally adopted bill. Ike pulled a collosal blunder by saying he did not understand the bill, and did not know what was in it, at the crucial time, when Richard Russell's attack was at its height. Negroes will soon have to decide which party is more nearly acceptable for the 1960 political campaign. It would seem that the Democratic leadership was more concerned in preventing its party from splitting between North and South ever the civil rights issue than it was in trying to do anything that was right, legal or constitutional on the bill. It would seem that Ike, at least in the middle of the fight, was more concerned with trying to be all things to all people than he was with any forthright effort to have enacted a bill that was constitutional and right.

* * *

FORT WORTH CRUCIFIES Masonic family. The Masons, the Heroines of Jericho, and the Eastern Stars have actually been clobbered by the people who live in Fort Worth, and they have not yet been able to get any decent redress in the courts of Fort Worth, or any decent protection from these bullies of Fort Worth from the police department of Fort Worth. According to reliable information that has come from people working with the court and with the authorities, there are people who have stolen thousands of dollars from the bank, and there are people who have participated in the thefts, but so far we have heard of no indictments, no convictions, and no legal action to bring punishment on the people guilty. All we have heard has been the number of hundreds of thousands of dollars that the Heroines and the Masons will have to be responsible for, because of these defalcations and thefts. We've seen the Eastern Stars' property left in the hands of incompetent people, at great risk and hazard to the assets of this order, and to the security of the many people who are dependent upon the benefits thereof. Seriously, the question must be raised by the people of the Masonic family whether it wouldn't be wise to begin to make plans to move their offices and their operations to a more friendly environment?

* * *

A BLESSING IN DISGUISE may be what we will come to call the incident of the Henderson policeman beating the African over the head with his blackjack. The incident is likely to be as notorious as the case where the Houston airport cafe refused to let the Indian official into the dining room. College authorities will investigate the matter, the NAACP will investigate the matter, the FBI has been instructed to check the matter, and the Nigerian government can be relied upon not to let the matter drift by the board. The British government will use its diplomatic circles to serve the interests and demands of the Nigerian government. All of this will help to drive home to the East Texas Citizens Councils members and hillbillies the fact that they are not above the Constitution, and that our diplomatic relations with other countries require that we protect their nationals when they are over here on passports, properly accepted.

DAVIS LEE AGAIN! Somebody sent me a copy of "The Southern Presbyterian Journal" for August 21, Weaverville, North Carolina, in which Davis Lee is up to his old tricks, trying to make the White Citizens Councils type seem fine. In this article on page 6, he is making the Negro earn more money, run banks in Mississippi, have better homes in Mississippi and North Carolina, and a whole lot of other tripe that isn't true and wouldn't be pertinent in the fight for the right to vote and the right for free citizenship. The surprising thing is that the Presbyterians would accept such an article in their magazine in this day and time, when everybody knows that it is a lie.

Texas Goes Outside The Law

(An Editorial)

By CARTER WESLEY

The second special session of the Texas Legislature is winding up the foolhardy act of taking Texas and its citizens outside of the law. Both segregationists and liberal whites will live to regret the second special session, and will some day long in vain for a method to expunge the blot from the history of Texas.

In its decisions of May 17, 1954, and May 31 1955, the Supreme Court of the United States held segregation in public schools unconstitutional and said all laws, federal, state, and local, must yield to those decisions.

The Supreme Court of Texas in the Blankenship case (the Big Spring case) held that all Texas laws, calling for continued segregation in public education, were void insofar as they conflicted with the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. So Texas laws, requiring segregation, are unconstitutional both by the decision of the Texas Supreme Court and by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Except that one sees it happening, it would be incredible that a governor would call a special session of the Legislature to defy both Texas Supreme Court's decision as well as the United States Supreme Court's decisions. It would also be unbelievable that a responsible legislature would participate in deliberately defying and ignoring the laws of the state as well as the nation which they have sworn to uphold.

The attorney general, sworn to uphold the laws of the state and the nation, is by legal statute from this special session of the Legislature directed to use his effort and his office to go against the state Supreme Court's decision, and also the United States Supreme Court's decisions, for he is directed to defend school boards that defy the decisions of the courts.

It is clear coercion of the attorney general's office, in an attempt to give the impression that the whole state is in defiance of the law.

Part and parcel of this attempt to give the appearance of solidarity is the fact that governor himself has made available $50,000 from a special fund, so that the special session could by statute make it available to the attorney general for expenses in the extra assignment.

Obviously, such an assignment is not necessary, because all school boards have available local attorneys, whom they use regularly.

Negroes, intended as the ultimate victims of these extraordinary laws, feel sorry for both the segregationists and the liberal whites; for they have taken a millstone around their necks, which will weight and chain them in the eyes of their children and their children's children.

Yes, the sovereign state of Texas has elected to outlaw itself. What will Negroes do about it? Not a thing! We will continue to look to the law, and let the outlaws have the "badlands" and high timber to roam in the rest of their lives.

Current Events

By CARTER WESLEY

LAWLESS "LEGALITY" is fast becoming the open instrument of the Citizens Councils and other rebels against the Supreme Court's decision against segregation. In their beginning the pious statement was that the Supreme Court's interpretation of the 14th Amendment would be opposed "with every legal means available." Every lawyer knows that there are no legal means to oppose a constitutional provision by ex parte or partisan attack. So it was obvious to those who think clearly that the pious expression was merely a cloak to hide the real intent and aim of these rebels against the Constitution. Now, when they have used their "every legal means" to prevent the desegregation of buses, they are coming out in the open with their real and original intent. Their beating up of women and children; their bombing the homes of Negroes, and their shooting into buses under the cover of the darkness of night. This lawlessness, which has already caused bloodshed and is certain to lead to murder, is the direct result of the lawlessness and the disrespect for law and order shown by so-called Southern leaders. But it is due also in not much less degree to all of those Christians in the South, who have held their peace and through evasive words weasseled out of their responsibility to stand up in support of the Supreme Court's decision. No man or woman can remain a respectable, law-abiding citizen, who allies himself by word or deed with the lawless violence that is now showing its head.

* * *

THE SCHOOL BIAS CASE against the school board at Houston is well-conceived by Attorneys Doyle, Williams and Lott. It is calculated to pull out the roots of segregation in education in the whole state of Texas. More than that, if the three-judge court convenes and takes seriously the attack against the constitutionality of Texas' own Constitution and statutes, the suit will go a long way toward discouraging the upcoming Legislature from enacting a lot of spite laws in the attempt to preserve segregation. For surely it will be clear to all that if provisions in the Constitution of Texas for segregation are not valid, then no laws requiring segregation in any area, on the basis of color, could be valid.

The case is well-conceived from the standpoint of bringing the fight to the center of the stage on the naked question of conflict of state law with federal law, as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States. Now the school board will have manufacture and plead all of its extenuating circumstances and excuses. They will also have the job of making the extenuating circumstances and excuses pertinent to the fundamental issue raised by the complaint. When they bring in the extenuating circumstances, the lawyers for the plaintiffs can then bring in all of the statements that were made in the board meetings, and out of the board meetings, by board members. How pertinent would some of the following seem to a three-judge court:

Mrs Dyer has been quoted as saying that the Dred Scott decision was the best thing for Negroes, because it segregated them; Dr Petersen is said to have said that segregation should be continued because desegregation would cause teachers to lose their jobs; Dr Petersen has said verbally, and in print, many times that he doesn't think desegregation should be put in the schools at present, and that the majority of the Negroes and whites want to continue segregation; both Dr Petersen and Dr Moreland have said repeatedly that the school board is conducting a study to judge the aptitudes of Negroes as compared to whites, and also to determine where Negroes are in their respective classes as compared to whites. They have added that this kind of study takes a long time and can't be rushed. They have been at it two-and-ahalf years and have not finished yet. The liberal members have said that they have spent their time getting a $30 million bond issue passed, and also working to get schools built in Negro sections. Just how does any of these things bear upon the Supreme Court's decree that desegregaton should proceed with deliberative speed? If a little colored boy is a year behind his counterpart in the white schools, how does that have anything to do with his being permitted to go to the white school? Whatever adjustments must be made will be determined when the boy appears at the school and the teachers get a chance to examine and observe him to determine whether he should be put back in the next grade or tutored to keep the one he is in. It isn't the function of the school board nor is it possible for the school board to determine such questions.

As to the liberal board members' position that they have been getting schools, the Supreme Court's decision is not predicated upon getting more schools, lack of schools is a universal problem. The Supreme Court's decision is predicated upon the principle that the school authorities cannot bar a Negro child from going to the school nearest his home, merely because he is a Negro, and compel him to go 21 blocks to a "Negro" school. What the school board has been doing is frittering away its time, and they may find themselves having already run out of time, so that as a Kentucky judge did a couple of weeks ago, they may be ordered to integrate the schools immediately.

We would like here to commend the lawyers for having kept their mouths shut, even if they did pose for the pictures when they filed the case. We hope the parents and the relatives of these plaintiffs will keep their mouths shut absolutely tight about the case to anybody. All of the parties involved must remember that it is one thing to file a case, but it's another to win it. The school authorities will get the best lawyers available, and the lawyers for the plaintiffs are going to have to be on their toes and informed on every angle of their case. Quiet and humble efficiency in handling the case may win friends, but boasting or careless talk is sure to lose them.

DEAD AS A DOORNAIL is the law of segregation throughout the South. Federal Judge Dozier Devane in issuing an injunction against the city of Tallahassee's interfering with the bus company, which was integrating its lines, said:

"Every segregation act of every state or city is as dead as any doornail."

* * *

INTERESTING READING ought to be found in the minutes of the Houston school board meetings. We hazard a guess that the lawyers for the plaintiffs in the recently filed suit will find some very rich nuggets in those minutes. The whole thing could be changed to read, "By their minutes ye shall know them."

* * *

JOHN BEN, a busy man, is now being talked of as the counsel to defend the Houston school board in the recently filed case against it, on it failure to desegregate. Being the attorney general of Texas isn't a big enough job for John Ben Shepperd. Therefore, John Ben has been running around in the state and out, helping to foster attacks against the laws of Texas as well as those of the United States. It doesn't matter that he has lost nearly every time he has jumped over on the side of lawlessness, the conservative members of the Houston school board don't believe what they read about his losses. We hope John Ben will be the chief lawyer for the defending school board in the desegregation case.

* * *

ATTY. GEN-ELECT WILSON has already set an example for Ben Shepperd as to what an attorney general should do, or not do, when any organization or body is defying a state or federal law. But Attorney General John Ben Shepperd is too busy running around from spot to spot, to where the Citizens Councils are trying to put segregation back on the wall, after it has fallen, to see or hear what the attorney general-elect is saying.

* * *

STILL LABORING THE NAACP issue, the Citizens Councils and their supporting daily papers, are now crying that Attorney Francis A. Williams is estopped to serve as counsel in the recently case against the school board. The attorney general's suit in Tyler was to ban the operations of the NAACP. The court's ruling was that all the efforts in the name of the NAACP in Texas must stop. The court could not have banned, and did not try to ban the members of the NAACP, from carrying on other functions. Mr Williams is a lawyer by training and by vocation, and he is not enjoined from serving any clients that he elects to accept and who choose to come to him. By the same token, these children and their parents are not suing on behalf of the NAACP for their rights, they are suing for the individual civil rights. So when you hear or read of the squawks about Attorney Williams' having been the president of the local chapter of the NAACP of Houston, shrug your shoulders and say, "So what?" They will resort to anything to confuse the issue, which very definitely has them worried. J M Wren has already started his pitch to induce violence and riots, by saying that when the Citizens Councils find that they have no legal way to stop desegregation, violence is going to break out.

* * *

WHAT COMES NEXT? In other words, for 1957 what shall we do, and how small we do it to best aid adjustment to change of pattern in our section? First of all, pay your poll tax.

Next, make one resolution to avoid violence and to be agreeable and patient in all contacts with the other race. Whatever threats may now come of violence from the other group, don't carry guns, knives or any other weapons on the buses or in the streets or away from your home. The fight is not one for guns and knives, the fight is now for acceptance of a principle. We either will have the courage to believe in the principle and stand up for it without accepting the challenge of violence, or we will have to be prepared to lose the victory and leave it to another generation to win.

This would be most stupid, because we have the victory and the better part of the battle on the plane of law and of order and of right. Let's stay on that plane, and refuse to be enticed off into morasses of violence. Don't fight over bus seats, if somebody wants to fight over it, yield it and take another seat, but stay on the level of peace and order, because that is where you have the advantage. Don't answer slurring remarks, ignore them and keep smiling.

Current Events

Informer
Sat. 1-26-57
Houston Tex

By CARTER WESLEY

THE SCHOOL BOARD IS RESPONSIBLE for the suit that has been brought in the federal court here to compel integration in accordance with the Supreme Court's decision. The board members have dragged their feet and never once said that they would or intended to comply with the Supreme Court's decision. Only the lawyers, who would not stultify themselves by pretending that the Supreme Court's decision was not the law of the land, finally committed the board in the pleadings in answer to the suit filed against the board. For the board's being in this condition, responsibility can go to all of the members, but primarily to Dr. Petersen, Mrs Dyer, and Mr Dekman with later assists from Mrs Maughmer and Stone Wells. It would have been expected that Houston would approach the problem with more intelligence and more of an attitude to work out something in compliance with the Supreme Court's decision, and where a set of people have gotton themselves elected to the school board, with the implied promise to serve the best interests of the community, no one should have expected them to have the temerity to say openly and publicly that they would use their influence to discriminate, and to continue discrimination against Negro children. This is what has happened.

It was an interesting aside that two members of the Citizens Council objected because Negroes sat on the same seat with them in the federal court, at a trial of Negroes rights. One of the ladies admitted that she had asked the bailiff to move a Negro. Now if a black citizen, in a federal court, built and maintained by public funds, can't sit the same as anybody else, where he pleases, then I'd like to know if there is any place that a Negro can have equal rights with other people. It just goes to show how far these people have gone, in twisting their minds around this false theory of racial supremacy.

Finally, just to keep the record straight, I believe the lawyers for the plaintiffs were right in withdrawing their request for an immediate injunction and letting the matter stand in status quo until the trial can be had on the merits, around June 1. Such an injunction, if granted, could have been suspended by appeal. In the meantime, the intervening space between now and June 1 will be one in which pressure will be mounting up against the dilatory school board to get them to take steps and to make plans for integration. But failing that, the federal judge will have had his patience further tried by their failure to appreciate the fact that he had acquiesced in taking the pressure off them, by letting the plaintiffs' lawyers withdraw their claim for an immediate, temporary injunction now.

PROTESTS ARE MOUNTING AGAINST the Texas Baseball League for having sacrificed the rights of Negroes, in order to placate the Shreveport team, and to kowtow to the Louisiana illegal laws barring interracial playing in sports. This is a case where the tail has wagged the dog, seemingly with the dog being happy to be wagged. The Texas League was meeting in Houston at the Texas State Hotel Sunday. Word came that the Beer Dealers of Houston had sent a wire, protesting their yielding to the Louisiana laws. Word also goes around that other Negro organizations have voted quietly to cease to attend and support the games, as long as the Texas League yields to the Louisiana laws. One man, in presenting this idea to a group, said if a team in Texas should happen to have eight Negroes on it, it would mean that when it went to Shreveport the one white man would have to play all the positions on the team. Then he pointed out that it is obvious that dropping key people off a team, in order to play Shreveport, would weaken the team every time it played Shreveport. Worst than that, it does something to fair play and to that sportsmanship which has inspired Negro attendance at the games over the years.

TRAVEL IS FASTER and, one might add, better these days than it was even six months or a year ago. Thursday Mr Atkins and I left Houston on the Delta. The stewardess announced, when we were in the air, that we would cruise at 400 miles per hour, that's faster than I have been used to cruising even on the non-stop flights to New York. Flying time between Houston and Atlanta was an hour and fifty-five minutes. I can remember when on a DC-6 it took an hour and thirty-eight minutes to fly to New Orleans, non-stop. We were granted the privilege of selecting our seats beforehand, another privilege I had only enjoyed on the Golden Falcon, non-stop to New York or to Washington on the Eastern line before. But probably the best improvement of all was noted on the American airline, where they now have lighted signs, telling whether the restroom is empty or occupied. To people who don't travel the plane that seems like a matter of minor importance. But it can be awfully annoying and embarrassing to walk the length of the plane to find that the restroom is occupied. You have the choice of standing up and waiting until it is unoccupied, or of traipsing back to your seat in disappointment. Of course, they long ago abandoned having a restroom for male and female, now the restrooms are just restrooms and if one is empty you are in.

The planes have always been free of segregation. Now it is interesting to go in an air terminal, such as Atlanta, where they used to have segregated seats and find Negroes sitting where they please. The same is true of Memphis, and Little Rock. But in Atlanta they still have great big letters over the toilets, saying "Colored Men", "Colored Women." Of course, those signs are no good except for the psychological effect of fooling some Negroes into using them. Everywhere else even the signs have also been changed.

We bumped into Charlie Bynum of the Infantile Paralysis Foundation at Atlanta. Jack was going on to Winston-Salem and Charlie was going to Nashville, the same as I, so Charlie and I rode on to Nashville together. At Nashville Charlie decided to get a rental car. He got an Avis, and told me that he had learned from experience that Avis was free of any prejudice and always courteous and agreeable. He said that Hertz in many places is sullen, and has been known in some instances to refuse to let a Negro have one of their cars. So now I am an Avis fan, and will use Avis rent cars wherever they are available from now.

* * *

DEFIANCE IN DEPTH would probably be an apt description of what's happening on the part of the legislatures of the various states in the matter of enacting laws that are obviously known to be contrary to the Supreme Court's decision. The statements by governors, who are otherwise recognized as being intelligent and forthright, which are now reflecting them to be of the belief that the rebels in their states are right, and that the Supreme Court's decision and the Constitution are wrong. All of this is of a pattern in the hope that by mass action, and by reflecting in mass form the resentment and opposition to the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution, that somehow it will be changed. All of the states have not had a chance to enact their laws yet, but already the courts have begun to sweep down these "trial balloons" that have been sent up to see what the prospects are to get a little sympathy or help from somebody in reversing the effect of the Supreme Court's decision.

Current Events

Informer Pt. 6-22-57 Houston Tex

By CARTER WESLEY

THE MAGNA CHARTA is the subject of the first story in the June issue of the America Bar Association Journal. I read it with fascination, and believe the average layman would enjoy the story, telling of the struggle with King John by the barons, fighting for their rights and freedom as citizens and peers. I was surprised that I knew so little about the Magna Charta. In the first place, if I ever knew it, I had forgotten that there was more than one instrument that makes up the Magna Charta. In the second place, the struggle that the peers had with King John reminds me of the struggle that we and the Liberals are having today, trying to get acceptance of the principles of equality for all men, regardless of race, not only in the South but in America generally today. Just before final victory, King John fooled the Pope, and he actually excommunicated the Archbishop of England and some of the peers, who would not give up the struggle against King John to get the Magna Charta. But the peers, led and supported by the Archbishop, fought on despite excommunication and finally the Pope realized what the situation really was n Eingland, and lifted the ban of excommunication, after the peers had made King John yield completely on the Magna Charta.

* * * *

WHO'S A POLITICIAN? — Word comes out that in the depositions taken by Dr. Jess Burnett and Mrs Morton in connection with the $11,000 suit they brought against the Grand Chapter offices of O. E. S., they had the lawyer to ask certain of the witnesses whether Carter Wesley wasn't too powerful a politician to be a member of the O. E. S. Carter Wesley belongs to no political faction, has no alliances of any kind with any political ring or persons in office. But one of Dr Burnett's neighbors in Forth Worth has written us this message: "Dr Burnett helped to get the Urban League removed from the list of agencies supported by the United Fund in Fort Worth, and he has always voted for Shivers." If this allegation in the quotes is correct, then Dr Jess is a politician, not I.

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THE CONSERVATIVES HAVE IT! — Governor Price Daniel gave most of his appointments to the judiciary this past week to Conservatives. Bert Tunks, who is leading the fight for the Houston school board to keep from desegregating, was given a judicial appointment; and Ewing Werlein, who has been a Conservative on the school board as well as the lawyer for the school board for years, was also given a judicial appointment. We characterize Judge Spurgeon Bell as a middle-of-the-roader.

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NORTH CAROLINA REVIVES from the storming, raging and ranting of the Citizens Councils against the Supreme Court, and against desegregation of the schools. We haven't seen it, but a friend who is reliable told us Sunday that the North Carolina Senate had killed two of the 10 or 11 educational bills that had been sent to the Legislatures of the southern states this year. Another friend called my attention to the fact desegregation is working in reverse now, that a young white student has enrolled at North Carolina Agricultual and Technical College (colored) this summer to brush up on his studies, so that he can reenter North Carolina State College, (a white school) this fall. The interesting thing is that North Carolina fought like cats and dogs against three Negroes entering the white school at Raleigh last year, but now that this white student has entered the engineering school at Greensboro, nobody has said a word.

* * * *

WHITE RAPISTS ARE "CRAZY," but Negro rapists are fiends and always have to be lynched or electrocuted. A friend showed me a clipping this past week where a white man in his '50's, one of four whites who kidnapped and held a 16-year-old Negro girl while they raped her, had been found by the authorities to be "crazy." We have always held that anybody who would commit the fiendish act of rape on a woman he didn't know, and had never seen, was crazy per se But the good protectors of virtue in the South can only apply that sensible rule when a white man commits rape.

WILL WILL WILSON CLOSE GALVESTON? — For the moment the question seems academic, because Galveston is closed But the question in the barber shops is whether he will keep it closed, and will he go on and close Corpus Christi, Beaumont and other seaport towns that have been wide open for years. We don't know, but it looks like he is seriously out to do just that.

* * * *

THE BURNETT DECEIT is again shown by the newsletter sent out over the signature of "Mrs E. E. Burnett," dated June 10, commenting upon the fact that District Judge Craik sent the Burnetts back to the Grand Chapter to try the issues in the suit they tried to bring before the judge. Who fied that suit wrongfully? Who has written all over the Eastern Star and the whole Masonic Jurisdictions, ridiculing the official family of both the Masons and the Eastern Stars? Hasn't Mrs Burnett been writing to all the chapters, telling them how much she knew about the law, how long she had known it, and that there was no appeal from any decision she made, because it was based on the law? Can she now expect the membership to excuse her for taking the Eastern Star's business out into the courts, before she had presented the matter to the Grand Chapter of the Eastern Star, on the ground that she didn't know the law? Mrs Burnett cannot know the law for the things that suit her, and then expect the membership to count her as ignorant of the law when she does things to injure the membership and the Grand Chapter. What justification can Jess and Mrs Burnett's granddaughter, Mrs Morton, give for pretending to the court that they had the right to sue for the Grand Chapter of the Eastern Stars? What arrogance is it that makes the Burnetts think that they can interpose themselves between the Grand Chapter and its own elected officers, as is attempted in this lawsuit? Mrs Burnett says in her letter of June 10 to the membership:

"The 153rd District Court gave us another chance to clean our dirty linen within the Order, itself."

The judge wouldn't have needed to give that chance, except that the Burnetts had illegally and wrongfully taken the matter to the judge. The Burnetts had the right, and the opportunity, to present any of the questions in that lawsuit to the Grand Chapter in 1956; anything that happened subsequent to 1956 could have been presented at this Grand Lodge session in this year, where now Mrs Burnett is trying to get in after the court has turned its back. Mrs Burnett has made appeal to the membership as to what attitude they should bring to the Grand Chapter. I submit that the members, who will be delegates to the Grand Chapter, should come with only one purpose in their minds, and with one attitude toward all factions and persons: To look at the claims and counter-claims with the eye of a Christian, and to show no partiality or weakness in voting what is right and best for the membership of the Eastern Star. There has been too much factionalism in the Grand Chapter already, this is likely to be the third year of wrangling there, and the only way to end it is for the membership to put its foot down and walk straight down the middle of the road, ruling what is just and right and letting the chips fall where they may..

Current Events

Informer P.1 Sat. 6-15-57 Houston Tex

By CARTER WESLEY

RICE DEFENDS BIAS—Whether some officials of the National Bank of Commerce supplied Mr Rice with the defensive material in his editorial in his June 8 edition, or whether Mr Rice volunteered the apology for the National Bank of Commerce, the editorial shames the author.

First, ignorance is shown by the assumption that a bank is "an individual or private institution." Article 492 of the Revised Civil Statutes of Texas says: "All corporations created under this title (meaning Title 16, covering banks) are hereby declared to be charged with the public use, and shall be under state control and be subject to such legislation as the Legislature may enact, etc, etc."

In the second place, even if a bank were a private corporation, it is utterly unrealistic to compare it with a Negro-owned newspaper corporation, or with the totally-owned E. E. Worthing Estate by Mr Worthing. The National Bank of Commerce, aside from being a public corporation, handles the money of Negroes, whites and other races. It hasn't the right nor the justification to spend its money exclusively among one race of the people whose money it handles.

Why doesn't somebody tell Mr Rice and/or the National Bank of Commerce that when an act is wrong you can't make it right by writing a lot of loose words.

Our third and last point is that there can never be any reason for making photostatic copies of white children's diplomas, in both private and public schools, to the exclusion of the black children's diplomas. Only a man, or an institution whose soul has been corroded by bias, could flaunt such cruel humiliation of the black kids who graduate from high schools in the city of Houston. It were better that the National Bank of Commerce never gave any photostatic

copies of diplomas, than that it should use the act of such giving as a means to show heartlessness and the lack of a soul.

* * * * *

METHODISTS MOVE DELIBERATELY toward desegregating their denomination in this section. In what to us seems a most sensible and Christian method of approach, the local Methodist church voted last week, making it possible for churches in the now Negro Central Conference to join the Texas Conference of the Methodist Church as church entitles. Whether and when Negro individual members will be permitted to join individual churches of the Texas Conference of Methodist Churches is the next step to be considered.

But whether the Methodist Conference flunks the next step or not, we believe it has taken the first step correctly, fully and boldly. Also, a committee has been appointed to study desegregation of the Lakeview Camp near Palestine, consisting of about 8000 acres. Whether the committee's recommendation will be adopted is one question, but this conference meeting has taken the step which leads to the next decision, and we think they are in line with Christian movement. To this writer the action to simple and to have been taken with such ease, the vote to open the membership to Negro churches was 280 to 3, as against what the writer had assumed would happen under Bishop Smith, that we feel impelled to admit that we did not believe the Bishop would ever go this far, or let his conference go this far.

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ELKS BAR MEXICANS from using the Elks Hall in Seguin, Texsa. According to short story in the Texas Observer, Saul Castellanos rented the Elks hall to give a graduating party for his daughter. The Elks not only protested, but some allegedly armed themselves and holed up in the hall, vowing that the Mexicans could not use the building. First they bar Negroes, next they bar Mexicans, then they will bar whites that tehy don't like.

Current Events

Informer Sat. 6-29-57

By CARTER WESLEY

Houston Texas

WHITES MURDERING has attracted the attention of several Negro commentators. One of my associates said Sunday: "Do you notice how the whites are killing now?" He, of course, meant killing each other, and he went on to spell out where fathers were killing sons, sons were killing fathers, wives were killing husbands with great abandon. We wonder if that is the whirlwind of destruction as a natural crop for the wind of hate that has been sown by the Citizens Councils, the Ku Klux Klan and the Minute Women since 1954?

BOOSTING "TEXAS OBSERVER" for free puts The Informer in a rather unusual role. But we honestly think that the Texas Observer is a good paper for anybody who wants to keep abreast of the issues and know what liberal thinking is. It's time now for the citizens to show whether they appreciate the Observer by their willingness to pay $4 for a subscription. Personally, I like the attitude of the Texas Observer on more things than I do that of any other paper in Texas, outside of my own. To The Texas Observer, 504 W 24th Street, Austin, Texas, mail your check or money order for $4 for a subscription and you'll see what I mean.

* * *

CRITICIZING ADAM POWELL was a popular theme of many of the so-called liberal Republicans and Democrats, who wanted to vote against the trial-by-jury amendment in the House, but wanted at the same time to sort of seem like they were with the conservative reactionaries, so that they attempted to do it by riding Congressman Powell. Congressman Powell has not separated the whites and Negroes, that was done even before he was born. In fact, it was cinched in 1876 in the Hayes-Tillman deal. It was cemented in 1896 by the Plessy vs. Ferguson decision. Congressman Powell's expressions are calculated to inspire the Negro with courage to fight for equality. The masses of Negroes in the South are not fooled at all by the attacks thrown against Congressman Powell by these pseudo-liberals, who don't have the nerve to stand up and vote straight out without trying to balance. It's like those babies, who in order to criticize wrongful segregation, start out by condemning "the extremes on both sides." In other words, they equate the Negro victims with the aggressive citizens Councilor, who is out to destroy and to hold down the Negro.

* * *

ATTACKS ON KING are likely to be mounting in the future, according to conversations that I heard at the Publishers meeting in Ohio last week. The publishers were not uniting against King, but several key men, individually, were pointing out cracks in King's armor as the leader or an outstanding leader for Negroes. When Rev. King had his conference with Vice-President Nixon, the press waited and waited, then King slipped out of the back door and they saw him mounting a taxi. When they ran down and caught the taxi before it was off; the public relations man said that he would have no statement until his press conference. Then King is reported to have come to his press conference a half hour late, without apology, and to have given very unsatisfactory answers to questions that the reading public had a right to know and was wanting to know. This was one version. The other was from a publisher closer to home in the South, who said King doesn't know how completely the Negro in Alabama is disfranchised, nor does he know who is responsible for the disfranchisement, in fact, he doesn't know any of the history of the Negro's struggle, that his present public relations man doesn't know any of it, and is bent primarily on steering King in positions of prestige so as to get the title of being the outstanding representative of the race. Then there was a third version which suggested that Republicans were attempting to take King's popularity over in their camp, as they did some other of our prominent leaders in the past, to their discredit in the end. Be this as it may, the majority of Negroes still think King is a great leader, called by the Master.

Dallas Morning News Accepts Desegregation

Informer, Dallas, Texas. P. 1 Sat. 10-12-57

By CARTER WESLEY

The Dallas Morning News has finally accepted desegregation in the Dallas public schools as inevitable and is now beginning to discuss editorially how it can be best brought about.

Reversal of policy by the Dallas Morning News is a great day for it and also for the people of Texas.

The Dallas Morning News has been one of the strong arms of the Citizens Council, and any other opponents to integration, since the issue became acute. It gave encouragement and strength to the rebellion of the Dallas school board against desegregation. . . . .

But despite its all-out effort, neither the Citizens Council nor the rebels of the Dallas school system could win any permanent victories. Then almost simultaneously came the troop movement into Little Rock, and the second and final reversal of Judge Atwell's previous ruling, supporting the Dallas school district's refusal to integrate the schools,

Facing the firm ruling of Judge Atwell, that integration must take place by mid-term in the Dallas schools, and the certainty that violence would bring troops, the Dallas Morning News began to ask, "Where do we go from here?" . . . . .

Though The News editorially is still talking about gradualism and delay, we hope that that is more due to the timidity of one venturing into a new field than to any convictions. We know that if The News applies its former vigor of support of the things that make Texas, it won't be long coming to the conclusion that law-abiding citizens should comply with the law promptly and with so unnecessary delay. Informer, P. 8

The News has said in some of its recent editorials that the Negro and white citizens of Dallas should work out a plan for integration. We have contended all along, and editorially made the suggestion to Governor Shivers in 1954, that a commission of both races should be called together to work out a plan and pattern for desegregation in Texas. . .

Dallas Morning News Sat. 10-12-57

The whites, who have run the country "for the Negroes" and themselves, find it difficult to adopt the thought of people working things out without court action and without strife in conference assembled. But we know that the most dedicated leader in our group for desegregation, in a responsible position to consider the whole, will measure up to the top responsibility of seeking a plan that would suit the best interests of the whole community instead of just the race.

Whites held the same idea about Negroes serving on grand juries that they hold now about conferences with Negroes in race questions. The Negroes who served on grand juries usually surprised the whites by the forthright manner in which they disposed of cases involving Negroes or whites. So far Negroes have a good record of recognizing that when called to serve as spokesmen for the community they cannot indulge personal biases and feelings. There is no doubt here at all that when a conference is called of citizens of both races, it will be the whites who will have to be up and doing to keep from being charged with bias, and it won't be the Negroes who will be subject to the charge.

With the seeming return of the Dallas Morning News to the high plane of community service, which it enjoyed prior to its defection to the segregationists, the Citizens Council and the pro-segregationists have lost heavily, not only in Dallas but throughout East Texas and Central Texas.

We confess that we were more outraged at finding the Dallas Morning News prostituting its editorial policy behind segregationists and rebels than we were over any other incident connected with this whole issue. For us The News had once been one of the liberal papers of the South. We felt the same resentment and bitterness that one would feel when an associate suddenly deserted a cause without reason or excuse. The Dallas Morning News should never have been the leading supporter of rebellion against the laws of the land.

By the same token that the defection hurt us, the return of the Dallas Morning News to forthright acceptance and support of law and order brings double strength to those in Texas who fight for a bigger and a better tomorrow. On the one hand, the enemy loses a strong ally; and on the other hand, Texas gains inestimable support in its stride toward a brighter future.

Three cheers for the Dallas Morning News' publisher and editorial staff! Our congratulations and felicitations to those who stand for law and order upon their acquiring the strong arm of the Dallas Morning News in aid of their effort toward democracy and Christianity.

Current Events

Informer

Sat. 3-2-57

By CARTER WESLEY

Houston, Texas

THE AASA URGED INTEGRATION of schools in the South in its meeting in Atlanta last week. In the strongest resolution on integration ever passed by the association, these leaders in education praised superintendents who had helped to resolve the issues of strife in integration in their territories. The AASA also endorsed federal aid to schools, and asked for early passage by the Congress.

2 QUIT LILY-WHITES. — Two members of Columbia University's faculty resigned from the Professional Engineering Sorority, Theta Tau, because it bars Negroes from membership. The action is important for highlighting the prejudice existing in the engineering profession, where many Negroes now are eligible. Just as most of the teachers organizations have opened up, and the doctors and dentists and most of the county and state organizations in the South are opening up, it seems inescapable that the engineers must open up their fraternal organizations, too.

Sat. 3-2-57

HOUSING BIAS, ATTACKED — a pending bill in the New York Assembly, was facing a rather serious assault last week. Frank S. Horn, formerly high ranking official in the Federal Housing Department in Washington, and now executive director of the Mayor's Commission on Inter-Group Relations, was joined by Paul T. O'Keefe, a member of Governor Harriman's Housing Advisory Council, in assaults on the measure. Also a brief was filed by the American Civil Liberties Union in assembly itself to make a strong assault upon the four million private housing projects throughout the state. The real estate board of New York defends the housing projects by saying that a man had a right to do what he pleased with his private housing. From this distance it seems that the question will probably hinge on whether private housing has to have special concessions from the public, which stamps the private housing with quasi-public ownership or at least interest?

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P. 10

POWELL'S AMENDMENT on the educational bill for giving federal aid to public schools is to be presented again this term, whether in the committee or on the floor itself, according to the announcement of Rev. Adam Clayton Powell. This column still believes that Powell's bill is fundamentally sound and correct. To grant educational aid to states that are officially opposing the Supreme Court's decision on desegregation is a blatant attempt at appeasing a group that can't be appeased. The more appeasement offered to rebels, the more bold they will get in their rebellion.

* * *

"BACK UP, BOY!" could be shouted to us by the persons who read our last edition on Brotherhood Week. I learned of at least one exception to our statement that the Brotherhood Week at the top level means simply a meeting of Catholics, Protestants and Jews, with emphasis on white Catholics, Protestants and Jews. The Brotherhood meeting of the Catholics, Protestants and Jews conferred upon Miss Marian Anderson, along with 24 others, the Brotherhood Award. Even though this is a limited gesture on a national basis, and even though it leaves the promoters of Brotherhood Week celebration on the national level vulnerable, we nonetheless hasten to acknowledge that they have done this much as a modification.

* * *

INCREASE IN TUITION to be paid by students of Texas who enter our state-supported institutions cannot be accepted too blindly by the citizenship. The state is supposed to furnish education for the children in the state at reasonable prices, and "reasonable" here means in line with the wealth and ability of the state generally. Now there are literally millions and millions of dollars in a permanent fund, collected from oil, that go to A and M and the University of Texas. The first question is whether or not in the standard colleges this fund should be distributed among them so as to make it unnecessary to increase tuition? Another important question is, what has happened to the tidelands money, which our governor, senators and others were claiming that we had to have to educate our children? The third important question is why Texas, with all its riches, has such a low appropriation for support of its state schools in comparison with other states? The other side of this question is, why doesn't Texas put more money into education in the state, in order to make t possible for the poor children to get education, instead of taxing the poor ones out and making the schools more or less exclusively for people with money?

* * *

LUFKIN'S CITIZENS LEAGUE has been recently created to back the slate of reform candidates in the city government. It is important here because it includes industry labor, business, professional men and Negroes. Inclusion of all elements of a community in a movement for election of community officers is democracy in action. No one has the right to ask for more than that. All groups should have access to public facilities and to public movements to affect those facilities.

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PUSH HAS COME TO SHOVE for all of us who must face the responsibility of discussing the harassing and baffling responsibility of citizenship. Since there is not space in this column, we will undertake in this issue to discuss the matter in a by-lined article.

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A NACOGDOCHES NEGRO is running for the school board in the current election. His name is Ernest Holman, he operates a filling station, is a native of Nacogdoches, and meets the qualifications. In the long view of the matter, it isn't important whether Holman wins or loses, the real importance lies in the fact that he is running and thus concretely suggesting that with the large Negro school population, that group's contribution on the board is essential to a rounded policy. Negroes and liberals could endorse this principle by sending whatever contribution they are able to send to Mr. Holman at his address: 1107 South Shawnee, Nacogdoches, Texas. The total number of eligible voters in the election is 2812 whites, against 725 Negroes thus making it clear that Mr. Holman cannot be elected, unless there are a number of whites who feel that a Negro should be on the board at this time. But they never can come to express effectively their will, that Negroes be on the board, unless Negro candidates are available.

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Current Events

Informer

Sat. 4-27-57

By CARTER WESLEY

Houston, Texas

UNDERMINING LAW is about the only way that the action of the District Attorney can be described in procuring a no-bill of the bus driver who killed Arthur Levay Pernetter on Dowling street, April 1, by firearms. In our view that case should have gone to trial before a petty jury, with all of the facts laid out in public hearing. First, there was the question of how the bus driver got out of the bus into the street. One version said that he left his position at the wheel, after taking his money changer and his revolver. According to this version, the testimony differs as to whether he was invited off the bus by Pernetter or whether he went off the bus to settle it with him voluntarily. But the point is, once he was off the bus, he should be in the position of any other citizen in an altercation which results in killing, and such a case normally should go to trial. There is a lot of difference in the bus driver's being off the bus and in the street, and in the bus driver's being attacked or assaulted behind his wheel during his work.

P. 1

The next issue, that we believe was preeminently one for a petty jury to have settled, was the question as to whether Pernetter had a knife. On this score the bus driver's testimony as reported was that Pernetter was slashing at him with a knife, and yet there was no testimony of any serious or dangerous wounds being inflicted upon the bus driver. Here there was also testimony by witnesses that they saw no knife. There was additional testimony that after the police had come to the scene and beaten Mr Pernetter down to the ground with their sticks, one said to the other, "Have you got the knife?" The policeman thus addressed is said to have gone in his pocket and brought out a knife, and that the knife was then put down by Pernetter. It is of importance here that no one testified to Pernetter's having a knife during the struggle except the bus driver. This seems to us a question that a petty jury should decide, because unless he was threatened with a knife, there is serious question as to his right to shoot Pernetter.

Sat. 4-27-57

But the third and overall point is that the law agencies are controlled by whites, and here you had a Negro and a white involved. and if we are to inspire confidence in the minority Negro race in the law, the law must be scrupulously impartial. Disinterested impartiality should have been interested in having the case tried in order to settle these issues. If the bus driver was right, the issues should have come out and should have been proven to the satisfaction of the community. The way it is now most Negroes will go on believing that Pernetter's life was taken unnecessarily and illegally My point is that if the bus driver was right and the facts brought it out before a jury, then the community would know, and that cankerous doubt and suspicion and dread of the law would not have been created here.

P. 10

Current Events

Informer

Sat. 5-4-57

By CARTER WESLEY

Houston, Texas

RECOGNITION FOR GIANTS. — Former Senator Herbert H Lehman; the Rev John LaForge, associate editor of America; and the Rev Dr Martin Luther King of Montgomery, Alabama, fame, received the 1957 Social Justice Award last Wednesday from the Religious and Labor Foundation. Messrs Lehman and LaForge were awarded for "distinguished public service for more than 30 years." Dr King was awarded for his victorious leadership of the Montgomery Negroes, and for "stirring

the imagination and the conscience" of the country.

Informer P. 10

THE LOUISIANA BIAS LAWS, which were balled up in a pack similar to those adopted or being adopted in the other eight states, have just about been annihilated. Justice Wright had knocked out a slough of them about a month ago, and last week a decree by two federal judges knocked out the ones intended to eliminate Negroes that had been admitted to the state schools, on a non-segregated basis, under interpretation of the Supreme Court's decision. The two-judge court held that the laws were enacted subtly and in a sophisticated manner to continue segregation in the state schools. The judges knocked the laws out without any ado or formality. They are dead with the certainty that on appeal the lower court judge's decision will stand. The decisions by Judge Wright and the two-judge court last week are important for Louisiana, but most significant also for the other seven states that are committed to enactment, or who have enacted similar laws. If federal courts in the other jurisdictions rule contrary to the decisions of the Louisiana judges, it gives a conflict of decision which automatically would permit the matter to go to the Supreme Court. Two decisions, killing the Louisiana laws, and a decision by a federal judge in Virginia, knocking out similar laws, show a way to hit these laws without "exhausting their remedies through state courts," as it was feared might have to happen because of a decision by the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals a year or so ago. The design of the Legislatures of the eight states was to force the plaintiffs to go through the state courts and administrative bodies, so as to drag out their rights, and to make the pathway so costly as to discourage litigants. Now the courts have sort of shrunk the eight states, hitting Virginia, the originator of the idea of these laws, on the east; and hitting Louisiana, on the extreme west of the states that have already passed the laws. Texas is on the verge of passing its laws.

* * * *

"TOO LATE, TOO LITTLE" can be said of the President's message to church leaders in the South, asking constructive approach to the problems of racial tension in religion, if the gesture was meant to forestall the pilgrimage to Washington on May 15. This message to the church leaders of the South leaves the President still out in the woods on this racial question. Negroes feel that he should come out and lend the prestige of his office to supporting the Supreme Court's decision outlawing segregation in public education. As long as he fails to do it, there will be an inclination on the part of Negroes to keep importuning him to do it. A letter to a few leaders at a Southern meeting just isn't enough.

* * * *

"A REHEARING" FOR MOM was voted by the court, consisting of Katharine and me, Thursday night, on Mama's having picked half a hatbox of berries. We sent out a full committee to examine the facts and that committee, consisting of Katharine and me, reported to the court, consisting of Katharine and me, that Mama stopped on the road and bought those berries from some of the kids who had picked them and were standing on the road to sell them. Mama was absent at the time of the rehearing. When she came in we confronted her with the decision of the court, and her answer was, "What you found doesn't prove that I didn't pick them." Mama planned to make a cobbler out of the berries, but Katharine and I in the meantime ate so many that she didn't have enough for a cobbler when she got to it. So I suggested that she'd have to buy some more, and Mama asquiesced, thus tacitly admitting that she bought the first.

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ON GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE Southern states are both confused and confusing. Texas doesn't want government aid to government supervision and in- schools, because it doesn't want terference. Yet when they have a drouth, they start crying immediately for the government to come in and give aid. When there is a flood in any part of Texas, the first thing the government does is to start a yelling and mounting a pilgrimage to Washington for government aid. The state accepts government aid for the highways that link it with the nation; the cities accept aid for slum clearance and housing, but they don't want government aid in the matter of furnishing lunches for indigent children or for building more schools!

* * * *

POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIP exists between the fact that the school board case was continued until May; that the NAACP case was continued last week on a flimsy excuse; and that the segregation bills in the Texas Legislature have been rushed with a trip by representatives of the Citizens Councils, Minute Women, etc. to Legislature to pass the NAACP Austin to speed up the movement. The majority members of the school board could well use the segregation laws as a shield and as an excuse for their further resistance to desegregation, if the laws pass before the case is tried. Those pushing the case against the NAACP would be embarrassed, if they lost the case before the Legislature had finally passed the segregation law, involving the banning of the NAACP. It would make it almost impossible for the law, if the court should have found against it. Coupled with all of this was the flimsy excuse for continuing the NAACP case last Monday, namely, that a lawyer on the Grievance Committee of the Texas Bar Association, "might want to intervene." Since then the daily papers have quoted the said lawyer as not having ever intended to intervene, and saying that the procedure of the Bar Association would not affect the case at all. Personally, I have always suspected that the Citizens Councils have as their major plan the procuring of the enactment of these segregation laws by the Southern Legislatures. So the Texas Citizens Council is determined to pass the laws, despite the fact that they have been found unconstitutional already in Virginia, the originator, and in Louisiana.

"VA A LAUGHING-STOCK," is what one of the white "distinguished citizens of Virginia" has written the governor, in answer to an invitation to him to attend the honoring of the 600 distinguished sons of Virginia. He says that Virginia makes itself ridiculous to set up a criterion that only distinguished sons of Virginia who are Caucasions can be distinguished Here the writer is jabbing the Virginia state for having invited several Negroes as distinguished sons to the dinner, and then having withdrawn the invitation when they discovered that these people were Negroes. This fight to continue segregation makes the Southerners do queer things.

* * * *

RACE BILLS ANALYZED by the Professor of the Law School of the University of Texas, and carried in the Texas Observer in the April 23 edition, is something that should be read by all Southerners, white and colored. Sponsors of the segregation bills have refused consistently to submit them to the attorney general for an opinion as to their constitutionality. The writer's list cites the laws that make most of these bills unconstitutional on their face, and the laws which indicate that all of them will more than likely be declared unconstitutional, in clear, simple terms. Get a copy and read it, neighbor.

31a 1957

DOWN ON beale

NAT D. WILLIAMS

Courier 31a

It's the way of "squares"
To put on a lot of airs;
As everybody knows,
Everything they do's a pose.

Sat. 3-16-57 —SWILLY

Mose's Manners . . .

Pittsburgh, Pa.

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—Beale Street is beginning to discover the difference between manners and mannerisms . . . between the genuineness of "squares."

P. 2

Blues Ave. is learning its lesson the hard way. Some of the most effective teachers are eager-beaver policemen . . . black and white . . . using billies, blackjacks and bare knuckles to teach the little nuances of courtesy, consideration and common sense.

Black, brown and beige skulls of varying degrees of thickness are having it pounded into them that surly dispositions and the grunts of grouchiness are luxuries reserved for the rich, pale and powerful.

Poor guys on the make for security, recognition, congenial companionship and satisfying new experiences are being taught that they can't afford to take their evil feelings out of the privacy of their own kitchens . . . not even with the help of the NAACP and bolstering boycotts. Bumptiousness brings on beatings. Reverend King teaches that fat fact.

A COUPLE of incidents of recent happenings hereabouts point up what's meant. Two or three ladies and gentleman of colour have been shaken up pretty vigorously lately simply because they forgot or didn't know enough not to let their bad manners show. They got puffed up with self-importance when they should have shrunk with self-effacement. (That "self-effacement," Jackson, means here the simple act of backing out of the limelight of too-intense attention . . . it means getting real courteous during the curtain calls.)

And, inasmuch as "your folks" are getting a lot of "curtain calls" gentility and the airs of here lately . . . since more and more they occupy the center of the stage of public interest . . . it might be well to look a little more closely into this matter of "Mose's manners," and "manners" here is a reference to Sam-n-Nem's behavior in general . . . both public and private . . . within and without the circle of color.

Of course, the etiquette of race relations is pretty much in ferment all over right through here. Most nigh everybody's got the heebie-jeebies and don't know from nothing. And since they started taking down the signs down home here, a self-respecting Beale Streeter ain't too sure when to light up and grin or cloud up and cuss.

Even among themselves the good old belly-laughing days are gone and the little foxes of distrust are gnawing at the vines of relaxed confidence in the guy across the alley . . . 'cause, if he's cullud, he hay not have renewed his NAACP membership . . . and if he's white, he may be paid up in the White Citizens Council.

THE SITUATION calls for the exercise of the best of manners all around . . . or if nothing else, than to play the game smart and cool. And the best place is to start at home. Too many of God's chillun don't seem to have ever heard of good manners . . . especially towards fellow-members of the cullud persuasion.

And strangely enough, the worst displays of "inside the race" ill manners come from "your folks" who ought to know better . . . the more loot and learning the average black, brown and

NEGRO (NAT.D. WILLIAMS)

beige brother has, the less inclined he seems to be to practice graciousness and just ordinary good manners in dealing with his humbler counterparts.

Ever notice how haughtily "hincty" the technicolored Cadillac crowd can act toward the Studebaker strivers? How high hat readin' cullud Baptists can act toward shoutin' cullud Baptists? How maliciously mean black brethren treat blacker brethren . . . and blacker brethren treat blackest brethren?

TOO MANY cullud folk take it for granted that black is evil, and therefore courtesy, gentility, graciousness and good manners are as unnatural with 'em as the achromatic pallor of the Norwegian.

More Negroes need to learn that "good breeding consists in concealing how much we think of ourselves and how little we think of the other person" . . . whether we or the other person be white, black, brown, beige, grizzly or grey. It might be a good way to stop the segregationists from regarding Sam-n-Nem as savages because Mose's manners are so like theirs.

DOWN ON beale

NAT D. WILLIAMS

Courier P. 7

What 'New' Negro???

Pittsburgh, Pa. 31a

Sat. 1-12-57

This new year, 1957, has inherited quite a flock of pixilated phrases from years gone by. Some of the hackneyed cliches will be discarded by a general public awakening and by mutual consent. Others will be refurbished and bandied around by the big-domes and the nut-heads like they were something new in the language and concepts of the species.

Falling into this later category is the increasingly current pet phrase, "The New Negro." More and more "your folks" down home here are hearing the term being applied. The more observant remember that some years back the words, "New Negro" first broke into print . . . as various cullud college professors and other kedachromed intellectuals sought to provide distinctive coloration for God's chillun who were a bit more restless than the rest.

■

THEN the expression seemed to fade from sight and hearing for a spell. But it proves to have a flair for re-incarnation. The "New Negro" is finding new usage and wider acceptance. From the sepia socialites and collegians it has flowed beyond the confines of their conversation and occasional literature.

It is now finding currency in the down home press . . . and even Mister Charlie is beginning to look around and discern things that look new. At the present rate it won't be long before the "N Double-ACP" will find a lively, and robust rival in inspiring initials such as the "T Double-NUC" (This New Negro You See).

■

But, just for the record, the Corner would like to drop a bit of hinty trash just here. It's the Corner's observation . . . and irrevocably conclusion . . . reached after some half a century of seeing, fleeing, and being a Negro that there's no such thing as a "New Negro." And that's said without fear of successful contradiction by the few claiming to be new. And if anybody can prove there is a "New Negro" . . . other than the ones born on the first of the year and immediately thereafter . . . then he can come and take back the whole movement . . . the gift exchange department is on the fifth floor!

■

NAW, SUH . . . there ain't no "New Negro." The guy they're calling "new" today has been here all along. The so-called 'New Negro" in the South, in particular, should rather be called 'The Tired Negro." He's the fellow who has tried servility . . . hat-tipping and grinning, to get along with Mister Charlie.

He's the man who has tried humility . . . swallowed pride and turning all four cheeks for constant slapping, to try to win friends among and influence pale people. He's the bloke who has tried patience, endurance, loyalty, patriotism, hard work, singing, dancing, running, clowning, cooking, plowing, praying, pleading, poverty, and preaching to get some man-sized breathing room and growing space.

But contrary to the faith and hope of Booker H. Washington, it didn't work.

Auburn "Avenuer" Watches Overhead Expressway Evolve

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. p. 1

Chron. 5-31-57

BY EDDIE WILLIAMS

"The wheel of time sure brings about changes," he said as we sat on the railing, watching the big creature-like machines creeping and buzzing, digging and furrowing into the huge red earthen mound which someday will support an expressway crossing over Auburn Avenue between Bell and Fort Streets.

"I saw that mountain of dirt grow from a hole in the ground,' he added.

He was a portly "fiftyish" man, allegedly a minister, who refused to give his name because of his odd philosophy: "My friends would think ill of me if I got publicity; friends are more harmful than enemies.'

I agreed to keep him anonymous and then asked him what he thought about the expressway. He answered with this parable:

"Two men once went up on Lookout Mountain, and when they came down, they were asked to describe what they had seen. One man said: 'I walked through the fleecy clouds, and I almost touched an airplane. I saw the phenomenal Umbrella Rock; I walked to the edge of the mountain and I saw the Tennessee River which looked like a match below. I looked into seven states; I looked into Chattanooga and the town loked like a fairy land.' The second man said: "I saw a buzzard and looked on his back."

ONLY POINT OF VIEW

Anticipating my query as to the moral of the story, the man continued: "The expressway is the mountain, and Auburn Avenue is the scenery below. Some people will still be able to see the beauty and history in the famous Auburn Avenue, while others will say the expressway has taken all the beauty away."

He reiterated that he had given a personal observation and that it was not necessarly true. "Goodbye,' he said; then he walked away. I stood alone for a while, thinking about what "Mr. X' had said and recalling all I could about the expressway.

That portion of the thoroughfare crossing Auburn, will be an overhead pasage of the downtown link to the North South expressway.

Daily World

This two and a half mile shaking link will undulate from Baker St. to Richardson, completing a 22 1-2 mile expressway which was created on paper in 1946 and initially effected some two years later. Spurs, like tributaries, will empty their traffic onto the expressway at Boulevard and at Hill Street.

Chron. 5-31-57

Soaring above Auburn Avenue, Edgewood, and Bell, the expressway will continue its southwesterly trace, bending around the "Golden Heart, dipping under Decatur St., the Georgia Railroad track, Hunter Street, and Memorial Drive, and then ramifying as it approaches Richardson.

CLOSED AT AUBURN

Neither entrance nor exit from the expresway will be provided at Auburn. Auburnites traveling north will enter at Edgewood. The exit for traffic southbound to Auburn will be at Pratt and Decatur. Traffic going South from the Auburn area will enter at Butler and Houston St. North bound vehicles will exit at Edgewood.

By 1980, it is anticipated that some 120,000 vehicles will travel along the completed expressway every 24 houre, according to S. P. Allison, Urban Engineer. Allison said the downtown connector, which cost the state and the federal government $20 million, should be completed within the next five or six years. The outskirting fastways were completed some time ago by the state, federal government, and the city of Atlanta.

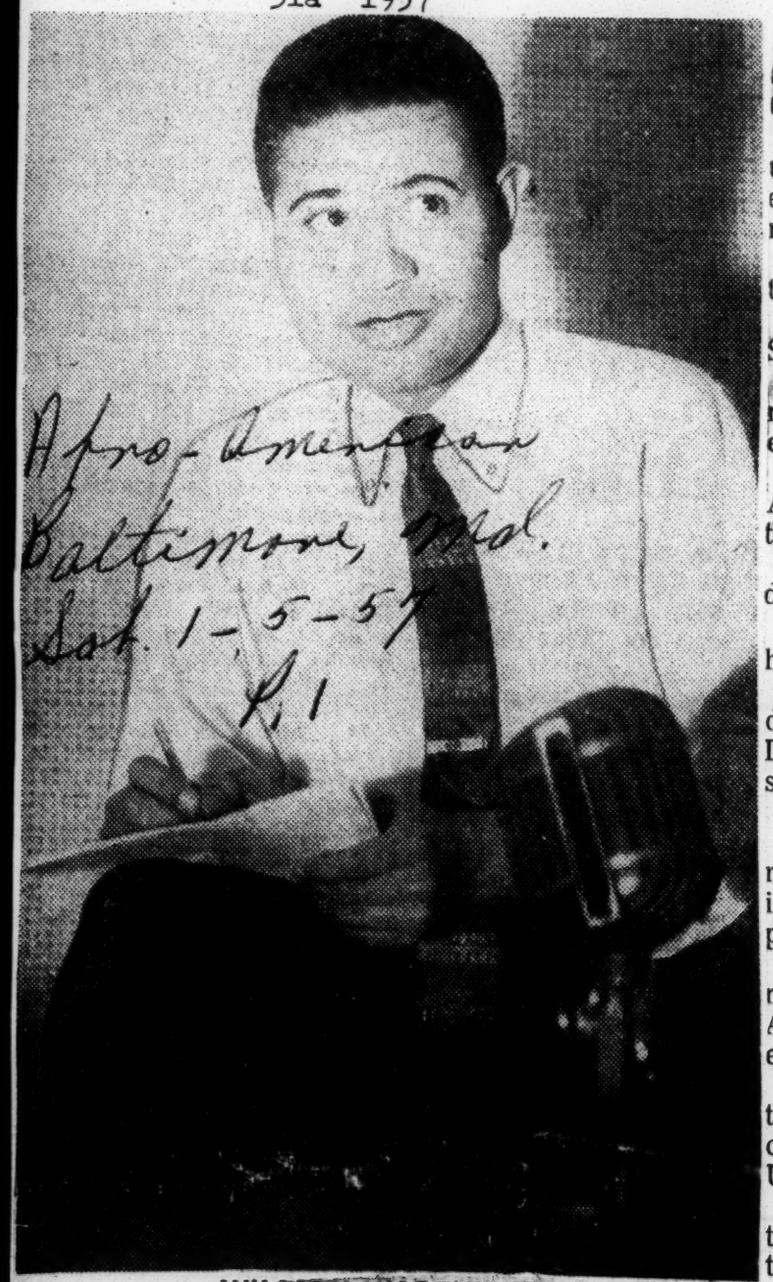
AHEAD OF MOST CITIES

"We got started on our expressway ahead of most cities," Mr. Allison said. He surmised that Atlanta was about the sixth city in the nation to prepare for the increase in traffic and the congested areas. Among the first cities to get expressways were New York, Chicago and Los Angeles, he added.

Lately the expressway Ideahas been renewed, especially in the South where little towns and small cities have taken on the metropolitan perspective. Recently a Memphis delegation conferred with Mr. Allison and other officials here concerning the expressway. Memphis, with little more than half the population of Atlanta, is seeking best approaches to solving her expressway problem.

Mr. Allison said the local expressway was "an excellent system," explaining that if it had been made more elaborate and extensive the resulting property damage would have been excessive.

Work on the connector resumes tomorrow, weather permitting, and the dirt pile will continue to rise. The bull-dozers and "cats" will again growl their motoring voices over the "Avenue," until finally, spanning the area like a science fiction highway of the future, the complete connector will carry northbound and southbound traffic across and over Auburn, perhaps like tour-trials through Lookout Mountain.



WILLIAM WORTHY JR.

Mr. Worthy's Mission

Afro-American p. 1
Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 1-5-57

The visit of William Worthy Jr. to the Peoples Republic of China is the third phase of a worldwide coverage planned last year.

The project had the joint sponsorship of the AFRO and a broadcasting system.

The first two phases, a tour of Russia and a tour of Africa have already been completed.

Mr. Worthy's interesting and enlightening dispatches from these two areas are well known to AFRO readers.

Sat. 1-5-57

The final trip, a tour of Communist China, was delayed because the Chinese Government had not seen fit to grant Mr. Worthy a visa.

This visa was finally granted on Dec. 16. Mr. Worthy was notified of the Chinese action by a cable from Chu Lieh, secretary of the Information Department, Chinese Foreign Ministry, Peiping.

At the time, he was studying at Harvard University under a Neiman Fellowship. The six weeks' recess granted Neiman Fellows during the Christmas holidays permitted Mr. Worthy to make the trip.

At the time the coverage project was first planned, the question of State Department policy was never raised.

Actually, the AFRO has no desire to test or defy State Department policy.

Our sole aim then, as it is now, was to provide our readers with first-hand knowledge of matters of interest to them.

Mr. Worthy was asked to secure interviews with American turncoats who refused to return home after the Korean war.

He was also asked to talk with Americans captured during the Korean war still being held by the Chinese.

Mr. Worthy traveled on a passport which allowed him to travel in Asia and the Orient.

In compliance with the law, Mr. Worthy, before his departure, swore out a disclaimer absolving the State Department of all responsibility for the safety of his person or property while in China.

The document in affidavit form, stated in part:

"I earn my livelihood through my profession as a newspaper, radio and television correspondent, reporting primarily from and about foreign countries and the people therein.

Afro-American

"In the course of this employment I have variously reported for the Columbia Broadcasting System, the AFRO-AMERICAN and other publications and publishers.

Sat. 1-5-57 p. 2

"This work has required me to enter many areas that are not ordinarily visited by American citizens, including parts of Africa, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

"For a long time I have been seeking admission to the Chinese Mainland, and I have just been informed that a visa will be granted me by the Chinese Government for the month of January, 1957.

"It is my hope that I will be able to take advantage of this opportunity as I believe that a visit there and a first-hand report on it to the American people, through whatever channels become available to me in the course of my professional activities, will be beneficial."

The filing of the disclaimer of responsibility was Mr. Worthy's own decision after consultation with the legal counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union.

N.Y. newspaper applauds Worthy

Afro-American p. 1
Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 1-5-57

NEW YORK — The trip of AFRO special correspondent William Worthy into Red China has been lauded as a "mission for the whole American press" by the New York Post.

In its lead editorial headed, "A Newspaperman's Mission," Wednesday, the Post said:

"In a sense the journey of correspondent William Worthy to Communist China is a mission for the whole American press. Worthy is a reporter for the AFRO-AMERICAN and a former Nieman fellow at Harvard. With the approval of his paper, he has defied the State Dept. ban on the efforts of U.S. newspapermen to get into Red China, and he is now there getting as much of the inside story as he can.

"The State Dept. has promptly and officially 'deplored' Worthy's action. There are vague hints of reprisals when he returns. Perhaps a legal case can be made against him; but morally, we believe, he has rendered a memorable service. For his defiance has dramatized one of the most arrogant and fantastic acts of press censorship in the history of the republic.

"Never was it more important for Americans to get first-hand reports from Communist China. Is there any evidence of a serious schism between Peiping and Moscow? What echoes of the satellite uprising can be detected in Chou's domain? What really goes on there, anyway?

Sat. 1-5-54

"It is never easy to get the answers to such questions inside a totalitarian state; but any fragment of light that can be obtained must be considered precious. Nevertheless, the State Dept., with the President's blessing, has held fast to its ban for many months. Moreover, ever since Ike spoke, most of the press has cravenly dropped the subject.

"Now Worthy's trip has revived the issue. We do not know how fruitful his exploration will be. We do know that it will at least force a clear-cut test of an infamous censorship edict. In those terms he deserves assurance from every newspaper that he does not stand alone.

"The argument that the Chinese Communist regime is given some form of moral sanction by the entry of any U.S. correspondent was wretched nonsense when first propounded by the State Dept. It still is. In fact, Worthy's pilgrimage gives the American press a second chance to speak out against a piece of blundering bureaucracy that should long ago have been condemned by the country and repudiated by the President."

MURPHY DEFENDS CHINA NEWS BAN

Times p. 10-L
Wed. 4-3-57

Tells Senators U. S. Will Bar Visits While Reds Hold 8 —Policy Is Assailed

New York

By ALLEN DRURY

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 2—Robert D. Murphy, Deputy Undersecretary of State, said today that passports to visit Red China would be denied to newsmen as long as the Communist regime held any Americans prisoner there.

31a

Mr. Murphy told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the Communist Chinese, in the current negotiations at Geneva, had indicated they wanted the release of eight Americans they were holding to be made conditional on permission for American newsmen to visit China.

To give in to this request, he said, would be to yield to "blackmail" that might well destroy the prisoners' "last chance of freedom."

"Confidence in our determination to resist the aggressive designs of communism would be weakened," Mr. Murphy said. "The position of leadership which we have accepted would be seriously undermined."

Humphrey Criticizes Stand

Mr. Murphy, running into a barrage of generally unsympathetic questions from committee members, was told by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, that he had offered "a nonsensical argument that can't be validated."

Mr. Murphy replied that the reasons for continuing the ban on newsmen stemmed from "fundamental United States foreign policy."

He listed them as these:

¶"A state of unresolved conflict exists between the United States and the United Nations on the one hand and Communist China on the other" because there has never been any piece treaty and political settlement of the Korean war.

¶"The Communist Chinese threat against the Republic of China [on Taiwan (Formosa)], with whom the United States has a treaty of mutual defense, remains clear and present."

¶Since the United States does not recognize Red China, "normal diplomatic and consular pro-

tection for United States travelers there cannot be extended."

¶The Communist regime in China has consolidated its power "by a series of lawless acts," including invasion of North Korea, imprisonment of American nationals, "flagrant violation" of the Korean armistice agreement by a build-up of forces in North Korea, and a build-up of forces on the mainland opposite Taiwan.

Mr. Murphy denied that the State Department had brought pressure on the Columbia Broadcasting System to get it to refrain from showing films taken recently in Red China by William Worthy, a Baltimore reporter who visited China without a passport.

Mr. Murphy said he had made inquiry of William Paley, chairman of C. B. S., "an old friend of mine," but denied that this constituted "pressure."

The Deputy Undersecretary admitted that the State Department had "tentatively declined" to renew Mr. Worthy's passport because it felt he had "misused it in the past."

Senator William F. Knowland, Republican of California, suggested that the State Department might ask Red China if it would admit members of the three big wire services, the Associated Press, the United Press and International News Service. He said that if the Red Regime was so eager to acquire prestige by getting more Americans to travel in China, it might be willing to permit the wire services to open bureaus in Peiping rather than "be taken on a cultural Cook's Tour."

Mr. Murphy said he did not know how "the American newspaper community" would feel about such relatively limited coverage.

"If a formula can be found to permit coverage of conditions there without affecting American lives and indulging in a form of appeasement by yielding to blackmail, we would all be greatly relieved," he said.

Issue Is Under Study

Secretary of State Dulles said at his press conference this morning that the Administration was actively studying the question of whether to permit newsmen to go to China. He said it had been under very active consideration for the last week or two, but said he could not forecast a change at this time.

Senator J. William Fulbright, Democrat of Arkansas, in a series of questions critical of the entire State Department passport policy, asked why American newsmen were not barred from the Soviet Union. Mr. Murphy replied that this was because there was no state of war between this country and the Soviet Union, such as technically still exists between this country and Red China in Korea.

Senator Theodore F. Green, Democrat of Rhode Island, chairman of the committee, asked Mr. Murphy what changes would be necessary in Red China for this country to grant diplomatic recognition.

Mr. Murphy said there would have to be a "different pattern of behavior," a willingness to "govern in a civilized manner," and an "ability to serve international obligations."

Associated Press Wirephoto

NO PASSPORT: William Worthy, shown at friend's home at Evanston, Ill., will not receive renewed passport, according to Robert Murphy, Deputy Under Secretary of State. Mr. Murphy told Senators newsmen will not get passports for Red China as long as country holds U. S. prisoners.

Worthy Passport Refused By U. S. State Department

WASHINGTON —(INS)— The State Department refused Wednesday to renew the passport of William Worthy, Baltimore newsman who went to Red China last year in defiance of the U. S. ban on travel to that Communist country.

At the same time, the Department paved the way for possible cancellation of passports of the 42 Americans who went to Red China following their visit to the Moscow youth festival.

Discussing the Worthy case, spokesman Lincoln White said the department "reached a final decision" by rejecting the newsman's appeal from an earlier tentative refusal to renew the passport.

42 To Lose Passports for Defying Ban

(Copyright 1957 by The New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON, Sept. 18—The State department took action today against Americans who have defied its ban on travel to Communist China.

It announced these steps:

1. It will seize the passports of 42 young Americans who, after attending a youth congress in Moscow, went on a junket through Communist China. The passport of one, Earl R. Williamson of Oakland, Calif., was seized today at Honolulu.

2. It has made a "final decision" against renewing the passport of William Worthy, correspondent of the Baltimore Afro-American, who toured Communist China in December.

3. It has notified Shelby Tucker of Pass Christian, Miss., studying at Oxford University in England, that his passport will be canceled unless he leaves for the United States in 60 days or requests a hearing at the State department. Tucker is one of those who accepted a Communist Chinese invitation to travel in China, but he was expelled before the end of the trip because he refused to show Communist authorities his passport.

Tucker was the first of the 42 who visited Communist China to receive a formal letter prepared by the State department.

The letter charged the recipients "wilfully violated" passport regulations and that a "tentative decision" had been made to stamp their passports valid only for return to the United States.

State Dept Says 'No' On Worthy Passport

WASHINGTON, D C (NNPA) The State Department announced Tuesday that it had notified William Worthy, special Afro American newspaper correspondent, that had reached "a final decision" not to renew his passport.

Worthy and two other newsmen, Edmund Stevens and Phillip Harrington of Look magazine went to Red China last December.

Worthy's passport expired last March and when he applied for a renewal of if, his application was denied. He then took his case on the passport hearing office and it was from this hearing that the decision denying a renewal came.

Asked why Worthy's request was denied, Lincoln White, State Department press officer, said:

"The primary reason is the repeated assertions of Mr Worthy that if issued another passport, he would go wherever he chooses. Mr Worthy is guilty of violating the passport regulations, and the attitude he takes is that he would violate them in the future."

White added that Worthy "seems to take the position that he is in a class by himself, and the department ahd no alternative bu to deny him a passport." Worthy can appeal the decision.

The American Civil Liberties Union has indicated that it will apply to the courts for an order directing Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to renew Worthy's passport.

REPORT FROM RED CHINA

Some Day, They'll Come Home

Almost every American behind the Bamboo Curtain wants to come home some day. Poetry is a favorite of the satellite countries. Some of Langston Hughes' works are being translated into Czechoslovakian.

By WILLIAM WORTHY

PEKING, China

Anywhere in the words its easy to spot an American.

One morning in the dining room of my hotel in the Chinese capital, there was a bit of mutual spotting as I entered for breakfast.

The New Yorker whom I met there (prefers that his name not be used) although, so far as I could determine, he sticks closely to literary affairs and is "politically" in only a vague and general sense.

His passport has also expired, and his travels are limited to countries within the Communist bloc.

He makes his home in Prague, along with his wife and daughters, and the Czech government provides him with some sort of travel document which opens the doors to all the "socialist" countries.

* * *

FOR THE last few years he has worked for the Czech Academy of Sciences.

His project, which will continue for several more years, is the compilation of an anthology of American literature.

His own specialty is Walt Whitman.

He also is quite interested in the works of colored American writers, and we discussed the forthcoming Czech translation of some of the works of Langston Hughes.

At last the Communist countries, including the Soviet Union, have begun to pay royalties to authors abroad whose works they publish with or without permission.

THIS NEW Yorker, unlike a hidebound party member, is endowed with a sense of humor. When his book is ultimately finished he and his family intend to return home, prepared to face the "passport music."

"If they want to accuse me of spreading Whitman," he announces with a mischievous chuckle, "it's o.k. with me."

Walt Whitman has become something of a cult in the communist states, so a student of his poetry enjoys a ready welcome. The same cannot be said of the Christian religion, at least as it is practiced in the West.

American Catholic Bishop Walsh in Shanghai is sticking it out although a Chinese colleague was arrested and whisked away in the middle of the night back in October, 1955.

"My work in China," he stoutly says," is in answer to the call of God." Although it is thought that both the Chinese and American governments would, for different reasons, be relieved to see him return home, this churchman from New Jersey has dug his heels in, flaunts his contempt for communism and refuses to budge.

* * *

WHILE VISITING in Peking at the Central Institute of Minorities, I was told, that about a year ago, singer Aubrey Pankey traveled through China on a highly successful concert tour.

He gave a special performance at the institute, which is the official center of learning, where the government trains "cadres" of China's many national and racial minorities.

Pankey, who has been out of the United States for about a decade, journeys to China from Europe.

He is variously reported to have settled down in Prague, Czechoslovakia or East Berlin. Of all the songs he sang in China, he is most remembered, as are all colored artists, wherever they perform, for his rendition of spirituals.

* * *

AT THE home of French correspondent Jacques Locquin in Peking—one of the two permanent Western journalists stationed in China—I lunched just before my departure with Dr. George Mar, a researcher at the new Institute of Dermatol[illegible]

After 24 uninterrupted years in China—he went there right after graduating from the University of North Carolina and a Swiss medical school — this white American even looks Chinese to a surprising extent, especially when dressed in the monotonous jacket and slacks of blue-padded cotton that nearly every Chinese, male or female, wears.

I'm told that the same illusion of Oriental features attaches to other non-Chinese when they have on the national "uniform" of China.

* * *

DR. MAR is married to a Chinese citizen, but he retains his American citizenship.

For some years he was in private practice in Shanghai, but now of course doctors, like just about everyone else, work for the state.

While not articulately political, he has long been identified with persons like Anna L. Strong, who championed the communist cause or at least thought that any party was preferable to the corrupt Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-shek.

For a good long time before the communists took over all of the mainland, Dr. Mar was in Yenan, the capital of what used to be called the "liberated areas."

Those were the days when Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai and other Communist leaders were leading spartan, austere lives in caves while building their movement and playing up the contrast with the "conspicious display" and dissolute wealth of the repacious warlords and KMT armies.

It can be presumed that Dr. Mar, who doesn't talk very much, shared these rigors and hardships in his role as physician for the Communist "Army of Liberation."

* * *

WHEN THE Civil War ended, this friend of Mao Tse-tung was appointed medical consultant to the Chinese Health Minister.

His first assignment was in north and southwest China, where he was in charge of research into the special Chinese type of malaria that is found among the local minority groups.

One of the credits that cannot be denied to the Communist government is its extensive and effective efforts to improve the health of the people.

* * *

DR. MAR last renewed his passport in 1946 when there was still an American Embassy in Peking. (Now that embassy, by one of the ironies of history, is occupied by the local headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party!).

Like everyone else in China, he expects that within a couple of years, despite the screams of the China Lobby and of Americans who refuse to face the fact of a Communist Chinese Government, Peking and Washington will re-establish diplomatic relations.

When the United States consul arrives in Peking to set up shop, Dr. Mar says (with a smile) that he will drop by to discuss his passport status.

FACES OF CHINA — Two mothers with their children bundled against the bitter cold.

AUBREY PANKEY—He left the U.S. a decade ago. Had a successful concert tour through China a year ago.

WILLIAM WORTHY JR

Informer P.1
Sat. 4-13-57
Houston, Texas

Correspondent Denies He Dodged World War 11 Draft

Informer Sat. 4-13-57 P.1
Houston Texas

CHICAGO (NNPA) — William Worthy Jr, Afro American correspondent, denied here last week that he ever pleaded guilty or was found guilty of violating the draft law by failing to report to a conscientious objectors' camp.

The charge against Worthy had been made before the Senate Constitutional Rights subcommittee in Washington earlier in the day by Robert F Cartwright, Acting Administration of the State Department's Security and Consular Affairs Bureau. Cartwright said Worthy had pleaded guilty and served a sentence of one day, then went to the conscientious objectors' camp.

Worthy said he was classified in 1943 as a conscientious objector. He refused later to report to a conscientious objectors' camp because "the Government was assigning men geographically on the grounds of race and color."

Worthy said he acted on advice of officials of the NAACP.

"There was no charge of drafting dodging or evasion of the draft," Worthy said. "Rather than face a court test on the racial discrimination issue, the Department of Justice nolle prosse the case after it learned that I was eligible for 4-F exemption because of duodenal ulcers."

Worthy was the speaker here last week before a meeting sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union.

He was one of three American reporters who visited Red China last winter despite the State Department ban on travel there. His report expired on March 4. The State Dept informed him on March 29 that it had "tentatively denied" his application for renewal of his passport.

Informer P.10

WASHINGTON, D C (NNPA)— The Constitutional Rights subcommittee is awaiting a certified copy of the record in the case of William Worthy, who was accused in the Federal District Court at Philadelphia of violating the Selective Service Act in 1944 by failing to report to a conscientious objectors' camp.

Robert F Cartwright, acting director of the Security and Consular Affairs Bureau of the State Department, was directed to obtain such a copy of the court record after he told the committee that a William Worthy had been convicted on such a charge and had served a sentence of one day in jail, after which he reported to the camp.

Cartwright testified that he understood that the guilty plea had been made in the Federal District Court at Philadelphia but he had had no opportunity William Worthy who had testified before the subcommittee earlier as the William Worthy who entered the plea.

A check of the Federal District Court records at Philadelphia shows that William Worthy was indicted April 27, 1944, by a federal grand jury for failing to report to a conscientious objectors' camp, but the case was nolle prossed on Oct 3, 1944, 17 days later the court ordered bail refunded. There was no record that Worthy ever pleaded guilty.

Worthy again hits China travel ban

Afro-American Sat. 7-13-57
Baltimore Md.

SAN BERNARDINO, Calif.— Speaking before an enthusiastic audience here last week, William Worthy once again scored the State Department's ban on travel in Red China.

The AFRO correspondent also lashed out at the nation's press for playing "the chicken role" by not standing up to the Government and demanding the freedom to travel.

* * *

MR. WORTHY, who is now studying at Harvard University under a Nieman Fellowship, defied the State Department in December and made a tour of communist China and later Hungary.

In his address sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union, Mr. Worthy also predicted that the ban on travel in Red China and other countries not recognized by the U.S. would "fold within a year at the most."

* * *

THE STATE Department has denied twice the renewal of the reporter's passport which expired this past spring. He plans to appeal.

Sponsors of the open meeting was the San Bernardino and Riverside area branch of the American Civil Liberties Union. The meeting was held at St. Stephens Methodist Church.

Worthy again raps U.S. passport ban

Afro-American, P.3
Baltimore Md.

NEW YORK — The State Department's passport regulations were attacked anew today as an interference "with the fundamental right to travel the freedom of the press" and a denial of due process.

The charge was made by newspaper reporter William Worthy Jr. in a petition filed with the State Department's Board of Passport Appeals urging reversal of the department's rejection of his passport renewal application.

The petition was filed by William M. Kunstler, cooperating attorney of the American Civil Liberties Union. The ACLU is backing Worthy's case as a major challenge of the State Department's power to restrict the travel of American citizens abroad.

* * *

THE APPEAL TO THE Board of Passport Appeals is the final administrative step legally required before the issue can be brought to the Federal courts. The ACLU has said that if the board upholds the State Department decision, a suit would be brought promptly in Federal District Court in Washington.

Mr. Worthy touched off this when, in the face of the ban on travel to Communist China and Hungary, he visited those countries while fulfilling an assignment for the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspaper.

In his petition to the board, Worthy asserts that he has a constitutional right to travel from and to the United States. He claims this right "both as an American citizen and as a representative of the press."

* * *

THE PETITION ALSO notes that no action has been taken by the State Department against other persons who have defied its travel restrictions.

It refers to Edmund Stevens and Phillip Harrington, a reporter-photographer team from Look Magazine who visited Communist China at the same time as Worthy, and to Sen. George Malone (R. Nev.) (who) "openly violated the Department's ban against traveling in Bulgaria during the summer of 1955 without any apparent adverse effect."

Major emphasis in the petition is given to answering the State Department's reason

WILLIAM WORTHY

for denying Worthy's application, that the newsman would not promise to refrain from using his passport to get to and visit in unauthorized countries despite the passport's invalidation for such travel.

* * *

WORTHY DID MAINTAIN at the hearing, the petition says, that where a passport was unnecessary for travel to a particular country he would not hesitate to visit it, despite the fact that the passport contained a restriction with reference to that country.

"It should be noted that the restrictions contained in his passport do not forbid travel to or in any particular country, but merely state that 'this passport is not valid for travel' to certain areas," the petition continues.

It emphasizes that the State Department itself, in a May 1, 1952, press release, interpreted these restrictions "as in no way forbidding American travel to those areas."

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Retraction demanded—

News B.25-a

Southern Regional Council blasts Johnson's charges

Pub. 7-28-57

ATLANTA, July 27—(AP)—Sen. Olin Johnson (D., S. C.) has been challenged what the Southern Research Council calls "his trumped up charges" against the Council and its report on Negro voters in the South "or to withdraw them."

Birm. Ala.

In an offshoot of the civil rights debate in the Senate Friday, Johnson said the reports on Negro voting "are highly misleading, in error, and in fact were distorted purposely in order to slander the South."

He also said the Southern Regional Council, which last week released results of a survey on Negro voters in Southern states, has been listed by the American Legion's National Americanism Commission as a "Southern Red front."

Harold C. Fleming, director of the Council, said Johnson "has disgraced his high office by his unjust attack."

THE COUNCIL, which has headquarters in Atlanta, is made up, Fleming said, "of responsible Southerners of both races whose patriotism is beyond question."

"It has never been cited unfavorably by the attorney general or the House un-American Activities committee," he said in a statement.

"We challenge Sen. Johnson either to prove his trumped up charges or withdraw them. The Council's current report on Negro sufferage is one of a series of surveys carried out since 1947. Far from being designed to 'slander the South,' it is aimed at showing progress.

"The objective Associated Press featured in its story on this report the evidence of progress. The Council did point out that there is much discrimination against would-be Negro voters in parts of the South. Any informed person in his right mind knows that this is true . . ."

JOHNSON SAID the figures publicized in the Senate by Sen. Douglas (D., Ill.) "for the most part were pulled from the air and are, in fact, as meaningless as an estimate of the number of grains of salt in the ocean would be."

Earlier, Sen. Sparkman (D., Ala.) estimated that 1500 Negroes are registered in Morgan County, his home. He said the Council figures cited by Douglas showed no registered Negro voters among the 4641 eligible for registration.

In his statement, Fleming said "there have been some misinterpretations of the figures for Alabama . . ." he said symbols used for Morgan County indicated that "there were no Negro registrants known to our sources of information . . . (but) did not necessarily mean there were no Negroes registered. We are sorry for this misunderstanding and cheerfully accept Sen. Sparkman's statement that Morgan County has a sizeable Negro registration."

SEN. LONG (D., La.) also questioned the figures quoted by Douglas on Negro voters in Louisiana. He said he disapproved of efforts to prevent any person from registering and voting because of race.

Johnson said the "figures compiled by an organization closely tied or related to a Communist front organization are being used in the U. S. Senate to attempt to shove this civil rights bill down the throats of the American people."

The record of the Council, he said, "and its shady affiliates and tie-ins with Red activities and fronts should be enough to convince anyone of the unreliability of its figures and of the probable design behind their creation."

The South Carolina senator charged the report was "designed to slander the South, divide members of Congress, promote race hatred and generally confuse the picture . . ."

Woman Editor Pleads For End Of Effort To Begin Civil War

Globe Fri. 6-21-57 P.1

Nashville, Tenn.

Miss Willson Whitman Expresses Strong Opposition Against Mossbacks Trying To Put NAACP Out Of Business; Bill Which Passed N. C. House Is Defeated In Senate; Tennessee's Solons Are Shown Up

New Orleans, La. — Miss Willson Whitman, North Carolina author, editor, and SCEF board member voiced strong opposition last week to the so-called anti NAACP bill in the state legislature.

The bill which passed the house (June 6) but was defeated in the Senate (June 8) required public listing of all members and contributors of "certain organizations . . . the principle objects of which are the support of, or opposition to, racial separation in the use of public facilities. . . ."

"My concern", Miss Whitman wrote in a letter to State Senator Thomas, "is to keep the state I now live in from displaying a regional prejudice embarrassing to all literate voters".

Miss Whitman's full statement follows:

32a

"I write as a member of the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., an organization which, as its name implies, is devoted to public enlightenment, with present efforts in support of the Supreme Court's decisions banning segregation in public schools.

"Like many other citizens e Moore county, I moved to Nort Carolina under the impression tha this was the most progressive an enlightened of the Southern states. I still cherish the hop this may be rue, and for thi reason am adverse to action pla cing North Carolina among thos states seeking, in an atomic ag to continue a cold civil war.

"From the language of the pro posed legislation as I have seen i quoted, it might be argued tha the bill would outlaw the Kla and the White Citizens' Counci For that desirable end, it migh almost be worthwhile to penaliz groups which already have th law on their side. But it is al ready obvious that in application as in intent, the bill would operat against the NAACP an organiza ion supporting the lay of the land instead of against the Klan and other subversive groups. Such groups can be best controlled by legislation against dissemination of race hatred. The proposed bill would I am told actually affect church groups as well as educational organizations.

"Lest my attitude be misunderstood I add that though I moved to Southern Pines from New York only seven years ago I am not a "Yankee agitator" but a Texan whose two grandfathers were Confederate officers. When not fighting Yankees they were judges and the rest of my family was professionally engaged as I am in the editing of newspapers magazines and books. My concern is to keep the state I now live in from displaying a regional prejudice embarrassing to all literate voters."

(Fact to remember: The last Tennessee legislature passed a measure in both houses injurious to the National Assoication for the Advancement of Colored People.)

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Council Official Addressed At Hungry Club Forum Today

Fred Routh of the Southern Regional Council will address the Hungry Club of the Butler Street Y. M. C. A. today. The public forum begins at 12:15 P. M., when luncheon is begun. In addition to getting this opportunity of hearing pertinent facts concerning the advancement of better human relations in the South, everyone attending the Hungry Club gets an opportunity of participating in a question and answer period which brings to light many points of view on a given subject. Mr. Routh has traveled widely throughout the South observing a number of changing patterns which will definitely affect the tone of the new South .. Dr. Mozell Hill, of Atlanta University, will act as Moderator.

GEORGE MITCHELL TO BE CITED

J. B. Blayton Sr., Executive Vice President of the Mutual Federal Savings and Loan Association, will present Dr. George Mitchell, who is to soon to retire as the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, a plaque in behalf of the citizens of Atlanta as an expression of appreciation for the service Dr. Mitchell has rendered the community.

Plan now to attend this important session of the Hungry Club. Reservations may be called in until 11:00 a. m. this morning to the Public Relations office of the Butler St., Y. M. C. A., Ja 4-0246.

'MASTER RACE' CONCEPT SEEN IN DYING GASP

Daily World Thurs. 1-3-57 P. 1 Atlanta, Ga.

BY WILLIAM GORDON

Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

A sharp and decisive turn in race relations began to take shape beginning with World War II, an educator and leader said here Wednesday at the Butler Street YMCA.

The "master race" concept and the implications back of it began to crumble when white youths began to question the basis of its argument. Fred Routh of the Southern Regional Council told a Hungry Club audience.

DR. MITCHELL CITED

The occasion was a joint affair; the regular weekly meeting of the Hungry Club and a special tribute paid Dr. George Mitchell, retiring executive director of the Southern Regional Council.

In recognition of his work in the field of race relations, Dr. Mitchell was presented a plaque by J. B. Blayton, local business man and vice president of the Mutual Federal Loan Association. The plaque was given as a special tribute from all the citizens of Atlanta.

The former executive, head of one of the oldest race relations organizations in the South, will move to Scotland when his retirement becomes effective in February.

In paying tribute to Dr. Mitchell, T. M. Alexander, chairman of the board of the YMCA said:

CAUSE OF OTHERS

"He will be remembered because he was big enough to lose himself in the cause of others."

The eminent leader in responding to the tribute said America is blessed and is also fortunate for having within its midst the kind of minority it has in the Negro.

Dr. Routh, also one of the officials of the Council, traced briefly some of the conditions growing out of the patterns of social change in the South following the period of slavery.

MIDDLE STREAM

He said for a long time the South had been isolated, physically ideologically. Not until 1915, during the beginning of World War I did the South really begin to become affected by new concepts, or get into the "middle stream" of things. It was not until this time that new ideas really began to play a part in the South, he added.

Dr. Routh said that during the 1930's the era of the New Deal, the South also witnessed change. He added however, that from 1945 to 1954 was the acceleration period of change for the South. He cited the U. S. Supreme Court and other court decisions as the basis for this acceleration.

The result he said has been naming of qualified Negroes to jury duty, the ending of jim crow in education, in interstate education and other areas of American life. The Regional Council official predicted that Virginia, North Carolina and perhaps Florida would see integration in education by the fall of 1957.

He said there is no longer a so-called South. He mentioned the rise of industry in the South as among the factors breaking down the ideas and concepts of the region.

Dr. Routh labeled the bus protest in Montgomery, Ala. as the kind of movement by Negroes in the South to break down the walls of jim crow. The significance of the program is well understood, he said, even by the "man in the street."

Daily World P. 3

Dr. Routh also included the effectiveness of national and international thinking on the whole question of race relations. He concluded that race relations in the South means working with people and not on them.

DR. GEORGE MITCHELL CITED — Outgoing Southern Regional Council head views plaque with J. B. Blayton, Sr. Citation came Wednesday at the regular meeting of the Hungry Club. — (Photo by Perry)

Dr. Mitchell Realizes Dream of Many Years

Constitution P. 4 Atlanta, Ga.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, has retired and will carry out a dream he has nursed since his days as a Rhodes Scholar. He will go to a small town, picked out many years ago in the Scottish highlands, and there spend the rest of his years. Except, of course, for travel.

Dr. Mitchell, who was born in Richmond, Va., is the son of Samuel Chiles Mitchell, a noted Southern historian who also served as president of the University of South Carolina and of the University of Delaware. Dr. Mitchell himself is widely regarded as one of the nation's foremost authorities on race problems in the South in their broadest aspects, social, educational and economic. 2-1-57

The Southern Regional Council is composed of clergymen of all faiths, business men, labor leaders and representatives of the professions in 12 Southern states. Under Dr. Mitchell's direction the council earned a reputation for sound, constructive research and publication of factual material.

In 1953 the Catholic Committee of the South gave him its annual award.

The Southern Regional Council has no connection, direct or indirect, with the late Southern Conference for Human Welfare which, after an honest start, was taken over by extremists. Because of the similarity of names, critics have sometimes charged the Southern Regional Council was the successor to the other. It is not.

We wish Dr. Mitchell and his family a long life and a happy one in Scotland where Dr. Mitchell will catch up on his reading and do a little gardening.

SRC director says racial solution is no longer whether—but when, how

BY BEM PRICE
AP Newsfeatures writer

ATLANTA, June 22 (AP)—Harold C. Fleming slid an inch lower in the overstuffed chair. Somehow he managed the appearance of a harassed, slightly wistful schoolteacher—which was misleading.

"I am a real conformist at heart," he said. "It's just that there are some things in the South with which I can't conform."

As director of the interracial Southern Regional Council he is a shrewd, sharp and tough advocate of the moderate approach to the South's ancient racial problem. He has become one of the men most deeply hated, and perhaps feared, by the South's more rabid pro-segregation groups.

PRICE

To the "professional Southerner," the 35-year-old Fleming is almost perplexing, obnoxious and possibly subversive person.

He is a native Southerner with an ancestry reaching back into rural Georgia, where he himself once lived. But he goes around saying such things as:

"It is no longer a matter of whether the South must solve its racial problem, but when, how and at what cost, or damage to the economy and the human beings involved."

Among the pro-segregation groups this sentiment amounts to subversion of "the Southern way of life." Some equate such an opinion with communism.

"In 10 years in this kind of work," Fleming said, "you get pretty callous about attacks. There is one thing, though, that really does rile me, and that's this Communist business. It is hard to swallow. I see this job as one of the most important anybody can do in the battle between communism and democracy."

IN LIGHT OF THE TIMES and the current emotions over segregation in the South, Fleming must be put down as a man of considerable moral courage regardless of how you may feel about his views.

For a time he and his family nearly suffered a form of social ostracism in the neighborhood. There were rumors floating about that possibly he really was a Communist.

Finally, an exasperated neighbor who had known Fleming from early high school days angrily told a community citizens meeting that they were all nuts, that Fleming was about as Communist as a hot dog.

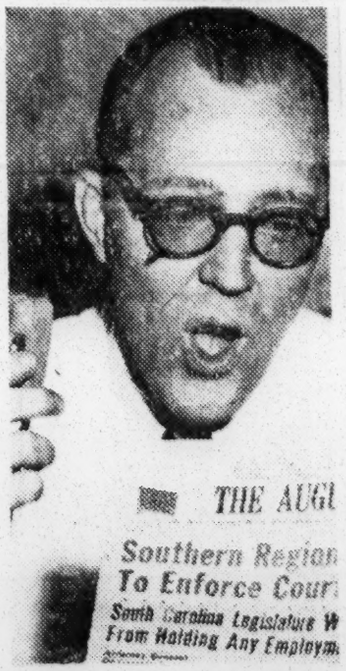
As much as any man, Fleming is emerging as a skilled leader for those Southerners who believe, however reluctantly, that the time of "white supremacy" is drawing to a close.

He believes—and says so—that the U. S. Supreme Court decision holding racial discrimination in the public schools unconstitutional is the law of the land.

Whenever U. S. government agencies want the South's racial problems explained to foreigners, it sends them to Fleming. So far he has talked to hundreds of students, editors, labor leaders and business men from about 40 nations.

FLEMING LIVES in suburban Atlanta with his wife and two small boys in a three-bedroom, den and two-bath home which looks like about 50 others.

On weekdays he dons a conservative suit, picks up a tan briefcase and drives a 1954 car to work, arriving at 9 a.m.



HAROLD C. FLEMING
. . . SRC director

Since there is no public transportation in his neighborhood, his attractive, blond and brown-eyed wife, Jane, has a station wagon to cope with marketing, assorted chores and the school car pool.

To all outward appearances, Fleming blends into the Southern scene. He leads the life of thousands of other young husbands who receive last-minute calls from home to pick up the dry cleaning.

When he finds time, which is rare, he plays with his two boys, Gary Phillips, 6, and Anthony Hughes, 13 months.

For Fleming works 12 to 16 hours a day, keeping in touch with council affiliates in 15 Southern states and answering his enormous volume of mail from information seekers. He coordinates an interracial staff of 12. He even keeps a dictating machine at home.

"He's working," said Jane, "when he isn't sleeping." She also suffers in silent exasperation that fact that 15 minutes after a meal, Fleming probably couldn't for the life of him tell you what he has eaten.

FLEMING WAS BORN in the Georgia Baptist Hospital at Atlanta, July 27, 1922, the son of Lorraine Hulme Fleming and the late Howard Hughes Fleming, vice president of one of Atlanta's largest building material concerns.

A large part of his early life was spent in Elberton, Ga., where the Hulmes are known as real Old South folk. The Fleming side of the family came from Oglethorpe County, Ga.

In high school in Atlanta Fleming was editor of the school paper and even wrote and produced plays which were broadcast over a local radio station.

"I was voted," said Fleming wryly, "the most ambitious boy in my class."

Fleming did not start out to be, as he puts it, "a professional do-gooder." In fact, he said, "I wanted to be a newspaperman, or a writer of some sort."

So how did he wind up where he is?

"I don't know. I guess it goes back to college. I started to college, Harvard, on a scholarship back in 1940.

"In those days Harvard was anxious to pull in people from the provinces. It was easy. As a measure of the South's second class station it was just assumed that Southerners couldn't compete with students from other sections."

WHILE HE WAS AT Harvard the war broke out and Fleming joined the Field Artillery ROTC. He remained at school until 1943, when he was sent to Ft. Bragg, N. C., and ultimately to officer candidate school.

He wound up on Okinawa after the fighting as a captain in charge of a Negro quartermaster company.

"I would say that going out of the South made me aware of the racial problem and I would say that my Army experience made me think about it deeply for the first time. I lived, ate and slept with it every day. You were not only an officer, but above everything else you were the boss white man.

"You couldn't duck the responsibilities. Trying to get a decent shake for your men from the brass above was rough. These men felt keenly the segregation and the fact that they got the short end of the stick.

"On the ship going over our men had the lousiest quarters. They were last in the chow line and this meant they got there after all the good things had run out."

On Okinawa, Fleming went on, the ammunition was taken from his company though the white units retained theirs even though Japanese guerillas still roamed the island.

"Among the good things that happened to me, though," said Fleming, "was the deep admiration I developed for some of the men who, despite everything, were good soldiers and loyal right down to the core."

AFTER THE WAR Fleming returned to Harvard, where he was graduated in English and the social sciences magna cum laude and with a Phi Beta Kappa key.

He got back to Atlanta in 1947 and heard of a special writing job with the SRC through Ralph McGill, editor of The Atlanta Constitution and one of the founders of the SRC in 1944.

"I took the writing job for the Summer. I had planned to go to New York in September, possibly to work for a publishing company, but then I got interested."

The council's announced aims are to provide equal opportunity for all in the South.

It was while he was at the council that he met Jane Phillips, who had come down from Vassar to work as a research assistant. They were married June 10, 1950.

How does he view his new job?

"In this field of human relations the big weakness has been the highly emotional good will aspect, often of amateur do-gooders.

"I think we are moving in the direction of professional-agency type of work, a consulting service for community leaders and a source of factual information."

HOW DOES HE FEEL ABOUT the Southern racial situation and its future?

"I think," said Fleming, "you have to start with an appraisal of what the situation is. The situation is no longer one of whether, but how, when and at what cost to the economy and the human beings involved.

"There are historical forces at work. Therefore the job of a group of white and Negro Southerners is to try and assist in the inevitable transition and make it as orderly as possible. After all, the South dashed itself to pieces once before on these same historical forces.

"The council is conceived as a very practical movement. We've never felt we had the final answers, but we do believe the answer lies on the level of mud-slinging.

"The hidden strength of this movement, though, is the fact that it is made up of Southerners, people who have been there. They grew up with the conventional views and yet have come to accept people as human beings."

For the author of the once famous "First Epistle to the Selectees," which appeared in the Feb. 18, 1944, edition of the Army newspaper Yank, the situation is slightly ironical.

In that epistle, Fleming wrote: "The wise man searcheth out the easy details, but only a fool sticketh out his neck."

"One-Hoss Shay"

Daily World

EDUCATORS HIT SOUTH'S SEGREGATION PROGRAM

Tues. 4-16-57 Atlanta, Ga. P. 1

By International News Service

A group of prominent Southern College Sociologists Saturday denounced the South's continued customs of segregation, predicting it will "collapse like the one-hoss shay."

Dr. Edgar Thompson of Duke University, chairman of the minority group relations division of the Southern Sociological Society meeting in Atlanta, led the attack by echoing the U. S. Supreme Court which said, a mixed education "is a right which must be available to all on equal terms."

SOUTH AFRICAN

Papers dealing with integration in the South, Hawaii and the Union of South Africa were discussed at the Society's 20th annual meeting as the opinions of three Southern Sociologists were read.

Forrest Laviolette and John Fenton of Tulane University praised educational desegregation as a means by which "individual rights, new conceptions of social efficiency and our institutional practices are being made more consistent with one another." Laviolette added:

"In the new Post-1954 world, social peace cannot be achieved until the structure of compulsory segregation by force of law is demolished."

Herbert Collins of North Carolina State College, warned that "every device which has as its aim the segregation of children on any grounds of inferiority exposes the whole population to serious disadvantages." He explained:

WEALTH OF COMMUNITY

"The field of recuritment of talented individuals becomes limited, competition is reduced, impartiality is ruled out, bitterness and tension are bred, skill is lost and the wealth of the community is reduced."

Thompson, in agreeing with Collins listed the Southern whites who are opposed to integration into two classes:

Daily World

1. "The upper class whites who favor improving the conditions of the Negro. They have adopted a parental attitude, but while favoring an improvement of social conditions, they refuse to allow the Negro the opportunity to gain any equality in social status."

2. "The lower class whites, who have been in direct economic competition with the Negroes, and fear the consequences of allowing them to be treated on an equal level with white workers."

Thompson said the competition feeling was so strong in the South, that even in Many unions, Negroes were to a degree, discriminated against.

Lavoilette said the desegregation process began as far back as 1920, and is steadily growing stronger. The ultimate results he said, would be the eventual collapse of southern segregation customs "which will fall apart like the one-hoss shay."

He listed four major trends responsible for changed conditions of interaction:

1. "The rural-urban and South-North shift of the Negro population."

2. "The great depression."

3. "The requirements of national defense for economic and organizational efficiency in an era of great wars.'

4. "The political process .. Which has increased the concern on the part of politicians of both North and South for the rights of the Negro."

The papers discussing educational integration problems in Hawaii and South Africa reviewed the facts that South African schools have been segregated as a result of legislation, while Hawaiian schools are in the process of complete integration.